GLOSSARY OF THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE PUNJAB AND N. W. F. PROVINCE

DENZIL IBBETSON
E. D. MACLAGAN
H. A. ROSE

VOL. II

GLOSSARY OF THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE PUNJAB AND N. W. F. PROVINCE.

A GLOSSARY

OF THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

Punjab and North-West Frontier Province

Based on the Census Report for the Punjab, 1883, by the late Sir DENZIL IBBETSON, K.C.S.I., and the Census Report for the Punjab, 1892, by the Hon. Mr. E. D. MacLAGAN, C.S.I., and compiled by H. A. ROSE.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

This *Glossary* of the Tribes and Castes found in the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and the Protected Territories on the North-West Frontier of India, is based upon the works of the late Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and its Dependencies, and of the Hon'ble Mr. Edward Douglas Maclagan, C.S.I., now Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue Department. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Report on the Punjab Census of 1881 was reprinted as *Punjab Ethnography*. Volume III of the present compilation will include the rest of this *Glossary*, and Volume I will comprise the valuable chapters of Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Report which deal with the Physical Description of the Punjab, its Religions and other subjects, supplemented by the matter contained in the Hon'ble Mr. Maclagan's Report on the Punjab Census of 1891, and from other sources.

This *Glossary* embodies some of the materials collected in the Ethnographic Survey of India which was begun in 1900, under the scheme initiated by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., but it has no pretensions to finality. The compiler's aim has been to collect facts and record them in the fullest possible detail without formulating theories as to the racial elements which have made the population of the modern Punjab, the growth of its tribes or the evolution of caste. For information regarding the various theories which have been suggested on those topics the reader may be referred to the works of Sir Alexander Cunningham,* Bellew† and Nesfield.‡

The *Census Report for India*, 1903, and *The Races of India* may also be referred to as standard works on these subjects.

It is in contemplation to add to Volume III, or to publish as Volume IV, a subject-index to the whole of the present work,

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* *Archæological Survey Reports*: more especially Vols. II, V and XIV for the Punjab. Also his *Ancient Geography of India, The Buddhist Period*, 1871.

† *Races of Afghanistan* and *Yusufzai*.

‡ *Brief view of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*: Allahabad, 1885.

together with appendices containing exhaustive lists of the numerous sections, septs and clans into which the tribes and castes of these Provinces are divided.

A few words are necessary to explain certain points in the *Glossary*. To ensure brevity the compiler has avoided constant repetition of the word "District" *e. g.*, by "Lahore" the District of that name must be understood thus "in Lahore" is equivalent to the "in the District of Lahore," but by "at Lahore" is meant "in the city of Lahore."

The printing of the name of a caste or tribe in capitals in the text indicates that a reference to the article on that caste or tribe is invited for fuller information. References to District or State *Gazetteers* should be taken to indicate the latest edition of the *Gazetteer* unless the contrary is stated. References to a *Settlement Report* indicate the standard Report on the Regular Settlement of the District in the absence of any express reference to an earlier or later report.

Certain recognised abbreviations have also been used, *e.g.*,

J.R.A.S., for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.A.S.B., for the Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal.

P.N.Q., for Punjab Notes and Queries, 1883-85.

I.N.Q., for Indian Notes and Queries, 1886.

N.I.N.Q., for North Indian Notes and Queries, 1891-96.

E.H.I., for Elliot's History of India.

T.N., for Raverty's Translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.*

In certain districts of the Punjab lists of agricultural tribes have been compiled by District Officers for administrative purposes in connection with the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act (Punjab Act XIII of 1900), and these lists have been incorporated in the present *Glossary* for facility of reference.

The two following extracts from an Address delivered by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson on the Study of Anthropology in India to

the Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1890 are re-printed here as of permanent interest and value :—

"Another scheme which suggested itself to me some years ago, and met with the approval of Sir Charles Elliot, would, I think, greatly simplify and lighten the labour of recording customs, but which I unfortunately never found leisure to carry out. It was to publish typical custom-sheets printed with a wide margin.* The printed portion would give a typical set of, say, marriage ceremonies, divided into short paragraphs, one for each stage. The inquirer would note opposite each paragraph the departures from the typical ceremonial which he found to obtain among the people and in the locality under inquiry. The main lines of these and similar ceremonies are common to many tribes over a considerable area, and the system, which is of course capable of indefinite expansion, would save a deal of writing, would suggest inquiry, would be a safeguard against omissions, and above all, would bring differences of custom into prominence.

* * * * * *

"And now I have come to the fourth and last head of my discourse, and you will, I am sure, be relieved to know that I shall be brief. What is the use of it all ? I must premise that no true student ever asks himself such a question. To some of you, I fear, I shall appear profane, but I take it that the spirit which animates the true scholar is the same in essence as that which possesses the coin-collector or the postage stamp maniac. He yearns for more knowledge, not because he proposes to put it to any definite use when he has possessed himself of it, but because he has not got it, and hates to be without it. Nevertheless, it is a question which, if we do not ask ourselves, others will ask for us, and it behoves us to have our answer ready. In the first place, it is impossible to assert of any addition, however apparently insignificant, to the sum of human knowledge, that it will not turn out to be of primary importance. The whole fabric of the universe is so closely interwoven, mesh by mesh, that at whatever out-of-the-way corner we may begin unravelling, we may presently assist in the loosening of some knot which has barred the progress of science. What Philistine would look with other than contempt upon the study of the shapes of fancy pigeons, of the markings of caterpillars and butterflies, and of the respective colourings of cock and hen birds. Yet from these three sources have been drawn the most vivid illustrations and the strongest proofs of a theory the epoch-making nature of which we are hardly able to appreciate, because it has already become an integral part of the intellectual equipment of every thinking man. But we need not trust to the vagueness of the future for evidence of the value of our studies in India. They have already cast a flood of light upon the origin and nature of European tenures, and they have even modified the course of British legislation. I do not think it is too much to say that, had we known nothing of land tenures in India, the recognition of tenant right in Ulster would have been indefinitely postponed."

The scientific spirit which inspired the above remarks laid the foundations of all anthropological research in the Punjab and

* This method was adopted in carrying out the Ethnographic Survey in these Provinces. H. A. R.

North-West Frontier Province. The practical importance of an intensive study of the minutest data in the popular religion, folk-lore, traditions, survivals and superstitions cannot be easily exaggerated, and the present writer is convinced that nothing but a closer study of them will, for example, reconcile the apparently hopeless inconsistencies of the Punjab customary law.

GLOSSARY

OF

PUNJAB TRIBES AND CASTES.

A

Abazaí, a section of the Yúsufzai Paṭháns, found in Buner.

Abba Khel, one of the six septs of the Baizai clan of the Akozai Yúsufzai Paṭháns, found in Peshávar.

Abbássí, the name of the ruling family of the Dáúdpotrás who are Nawábs of Baháwalpur and claim descent from the Abbasside dynasty of Egypt: see Dáúdpotrá and Kalhorá.

Abdál, a small caste of Muhammadans found in Kángṛa and the Jaswán Dún of Hoshiárpur. The Abdáls are divided into 12 *ṭolis* or septs. The Abdáls of Kángṛa do not associate with those of Sukhár and Nurpur. The Abdáls are beggars and wandering singers, performing especially at Rájput funerals, at which they precede the body singing and playing dirges, *ben* or *birláp*. In the time of the Rájás when any Rájput was killed in battle and the news reached his home, they got his clothes and used to wear them while singing his dirge. Thus they sang dirges for Rám Singh, *wazír* of Nurpur, and Shám Singh, Atáriwálá, who had fought against the British, and for Rájá Rai Singh of Chamba. The Abdáls now sing various songs and attend Rájput weddings. They are endogamous. *Abdál* means 'lieutenant' (see Platts' *Hind. Dicty.*, *s. v.*) and is the name of a class of wandering Muhammadan saints.* Whether there is any connection between the name and the Chihil Abdál of Islamic mythology does not appear. For the Abdáls in Bengal see Risley, *People of India*, pp. 76 and 119.

Abdal, an Aráín clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery.

Abdálí, (1) a term once applied generally to all Afgháns (*q. v.*), but now apparently obsolete: (2) the name of a famous family of the Saddozai Paṭháns which gave Afghánistán its first Afghán dynasty: Now known as Durrání, this family belonged to the Sarbani branch of the Afgháns, and is believed by them to derive its name from Abdál or Avdál *bin* Tarín *bin* Sharkhabún *b.* Sarban *b.* Qais, who received this name from Kwhája Abú Ahmad, an *abdál*† or saint of the Chishtiá

* It is the plur. of *badal*, 'substitute,' and the Abdál, 40 in number, take the fifth place in the Súfí hierarchical order of saints issuing from the great Qutb. Also called 'Rukabá,' 'guardians,' they reside in Syria, bring rain and victory and avert calamity: *Encyclopædia of Islám*, *s. v.* p. 69.

† See Abdál *supra*.

order. Driven from their lands near Qandahár by the Ghalzai, the Abdáli had long been settled near Herát, but were restored by Nádir Sháh to their old home, and when Ahmad Sháh became king at Qandahár his tribe served as a nucleus for the new empire. Influenced by a *faqír* named Sábar Sháh he took the title of Durr-i-durrán, 'pearl of pearls.' The two principal Abdáli clans are the Popalzai, (to which belonged the royal section, the Sadozai) and the Bárakzai: M. Longworth Dames in *Encycl. of Islám*, p. 67.

ABDALKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery.

ABDHÚT (*avadhúta*),* a degree or class of the celibate Gosains who live by begging. They are wanderers, as opposed to the *matdári* or *ásandári* class. See Gosain.

ABHÍRA, the modern Ahír (*q. v.*).

ABHAPANTHÍ, one of the 12 orders or schools of the Jogís (*q. v.*).

ABKAL, a sept of Rájputs, descended from Wahgal, a son of Sangar Chand, 16th Rájá of Kahlúr.

ABLÁNA, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multan: (2) a branch of the Kharrals, found in Montgomery and the Minchinábád *nizámat* of Baháwalpur.

ABṚA, an ancient tribe of Jáṭ status found in Sindh and the Baháwalpur State. It is credited with having introduced the arts of agriculture into the south-west Punjab and Sindh in the proverb:—

Karn bakhshe kiror.
Abṛa bakhshe hal di or.

'Let Rájá Karn give away crore of rupees, the Abṛa will give what he earns by the plough.'

The tribe is also said to be an offshoot of the Sammas and is numerous in Baháwalpur.

ABÚÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multan.

ABWÁNÍ, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural), found in Amritsar.

ACHA KHEL, an important clan of the Marwat Paṭháns, found in Bannu.

ÁCHI-LÁMO (Tibetan), a group of actors, singers and dancers, found in Kanáwar. They wear masks of skin with conch shells for eyes and a dress to which woollen cords are so attached that in dancing they spread out. The women play a large tambourine, and the men a small drum shaped like an hour-glass. Parties of five,—two men, two women and a boy—perform their dance.

ACHRÁN, an agricultural clan, found in Sháhpur.

ACHÁRJ(A), see under Brahman: syn. Mahábrahman.

ÁDAM KHEL, one of the eight principal clans of the Afrídí Paṭháns: said to be neither Gar nor Sámil in politics. They have four septs—Hassan Khel, Jawáki, Galli and Ashu Khel.

* Avadhuta is also the name of a Vaishnava sect. Rámánand founded the Rámawat sect whom he called Avadhuta, because his followers had 'shaken off' the bounds of narrow-mindedness. To this sect belonged Tulsi Dás, one of whose works was the Vairagya-Sandipani or 'kindling of continence.' (*Notes on Tulsi Dás*, by Dr. G. A. Grierson, Indian Antiquary, 1893, p. 227).

Adan Sháhí, a Sikh sect or, more correctly, order, founded by Adan Sháh, a disciple of Kanhyá Lál, the founder of the Sewápanthís (*q. v.*).

Adh-náth, one of the 12 orders or schools of the Jogís (*q. v.*).

Admál, a sept of the Gakkhars (*q. v.*).

Ádpanthí, possibly a title of those Sikhs who adhere to the original (*ádi*) faith (or to the *ádi-granth*): *cf.* Census Report, 1891, § 88, but see Adh-náth.

Advait, a Hindu sect which maintains the unity of the soul with God after death.

Afghán, pl. Afághina: syn. Rohilla or Rohela and Paṭhán (*q. v.*). The earliest historical mention of the Afgháns occurs under the year 1024 A. D. (414-15 Hijrí) when Mahmúd of Ghazní made a raid into the mountains inhabited by the Afghánián—after his return from India to Ghazní—plundered them and carried off much booty.* Afghán tradition makes Kashíghar or Shawál their earliest seat, and the term Afghánistán or land of the Afgháns is said to be, strictly speaking, applicable to the mountainous country between Qandahár and the Deraját, and between Jalálábád and the Khaibar valley on the north and Síwí and Ḍaḍar on the south, but it is now generally used to denote the kingdom of Afghánístán. The Afgháns used to be termed Abdális or Awdális from Malik Abdál under whom they first emerged from the Sulaimán Range and drove the Káfirs or infidels out of the Kábul valley. (See also *s. v.* Paṭhán, Bangash, Dilázák). By religion the Afgháns are wholly Muhammadan and claim as their peculiar saint the 'Afghán Qutb,' Khwájah Qutb-ud-dín, Bakhtíár, Kákí of Ush (near Baghdád) who probably gave his name to the Qutb Minár at Delhi.

Agarí, Agrí or Agariá "a worker in salt," from *ágara*, salt-pan. The Agarís are the salt-makers of Rájputána and of the east and south-east Punjab, and would appear to be a true caste.† In Gurgaon they are said to claim descent from the Rájputs of Chittaur. All are Hindus, and found especially in the Sultánpur tract on the common borders of Delhi, Rohtak and Gurgaon, where they make salt by evaporating the brackish water of the wells. Socially they rank below the Jáṭs, but above Lohárs. A proverb says: "The *ak*, the *jawása*, the Agari and the cartman—when the lightning flashes these give up the ghost," apparently because the rain which is likely to follow would dissolve their salt. *Cf.* Nungar.

Aggarwál, a sub-caste of the Báníás (*q. v.*).

Agír, a doubtful synonym of Agarí (*q. v.*).

Agwána, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multán.

Ahangar, a blacksmith.

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* For fuller details see the admirable articles by Mr. Longworth Dames on Afghánistán and Afrídi in the Encyclopædia of Islám (London: Luzac & Co.) now in course of publication.

† But the Agarís are also said to be a mere sub-caste of the Kumhárs. In Kumaon *ágarí* means an "iron-smelter": N. I. N. Q. I., §§ 214, 217. It is doubtful whether Agra derives its name from the Agarís, as there is an Agra in the Peshávar valley. For an account of the salt-industry in Gurgaon, see *Gurgaon Gazetteer*, 1884, page 57.

Aharí, a doubtful synonym of Aherí (*q. v.*).

Aherí (A), Herí, Ahárí (?), an out-caste and often vagrant tribe, found in the south-east Punjab, and originally immigrant from Rájpútána, especially Jodhpur and Bíkáner. The name is said to be derived from *her*, a herd of cattle, but the Aherí, who appears to be usually called Herí in the Punjab, is by heredity a hunter and fowler. He is however ordinarily a labourer, especially a reaper, and even cultivates land in Hissár, while in Karnál he makes saltpetre.* In appearance and physique Aherís resemble Baurias, but they have no dialect of their own, and are not, as a body, addicted to crime.

Of their numerous *gots* the following are found in the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha :—

Bhata.	Gahchand.	Panwál.
Cháhuṛwál.	Ghaman.	Rathor.
Cháran.	Gogal.	Ságaria.
Chanḍália.	Goṭálá.	Sailingia.
Dekhta.	Hájípúria.	Samelwál.
Dahinwál.	Jhindia.	Sandlas.
Dahmiwál.	Junbal.	Sárṣut.
Dharoria.	Mahta.	Sendhi.
Dhárúheṛia.	Mewál.	

The Aherís are almost all Hindús, but in the Phulkián States a few are Sikhs. Besides the other village deities they worship the goddess Masání and specially affect Bábájí of Kohmand in Jodhpur and Khetrpál. In marriage four *gots* are avoided, and widow re-marriage is permitted. All their rites resemble those of the Dhánaks,† and Chamarwá Brahmans officiate at their weddings and like occasions. The Náiks, who form a superior class among the Herís, resemble them in all respects, having the same *gots* and following the same pursuits, but the two groups do not intermarry or even take water from each other's hands. On the other hand the Aherí is said to be dubbed Thorí as a term of contempt, and possibly the two tribes are really the same.

For accounts of the Aherís in the United Provinces, see Elliot's *Glossary*.

Ahír. The name Ahír is doubtless derived from the Sanskrit *abhíra*, a milkman, but various other folk etymologies are current.‡

The Ahírs' own tradition as to their origin is, that a Brahman once took a Vaisya girl to wife and her offspring were pronounced *amat-sangyá* or outcast; that again a daughter of the *amat-sangyás* married a Brahman, and that her offspring were called *abhírs* (*i.e.*, Gopás or herdsmen), a word corrupted into Ahír.

They are chiefly found in the south of Dehli, Gurgáon, and Rohtak and the Phulkián States bordering upon these districts, and in this

* Aherís also work in reeds and grass, especially at making winnowing-baskets and stools of reed.

† The Aherís *claim* that they will not take water from a Dhának, as the Chuhras do. Yet they rank no higher than the latter, since they eat dead animals, although they will not remove filth.

‡ One of these is *ahi-ár*, "snake-killer," due to the fact that Srí Krishna had once killed a snake. But according to the *Mad-Bhagwat*, Askand 10, Addhiyae 17, Srí Krishna did not kill the snake, but brought it out of the Jumna.

limited tract they form a considerable proportion of the whole population.

The first historical mention of the Abhíras occurs in the confused statements of the *Vishnu Purána* concerning them and the Sakas, Yavanas, Báhlikás and other outlandish dynasties which succeeded the Andhras in the 3rd century A. D.

In the 4th century the Abhíras, Árjunáyanas and Málavas are described as republican tribes settled in eastern Rájputána and Málwa.*

They are divided into three *khánps* or sub-castes :—

(1) the *Nandbansí,* who call themselves the offspring of Nandá, the foster-father of Srí Krishna.†

(2) the *Jádúbansí,* who claim to be descendants of the Yádú, a nomadic race.

(3) the *Guálbansí,* who say that they are descended from the Guálá or 'herdsman' dynasty and the Gopís, who danced with the god Krishna in the woods of Bindraban and Gokal.

The Jádúbansi Ahírs are mostly found in the Ahírwatí‡ and Hariána, while the Nandbansís and Guálbansís are found in Mathura and Bindraban.

All three sub-castes are endogamous and avoid four *gots* in marriage.

The *gots* of the Jádúbansís are :—

1.	Abhiryá.	21.	Jharudhyá.	39.	Lanbá.
2.	Bachhwalyá.	22.	Kakrályá.	40.	Lodiyá.
3.	Bálwán.	23.	Kakudhya.	41.	Mahlá.
4.	Bhankaryá.	24.	Kalalyá.	42.	Mandhár.
5.	Bhogwaryá.	25.	Kalgán.	43.	Mitha.
6.	Bhunkalán.	26.	Káṇkas.	44.	Mohal.
7.	Bhúsaryá.	27.	Karera.	45.	Nagarya.
8.	Bhuslá.	28.	Khálod.	46.	Narbán.
9.	Chatasya.	29.	Kharotya.	47.	Notiwál.
10.	Chura.	30.	Kharpaṛá.	48.	Pacharya.
11.	Dábar.	31.	Khátodhyá from Khatode in Patiála.	49.	Sáṇp.
12.	Dahiyá.			50.	Sonáryá.
13.	Datarli.	32.	Khiswá.	51.	Sultányá.
14.	Dholiwál.	33.	Kholá.	52.	Thokarán.
15.	Dhundalá.	34.	Khoṛryá.	53.	Tohániá.
16.	Dumdolyá.	35.	Khosá.	54.	Tundak.
17.	Harbalá.	36.	Khurmya.	55.	Solangia, originally Solankí Rájpúts.
18.	Jádam.	37.	Kinwál.		
19.	Jáṇjaryá.	38.	Kosalyá from Koslí in Rohtak.		
20.	Jaṛwal.				

* V. A. Smith, *Ancient History of India*, pp. 240 and 250.

† Sri Krishna, through fear of Rájá Kans, was changed for Nand's daughter and so brought up by him. Nand was an Ahír; Krishna, a Kshatrya. Jádú was the son of Jagat, from whom Krishna was descended, and the Jádúbansí also claim descent from him.

‡ Another account says that the Ahírwatí is held by the Jádúbansí and Nandbansí, who smoke together, whereas the Guálbansí will not smoke *with them* (in spite of the latters' inferiority).

It is not easy to define the boundaries of Ahírwatí. It includes Rewárí and the country to the west of it; Ráth or Bighauta lying to the south-west of that town and apparently overlapping it since Nárnaul appears to lie in the Ráth as well as in the Ahírwatí.

56. Bhanotra, originally Natháwat Rájputs, from Amla Bhanera in Jaipur: their ancestor committed murder and fled, finding a refuge with the Ahírs: and

57. Dáyar, originally Tuńwar Rájputs till 995 Sambat: the legend is that Anangpál had given his daughter in marriage to Kálú Rájá of Dháránagar, but her husband gave her vessels for her separate use, and she complained to her father. Anangpál would have attacked his son-in-law but his nobles dissuaded him, and so he treacherously invited Kálú to his second daughter's wedding. Kálú came with his four brothers, Parmar, Níl, Bhawan and Jagpál, but they learnt of the plot and fled to the Ahírs, from whom Kálú took a bride and thus founded the Dáyar *got.*

Some of the Nandbansí *gots* are:—

1. Bachhwál.	4. Khatbán.
2. Harbanwál.	5. Pacharyá.
3. Kaholí.	6. Rábar.

7. Saṇwaryá.

The Ahírs again give their name to the Ahírwatí dialect, which is spoken in the tract round Nárnaul, Kanaudh and Rewárí. It differs little, if at all, from the ordinary Hindí of the south-east Punjab; * for a full account of it and its local varieties the reader must be referred to the *Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. IX, pp. 49—51 and 233—241.

The Ahírs are all Hindus, but in spite of their traditional connection with Srí Krishna,† they affect Shivají, Deví and Thákarjí. They also worship Bandeo, whose shrine is at Raipur in the Báwal nizámat of Nábha and who is said to be a black snake: hence no Ahír will kill a black snake. In Saháranpur their marriage deities are Brahn and Bar *deotas,* but no traces of these cults are noted in the Punjab.‡

Ahír women dress differently to those of the Jáṭ tribes, wearing red and yellow striped gowns, with a shawl of red muslin. But in Jínd they are said to wear a gown (*lenghá*) of blue cloth.

The Ahírs were probably by origin a pastoral caste, but in the Punjab they are now almost exclusively agricultural, and stand in quite the first rank as husbandmen, being as good as the Kamboh and somewhat superior to the Jáṭ. They are of the same social standing as the Jáṭ and Gújar, who will eat and smoke with them; but they have not been, at any rate within recent times, the dominant race in any considerable tract. Perhaps their nearest approach to such a position was in the State of Rámpur near Rewárí, whose last chief, Ráo Tula Rám, mutinied in 1857 and lost his state. His family still holds a *jágír* and its members are addressed as Ráo, a title which is indeed grateful to every Ahír.

They are industrious, patient, and orderly; and though they are ill spoken of in the proverbs of the country side, yet that is probably only because the Jáṭ is jealous of them as being even better cultivators than himself. Thus they say in Rohtak: "Koslí (the head

* C. R. 1891, p. 263.

† Still, according to Mr. Maclagan, Krishna is their patron, C. R. 1891, p. 120. Moreover, they adopt Brahman or Bairágí *gurús*, receiving from them a *kanthí* (necklace) and the Krishna-mantra in return for a *bhet* or *pújá* of Rs. 2 or 3.

‡ N. I. N. Q. IV § 460.

village of the Ahírs) has fifty brick houses and several thousand swaggerers." So in Delhi: "Rather be kicked by a Rájput or stumble uphill, than hope anything from a jackal, spear grass, or an Ahír"; and again: "All castes are God's creatures, but three castes are ruthless, when they get a chance they have no shame: the whore, the Bánya, and the Ahír." The phrase *Ahir be-pír* refers to their supposed faithlessness. But these stigmas are, now-a-days at least, wholly undeserved.

Their birth, death and marriage ceremonies are like those of the Málís, Gújars and Jáṭs. *Karewa* is permissible, but in Jínd, it is said, a widow may not marry her husband's elder brother and this is also the case in Gurgáon, where some of the higher Ahír families disallow widow re-marriage *in toto** and hold aloof from other Ahírs. Like the Rájputs the Ahírs recognise concubinage, and a father has a right to the guardianship of a concubine's son (*suretwál*), but he does not inherit. The Ahírs who disallow widow re-marriage also follow the rule of *chúndavand.*†

They eat *kachchí* and *pakkí* with all Brahmans and Vaisyas, but the latter do not eat *kachchí* from them. They will eat *kachchí* with Rájputs, Jáṭs, Hindu Gújars, Roṛs, Sunárs and Tarkháns, while the latter eat also with the former. They do not eat flesh.‡

In and around Delhi city the Ahír is also known as Ghosi and claims descent from Nandji, adopted father of Krishna (Kanhyáji). Anciently called Gwálás the Ahírs were called Ghosi after their conversion to Islám§, but any cowman or milkseller is also called *ghosí.* The principal Ahír or Ghosi *gots* are :—

Mukhia|| which ranks highest of all the *gots.*

Charia (graziers).

Ghuṛ-chaṛhá (cavalry men) and Kásab.

The Hindu Ghosi customs resemble those of the Hindu Rájputs. A Gauṛ Brahman officiates at the *phera* rite in marriage. The Ghosi have a system of *panches* and hereditary *chaudhrís.* If one of the latter's line fail, his widow may adopt a son to succeed him, or, failing such adoption, the *panch* elects a fit person.

A very full description of the Ahírs will be found in Elliott's *Races of the North-West Provinces*, and also in Sherring, I, 332 ff.

AHLÁWAT, a Jáṭ tribe, said to be descended from a Chauhán Rájpút who came from Sámbhar in Jaipur some 30 generations ago. From him sprang the Ahláwat, Olián, Birma, Máre, and Jún Jáṭs who do not intermarry. The tribe is found in Rohtak, Delhi, and Karnál. Its members worship a common ancestor called Sadu Deb.

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* P. C. L. II., p. 132.

† *Ibid.* p. 137.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 138.

§ The meaning appears to be that any Muhammadan who became a cowman by trade was called Ghosi, and that this name then became applied to any Ahír or Gwála, so that we now find the Hindu Ahír as well as his Muhammadan competitor commonly called Ghosi.

|| *Mukhia,* 'spokesman,' is also a title given to a leading member of the caste, but it does not appear to be equivalent to *chaudhri.*

AHL-I-HADÍS, or "People of the Tradition," formerly styled Wahábís from the name of their founder. The Ahl-i-Hadís are Musalmán purists. "They accept the six books of traditions as collected by the Sunnís, but reject the subsequent glosses of the fathers and the voice of the church, and claim liberty of conscience and the right of private interpretation. They insist strongly upon the unity of God, which doctrine they say has been endangered by the reverence paid by the ordinary Musalmán to Muhammad, to the Imáms and to saints; and forbid the offering of prayer to any prophet, priest or saint, even as a mediator with the Almighty. They condemn the sepulchral honours paid to holy men, and illumination of, visits to, and prostration before, their shrines, and even go so far as to destroy the domes erected over their remains. They call the rest of the Muhammadans "Mushrik," or those who associate another with God, and strenuously proclaim that Muhammad was a mere mortal man. They disallow the smoking of tobacco as unlawful, and discountenance the use of rosaries or beads. Apparently they insist much upon the approaching appearance of the last Imám Mahdí preparatory to the dissolution of the world. Politically their most important and obnoxious opinion is that they are bound to wage war against all infidels. The orthodox deny them the title of Musalmáns."

A full history of the "Ahl-i-Hadís" is beyond the scope of this article. Its founder, Abdul-Wahháb, was born in Nejd in 1691 A. D., and his successors reduced the whole of Nejd and then overran the Hijáz. In 1809 their piracies compelled the Government of Bombay to capture their stronghold on the coast of Kirmán, and in 1811-18 the Sultan of Turkey beheaded their chief and reduced them to political insignificance. Their doctrines were introduced into India by Sayyid Ahmad Shah of Rai Bareli, originally a free-booter who, after a visit to Arabia, proceeded to the North-West Frontier, and there, in 1826, proclaimed a *jihád* or religious war against the Sikhs. His extraordinary ascendency over the tribes of the Pesháwar Border and his four years' struggle, not wholly unsuccessful, with the Durránis on the one hand and on the other with the Sikhs, and his ultimate defeat and death are described in James' *Settlement Report of Pesháwar* (pp. 43-44) and more fully in Bellew's *History of Yúsufzai* (pp. 83—102). Patna is the head-quarters of the sect in India, but it has also colonies at Polosi on the Indus and at Sittána and Malka in Yúsufzai beyond Buner.

[For a general history of 'The Wahábis in India' see three articles in *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, by E. J. O'Kinealy].

AHL-I-HUNÚD, (*i*) Indians: lit. 'people of the Indians' (Hunúd, pl. of Hindí, Catafago's Arabic Dicty. *s. v.* Hunúd); (*ii*) Hindus, as opposed to Muhammadans.

AHLÚWÁLIA, one of the Sikh *misls* founded by Jassa Singh of Ahlú, a village in Lahore, and now represented by the ruling family of Kapúrthalá.

AHMADÁNÍ, one of the unorganised Baloch tribes found in the lowlands of Dera Ghází Khán.

AHMADZAI, one of the two main divisions of the Darwesh Khel Wazírs.

AHMADZAI, AMAZAI, one of the two principal clans of the Ushtarána Patháns.

AHÚJA (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multán. (2) Also a section of the Ḍahra Aroṛas.

AHÚLÁNA, one of the two great *dharras* or factions of the Jáṭs found in Rohtak, etc. See Dahiya.

AIBAK, a small sept found at Wahind Sarmána near Kahror in Multán District which, despite its Turkish name, claims to belong to the Joiya tribe.

AINOKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

AIPANTHÍ, a follower of the *Aipanth*, one of the Jogi orders. It is found in Hissár and Mast Náth, founder of the Bohar monastery in the Rohtak District, originally belonged to it.

AIṬLE, a sept or clan of Kanets found in the Kaljúṇ *pargana* (Paṭiálá State territory), Simla Hills.

AJARÍ, ajjarí, aryálí, ayálí, ajárí *fr. ajjar*, herd, a goat-herd—in Káwalpindi, Jhelum, etc. In Jhelum, it is the name of a sept of turbulent Awáns found in the village of Bhuchhal Kalán.

AJUDHIA-PANTHÍ, (*i*) a Hindu Vaishnava sect, so called because Rám Chandar lived in Ajudhia (Oudh); (*ii*) a Vaishnava. The latter is probably the only correct meaning.

AKA KHEL, one of the eight principal clans of the Afrídís.

AKÁLÍ. The sect of the *Akális* differs essentially from all the other Sikh orders in being a militant organization, corresponding to the Nágás or Gosains among the Hindus. Their foundation is ascribed to Gurú Govind* himself, and they steadfastly opposed Banda's attempted innovations. The term † is sometimes said to be derived from *akáli-purusha* 'worshipper of the Eternal.' But *akál* means 'deathless,' *i.e.*, 'God,' and Akálí is simply 'God's worshipper.' The Akális wear blue chequered dresses,‡ and bangles or bracelets of steel round their wrists, and quoits of steel in their lofty conical blue turbans, together with miniature daggers, knives, and an iron chain.§

In their military capacity the Akális were called Nihang, || or reckless, and played a considerable part in the Sikh history, forming the Shahíds

* Govind Singh, the tenth and last Gurú of the Sikhs, 1675—1708.

† Murray's *Hist. of the Panjab*, i., p. 130; Cunningham's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 117.

‡ Malcolm points out that Krishna's elder brother, Bal Rám, wore blue clothes, whence he is called Nilámbari, or 'clad in dark blue,' and Sitivas, or 'the blue clad' (*Asiatick Researches* xi, p. 221).

§ Strict Akális do not wear the *jatá* or top-knot, but some do. Those who do not only use '*dur* and *lota*' water and also smoke, which the *jatá* wearers may not do. Others, again, wear a yellow turban beneath the blue one, so as to show a yellow band across the forehead. The story goes that a Khatrí of Delhi (Nand Lál, author of the *Zindagináma*) desired to see the Gurú in yellow, and Govind Singh gratified his wish. Many Sikhs wear the yellow turban at the Basant Panchmí. A couplet erroneously ascribed to Bhai Gurdás says:

Siáh, sufed, jo pahne,
Surkh, zardáe, soi Gurbhái.

'They who wear dark blue (the Akális), white (the Nirmalás), red (the Udásís), or yellow are all brothers in the Gurú.'

|| Ibbetson, § 522. Cunningham (p. 379) says *nihang*-'naked' or 'pure' and it has that meaning literally (*cf.* Platts *s. v.*), but in Sikh parlance the word undoubtedly means 'free from care,' 'careless,' and so 'reckless.' In Hinduism it bears its original meaning.

or first of the four *dehras*. At the siege of Multan in 1818 a few Akálí fanatics* carried the faussebraye by surprise, and precipitated the fall of that fortress. The career of Phúlá Singh illustrates both their defects and their qualities. This great Akálí first came into notice as the leader of the attack on Metcalfe's escort at Amritsar in 1809. He was then employed by Ranjít Singh, who stood in considerable awe of him, as a leader in the Indus valley, where he was guilty of atrocious cruelty towards the Muhammadan population, and in Kashmír. Finally, Phúlá Singh and his Akális contributed to, or rather virtually won for Ranjít Singh, the great Sikh victory over the Yúsafzais at Terí in 1823. In this battle Phúlá Singh met with a heroic death, and his tomb at Naushahra is now an object of pilgrimage to Hindus and Muhammadans alike.

Under Phúlá Singh's earlier leadership, and perhaps before his rise, the Akális had become a terror to friends and foes alike, and they were dreaded by the Sikh chiefs, from whom they often levied contributions by force.† Ranjít Singh, after 1823, did much to reduce their power, and the order lost its importance.

The Akálí headquarters were the Akál Búnga ‡ at Amritsar, where they assumed the direction of religious ceremonies and the duty of convoking the Gurumatá; indeed, they laid claim to exercise a general leadership of the Khálsá. Since Ranjít Singh's time Anandpur has been their real headquarters, but their influence has to a large extent passed away, and some of them have degenerated into mere buffoons.

As an order the Akális are celibate. They have, says Trumpp, no regular chief or disciple, yet one hears of their Gurus, whose leavings are eaten by their disciples (*sewak* or *chela*). They do not eat meat or drink spirits, as other Sikhs do, but consume inordinate quantities of *bhang*.

Literature.—The general histories of the Sikhs, see art. 'Sikh'; J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, London, 1903, pp. 153, 198—201; A. Barth, *Religions of India*.

Akazai, (*i*) one of the principal branches of the Utmánzai Paṭháns, (*ii*) a Black Mountain tribe, a section of the Isázai clan of the Yúsufzai Paṭháns, whose modern history is described in the *Hazára Gazetteer*, 1907, pp. 164—182.

Akere, an agricultural clan, found in Sháhpur.

Akezaí, a Pathán clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery.

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* They were headed by one Jassa Singh, called Málá ('rosary') Singh, from his piety. 'He denied himself the use of bhang, the only intoxicating drug in use among the Akális. See Carmichael Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 188. Prinsep, *On the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 111, and Phoola Singh, the Akálí, in Carmichael Smyth, *op. cit.*, pp. 185—192.

† Contemporary writers had a low opinion of their character, *e. g.*, Osborne describes their insolence and violence (*Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, pp. 143—146, 181).

‡ One of the *takhts* or thrones, of the Sikhs, M'Gregor, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, i. 238, says that on visiting the temple (sic) of the Akális at Amritsar, the stranger presents a few rupees and in return receives some sugar, while a small mirror is held before his face so as to reflect his image. This practice, if it ever existed, is now obsolete.

AKHUND KHEL, the section of the Painda Khel sept of the Malízai Yúsufzai Paṭháns to which the Khán of Dír belongs. It occupies the lower part of the Kashkar (Dír) valley, in which lies the village of Dír. It owes its name to the fact that it was founded by Mulla Iliás or Akhúnd Bábá who acquired a saintly reputation. [This Ákhúnd Bábá is not to be confused with the Ákhúnd of Swát, who was born in 1784 of Gújar parents in Buner or Upper Swát and as Abd-ul-Ghafúr began life as a herd boy, but acquired the titles of Ákhúnd and Buzurg (saint) by his sanctity. He married a woman of the Nikbí Khel.]

AKHÚNDZÁDA, OR PIRZÁDA, a descendant of a saint of merely local or tribal reputation (as opposed to a Mián) among the Paṭháns of Swát and Dír. The descendants of Mullá Mushkí Álam rank as Ákhúndzádás because he held that rank, otherwise they would only be Sáhibzádas (*q. v.*).

AKKUKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery. *Cf.* Akúk.

AKO KHEL, sept of the Razzar clan of the Razzar Paṭháns, found in Pesháwar.

AKORA, the branch of the Khattaks descended from Malik Akor, who founded Akora on the Kábul river in the Pesháwar District in the time of Akbar. The Akora or eastern faction of the Khattaks is opposed to the western or Teri party.

AKRÁ, a tribe (agricultural) found in Jhelum [Gr., p. 126].

AKOZAI YÚSAFZAI, the tribe of Yúsafzai Paṭháns which now holds Upper and Lower Swát. Their septs hold this territory as follows, working upwards along the left bank of the Swát river: the Ránízai and Khán Khel hold Lower Swát: while the Kuz-Sulízai (or lower Sulízai) comprising the Ala Khel, Músá Khel and Babúzai; and the Bar-Sulízai, comprising the Matorizai, Azzi and Jinkí Khels hold Upper Swát: Baizai is a generic term for all these septs except the Ránízai. Working downwards on the right bank of the Swát are the Shamízai, Sebujní, Nikbi Khel and Shamozai in Upper, and the Adinzai, Abazai and Khadakzai, all, except the two last-named, known collectively as Khwázozai, in Lower Swát. The Akozai also hold most of Dír, the Painda Khel holding the left bank and the Sultán Khel the right below Chutiatanr, while lower down the Sultán Khel holds both banks; and below them again lie the Nasrudín Khel and the Ausa Khel.

AKÚKE, a great sept of the Joiyas found in Montgomery and Multán, and also in Baháwalpur State, in large numbers.

ALḌANG, a sept of Kanets found in the village of Labrang in Kanáwar (in the Bashahr State).

ALIÁNÍ, one of the four clans of the Lagharí tribe of the Baloch. The chief of the Lagharís belongs to it.

ALÍ KHÁNÁNA, a clan of the Siáls: Chenab Colony Gazetteer, p. 54.

ALI KHEL, an affiliated *hamsáya* or client clan of the Orakzai Paṭháns.

ALI SHER KHEL, one of the four main clans of the Shinwarí Paṭháns, whose eastern sections are the Khuja or Khwája, Shekhmal, Asha, Pirwal and Pisat. Other sections are the Aotar or Watar and the Pakhel.

Alizai, Allezaí, (1) one of the five great clans of the Orakzai Paṭháns. The name is now practically obsolete and the clansmen are known by the names of their septs, *e. g.*, Sturi, And and Tazi. The two last-named are Shias, (2) a distinguished family in Multán (see Gazetteer 1902, p. 163).

Allazai, one of the principal branches of the Utmánzai Paṭháns. Of the three Utmánzai branches (Akazai, Allazai and Kanazai)the Allazai are most numerous in Hazára and comprise three clans, Khushhál-kháni, Saíd-kháni and Tarkheli. The leading families are by clan Saíd-kháni, the most important being that of Khalábat, of which Mírzamán Khán, Sir James Abbott's bravest and most loyal follower, was a member.

Alpah, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery and Multán.

Allahdadi, a Baloch clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery.

Alpiál, a tribe of Muhammadan Rájputs found in Ráwalpindi where they hold the southern corner of the Fatah Jang *tahsíl.* Their marriage ceremonies still bear traces of their Hindu origin, and they seem to have wandered through the Khusháb and Talagang country before settling in their present abodes. They are "a bold lawless set of men of fine physique and much given to violent crime."

Alúajia, a synonym for Kalál (*q. v.*).

Álúwálá, Álúwália, Álúwárí (see Ahlúwáliá).

Alwer, a Kharral clan (agricultural), found in Montgomery.

'Alwî, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multán. (2)—or Alvi, a branch of the Khokhars which claimed descent from the Khalífa Ali and is found in Baháwalpur, Multán, Muzaffargarh and Ludhiána.

Amazai, a section of the Utmánzai Yúsufzai Paṭháns, lying north of the Utmánzais. Their territory marches with the trans-Indus territory of the Tanawali Khán of Amb.

Amláwat, a tribe of Jáṭs claiming descent from Amla, a Rájput: found in Jínd.

Amritsaria, a Sikh, especially one who worships at the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Anandí, a title found among Sanniásís.

Andar, a Paṭhán sept, which occupies most of the district south of Ghazni in Afghánistán and is associated with the Músá Khel Kákar who are descended from an Andar woman. Probably Ghilzais.

Andár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural), found in Multán.

Andwál, a sept of the Dhúnd tribe, found in Hazára.

Angar, Angra, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Ansárí (pl. of *nisár*, a helper),* lit. auxiliaries, was the title given to the believers of Madina who welcomed Muhammad after his flight from

* Ansárí appears to be really an adjectival form from *ansár*, pl. of *násir*.

Mecca,* and those who claim descent from these men style themselves Ansárí. One of the most interesting Ansárí families in the Punjab is that of the Ansárí Shaikhs of Jullundur. It claims descent from Khalíd 'Ansár' (Abú Ayúb), who received Muhammad in his house at Madina, through Shaikhs Yúsuf and Siráj-ud-dín (Shaikh Darwesh). From the latter was descended the Pir Roshan, founder of the Roshanias. These Ansárís are said by Raverty to be of Tájik extraction. They intermarry with the Barkis or Barikkis of Jullundur who are Pațháns.

Ansárí, a Jáț clan (agricultural), found in Multán.

Anúja, a Jáț clan (agricultural), found in Multán.

Anwal, a Jáț clan (agricultural), found in Multán.

Aor-máṛ, a tribe of Afgháns: see Urmur.

Ápá-panthí, possibly a follower of Padmakar Bhát of Banda, a courtier of the Mahratta chief, the Ápá Sáhib, and a worshipper of the Ganges. The sect is mainly found in Rohtak and Hissár.

'Arab, a Jáț clan (agricultural), found in Multán. [It is very doubtful if the Arabs of the Census returns are true Arabs, though there may be a few Arab merchants, etc., found occasionally at such centres as Peshâwar and Multán. It is possible that a certain number of Qureshis, Shaikhs and others return themselves as Arabs.]

Arain, Rain (the latter form prevails in the Jumna valley), is a term which has at least two distinct meanings: in the Sutlej valley and throughout the eastern plains the Arains form a true caste, but in all the rest of the two Provinces the term is applied to any market-gardener and is synonymous with Bághbán, Málí, Maliár, and even Jáț in the South-West Punjab. We are now concerned with the Arains as a caste.

Almost to a man Muhammadans and strongly inclined to orthodoxy,† the Arains claim to be immigrants from Uch and have some affinities with the Kambohs. On the other hand some of the Arain and Hindu Saini clan names are identical, and those not always merely names of other and dominant tribes. From Uch they migrated to Sirsa and thence into the Punjab.

In Sirsa the Sutlej Arains meet those of the Ghaggar. The two do not intermarry, but the Arains of the Ghaggar valley say they were Rájputs living on the Panjnad near Multán who were ejected some four centuries ago by Saiyad Jalál-ul-dín of Uch. They claim some sort of connection with Jaisalmer. Till the great famines of 1759 and 1783 A.D. they are said to have held all the lower valleys of the Choya and Ghaggar, but after the latter date the Bhațțis harassed the Sumrás, the country became disturbed, and many of the Arains emigrated across the Ganges and settled near Bareli and Rámpur. They marry only with the Ghaggar and Bareli Arains. The Sutlej Arains

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* See Muir's *Life of Muhammad*, p. 188-89 (abridged edition). The *muhájarín* were the refugees who accompanied Muhammad, but the two names are sometimes confused. For further details see Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, III. *The Saints of Jálandhar* and D. G. Barkley, in P. N. Q., II.

† So much so that in Ambála the Shaikhs, though really often identical with the Rains, arrogate to themselves a much higher place in the social scale.

in Sirsa say that they are, like the Arains of Lahore and Montgomery, connected by origin with the Hindu Kambohs. Mr. Wilson thinks it probable that both classes are really Kambohs who have become Musalmáns, and that the Ghaggar Arains emigrated in a body from Multán, while the others moved gradually up the Sutlej into their present place. He describes the Arains of the Ghaggar as the most advanced and civilised tribe in the Sirsa district, even surpassing the Sikh Jáṭs from Paṭiála; and he considers them at least equal in social status with the Jáṭs, over whom they themselves claim superiority. The Arains of Ferozepore, Ludhiána, Ambála and Hissár also trace their origin from Uch* or its neighbourhood, though the Hissár Arains are said to be merely Muhammadan Málís.

On the whole it would appear probable that the Arains originally came from the lower Indus and spread up the five rivers of the Punjab; and that at an early stage in their history a section of them moved up the Ghaggar, perhaps then a permanent river flowing into the Indus, and there gained for themselves a position of some importance. As the Ghaggar dried up and the neighbouring country became more arid, they moved on into the Jumna districts and cis-Sutlej tract generally, and perhaps spread along the foot of the hills across the line of movement of their brethren who where moving up the valleys of the larger rivers. Their alleged connection with the Málís is probably based only upon common occupation; but there does seem some reason to think that they may perhaps be akin to the Kambohs, though the difference must be more than one of religion only, as many of the Kambohs are Musalmán.

In Ambála the Rains are divided into two territorial groups, Multání and Sirsawálá. The former regard themselves as Shaikhs and will not intermarry with the latter.

The sections of the Rains in Jullundur, in which District they form more than 19 per cent. of the population, and in Kapúrthalá are :—

Adán, Sháhpur.
Arkí, Siálkot.
Baggá, Gujrát.
Baghbán, Baháwalpur.
Barár.
Bet or Bhat.
Bhaddú, claiming to be Hindu Rájputs from the Deccan.
Bhohar.
Bhambhani, Dera Ghází Khán.
Bhatti, Dera Ghází Khán and Baháwalpur.
Bhutta, Baháwalpur.
Bot.†
Brahmin.
Burjí.
Cháchar.
Chábe, Siálkot.
Chandoṛ, Siálkot and Máler Kotla.
Chaniál, Siálkot.
Chandpál, Máler Kotla.
Chhanni.
Chaughatta, Sháhpur and Baháwalpur.
Dabrí.
Dhanjún, Baháwalpur.
Dhenga, Máler Kotla.
Dhíngá,‡ Siálkot.

* Possibly the persistence of the Uch tradition points rather to religious influence than to the place of origin.

† The Bot or Bút claim descent from Malúk (tutor of Jahángir!), who received a grant of land when Nurmahal was founded.

‡ The Dhíngá claim to be descendants of Fattu, son of Mitha, a Dháriwál Ját of Dhola Kángar. Fattu was converted to Islám in Akbar's reign.

Dhot, Baháwalpur.
Dolo.
Gailana, claiming Hindu-Rájput origin.
Gaṛhi, Gaḍhí
Gándar.
Ghabar, Baháwalpur.
Gher, Siálkot.
Ghilú, Siálkot.
Gilan, Máler Kotla.
Gilin, Darbáh.
Hadwani, in Dera Ghází Khán.
Hási.
Indrái.
Janála.
Ja(n)júa,* Gujrát.
Jhanjhúna, in Sháhpur.
Jindran, Baháwalpur.
Jiya, Baháwalpur.†
Jutála, Siálkot.
Kamboh, Baháwalpur.
Khatura, (Katuri in Baháwalpur).
Khohara, Gujrát.
Khokhar, Gujrát, Sháhpur and Baháwalpur.
Kír, Siálkot.
Mahmania, Siálkot.
Maqsúdpuria.
Mandú.
Metla, in Dera Ghází Khán.
Mirok, Baháwalpur.
Nadhi, Baháwalpur.
Nain, Máler Kotla.
Nani (Gujrát).
Padú.
Parji.
Paṭhán, also a Kamboh section, Baháwalpur.
Quraishí.
Ráhlá.
Rai or Rámí.
Ranbí.
Sonkal, in Dera Ghází Khán.
Sahja, Baháwalpur.
Saki.
Salota.
Sapál, in Siálkot.
Sindhi, Baháwalpur.
Sindhú.
Sohad.
Soháná.
Tárar, in Gujrát.
Thinda, Baháwalpur.
Tind.
Thanow, in Siálkot.
Thekri, Baháwalpur.
Wáhand in Gujrát and Ráwalpindi.

In Gujrát the Wáhand, Khokhar, Baggá and Nain do not intermarry with the Kamboh and Khohara sections—whom they regard as inferior.

The nucleus of this caste was probably a body of Hindu Saini or Kamboh cultivators who were converted to Islám at an early period. Thus in Jullundur the Arains say they came from Sirsa, Rania and Dehli and claim descent from Rai Jaj (grandson of Lau, founder of Lahore), who ruled Sirsa: that they were converted in the 12th century and migrated to the Jullundur Doáb about 300 years ago. But the Bhuttas claim descent from Rájá Bhúta, fifth in descent from Rájá Karn and say they were forcibly converted even earlier—by Mahmúd of Ghazni—and driven from Uch :—

Uchh na díte Bhútián chatá Basantí nár,
Dána, páni, chukgyá, chaban motí hár.

'The Bhútas neither surrendered Uch, nor the lady Basantí,
Food and water failed, and they had to eat pearls.'

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* Janjúa claims to be descended from a Hindu Rájput of Pindi Bhattián. Mihr Mardana, one of its ancestors, is said to have laid out the Shálimár Garden near Lahore.
† Said to be really Kambohs, not Arains.

The Araius, apart from their orthodoxy, differ little in their customs and dress from the Muhammadans generally. In Multán they prefer the blue *majhlá* or waistcloth to the white and those of one village (Jalla in Lodhrán tahsíl) are in consequence known as the *nílí paltan* or 'blue regiment.'

ARAṚ, ARṚ, a tribe of Muhammadans of Jáṭ status found in Dipálpur tahsil, Montgomery District, where they are settled along the Lahore border on the upper course of the Khánwáh canal. They claim Mughal descent, yet say they came from Arabia, and are fairly good cultivators. Their ancestor came from Delhi, where he was in service 500 years ago, and settled in their present seat. By contracting marriages with Jáṭs they have sunk to Jáṭ status. In the Minchinábád *nizámat* of Baháwalpur they are to be found intermarrying with, or giving daughters to, the Wattús. Also found in Sháhpur, and classed as agricultural in both districts.

ARBI, a Muhammadan clan, said to be of Arabian origin, which was, in Mughal times, given several villages round Multán, but it has now to a large extent lost its hold of them. It is classed as Jáṭ (agricultural) both in Multán and Montgomery and is also found in the Ahmadpur East tahsil of Baháwalpur.

ARK, a tribe of Muhammadan Jáṭs, found in Jínd, whose members are said to still revere their *jathera* Sain Dás' shrine, and to give their *dhiánis* Re. 1 at weddings in his name.

AṚKE, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural), found in Amritsar.

AROṚÁ, or Roṛá as it is often pronounced, is the leading caste *par excellence* of the Jaṭki-speaking, or south-western part of the Punjab, *i.e.*, of the lower reaches of the five rivers and, below their junction, of the Panjnad, extending through Baháwalpur into Sind. Higher up the courses of the five rivers the Aroṛá shares that position with the Khattrí. The caste is wider spread and far more numerous than the Bhátia, but fully half the Aroṛás of the Punjab dwell in the Multán division and the Deraját; though the caste is found, like the Khattrí, throughout Afghánístán and even Turkestán. Like the Khattrí again, but unlike the Bániá, the Aroṛá is no mere trader, but will turn his hand to anything. He is an admirable cultivator, and a large proportion of the Aroṛás on the lower Chenab are purely agricultural, while in the Western Punjab he will sew clothes, weave matting and baskets, make vessels of brass and copper, and do goldsmith's work. Despite his inferior physique, he is active and enterprising, industrious and thrifty. "When an Aroṛá girds up his loins (says a Jhang proverb), he makes it only two miles to Lahore."*

In Baháwalpur the Aroṛás are very numerous and have the whole of its trade in their hands, dealing in every commodity, and even selling shoes and vegetables. Some are contractors, bankers or money-lenders, and in the latter capacity they have now acquired a considerable amount of land by mortgage or purchase from Muhammadan owners,

* A variant of this proverb current in Gujránwála is *Lak badha Aroṛián, te munna koh Lahor*—'if the Aroṛas gird up their loins, they make it only three-fourths of a *kos* to Lahore.'

though 40 or 50 years ago they did not own an acre of cultivated land. In the service of the State more Arorás than Muhammadans are employed, though the latter are nearly six times as numerous as the former. As several land-owning families have been ruined in their dealings with Arorás such sayings* as *Kirár howí yár, dushman dhár na dhár,* "he who has a Kirár for a friend, needs not an enemy," are current in the State.†

By religion the great majority of the Arorás are Hindus, but a good many are Sikhs.

As a body the Arorás claim to be Khattrís and say that like them they were dispersed by Paras Rám. Folk etymology indeed avers that when so persecuted they denied their caste and described it as *aur* or 'other,' whence 'Arorá'; but another tradition, current in Gujrát, says they were driven by Paras Rám towards Multán near which they founded Arorkoṭ. Cursed by a *faqír* the town became desolate and the Arorás fled by its three gates, on the North, South and West, whence the three main groups into which they are now divided. But certain sections claim a different origin. The ruins of Arorkoṭ are said to be near Rohrí in Sindh.‡

The Arorá caste is organised in a very similar way to the Khattrís. Its primary divisions are the genealogical sections, as in all Hindu castes, but it has three or four territorial groups:—

1. Uttarádhí, Northern.
2. Dakhaná or Dakhanadhain, Southern. } Sometimes classed as
3. Ḍahrá, Western. } one group.
4. Sindhí, of Sindh.

Numbers 2 and 3 intermarry in some parts, but not in others. In Jhang they do not, but in Fázilká they are said to have begun to do so. The probability is that the Dakhaná still take wives from the Ḍahrá group, as they used to do.§

The Uttarádhí sub-caste appears to be absolutely endogamous east of the Indus, except in Bahâwalpur where it takes wives from the other three groups: in Hazára where it occasionally takes them from

* Kirár, a term applied by Muhammadans to any Hindu shop-keeper or trader, is by no means equivalent to Arorá, see *s. v.* Kirár.

† The justice of the above quotation from the draft *Gazetteer* of the Baháwalpur State is disputed, and it is pointed out that the earlier Daudpotra rulers of Baháwalpur employed Aroras in positions of trust, and even appointed them to semi-military office as Bakhshis or paymasters. At present the Aroras are losing ground, especially in the higher grades of the State service.

‡ A correspondent, referring to the *Arorbans Aoli,* an Urdu pamphlet published by the Khatri Samachar Press, Lahore, adds some interesting details. The pamphlet appears to be based in a History of the Arorbans in Nágri and the *Bhu Sutr* (Origin of the World) *Purán.* In the latter is given a dialogue between Parasu Ráma and Art, a Khatri, in which the latter stoutly refuses to oppose the Brahmans and wins Parasu Ráma's respect, being advised by him to settle in Sindh. The pamphlet also ascribes a sectarian origin to the Arora groups, and declares that in 195 Vikrami social dissensions arose at Arorkot among the Aroras, so their *purohit* Gosain Sidh Bhoj convened a meeting at which the upholders of the old customs sat to the north, the reformers to the south and the moderates or neutrals to the west. Accordingly the North of Arorkot was assigned to the conservatives and the South to both the other parties, a fact which explains why the Dakhanás and Dahras are sometimes regarded as one and the same.

§ Punjab Census Report, 1883, § 544.

the Ḍahrás or Dakhanás on payment but not by exchange; and in Ferozepore where it takes from the Ḍahrás.*

The Uttarádhí alone seem, as a rule, to have the Bárí-Bunjáhí divisions. The Bári group consists of 12 sections, thus—

Sub-group (i).

1. Ghumai.
2. Narule.
3. Monge.
4. Bazáz.
5. Shikri.

Sub-group (ii).

6. Manchande.
7. Pasriche.

Sub-group (iii).

8. Kantor.
9. Mának Tahle.
10. Gurúwáre.
11. Wadhwe.
12. Sethí.

And of these numbers 1-7 intermarry, but will only take wives from numbers 8-12, and there is a further tendency on the part of numbers 1-5 to discontinue giving daughters to numbers 6 and 7. In the south-east of the Punjab the Bárí and Bunjáhí groups exist both among the Northern and Southern Aroṛás.†

A list of the Aroṛá *gots* or sections will be found in Appendix I to this Volume.

There are a few sections, *e.g.*, Sachdeo, Lund, Bazáz and others, which are found in more than one of the territorial groups. The Sethí section may possibly be the same as the Seth or Sethí Section of the Khattrís. The Rassewaṭ or ropemakers are clearly by origin an occupational section like the Bazáz or clothiers.

The names ending in *já* are beyond all question patronymics. Others such as Budhrájá or Bodhráji suggest a religious origin.

The Gosain Mule-santie claim to be descendants of a Gauṛ Brahman who came to the Jhang District and assumed the name of the Gurúwáṛá section, but became a devotee or *gosain* who made converts.

Other sections have various traditions as to their origins: Thus the Nárangs say they were originally Raghbansís who denied their race when Paras Rám destroyed the Khattrís, with the words *ná rag*, 'No Raghbansí.' Nárag became Narang. The Chíkur, a sub-section of the Sachdeos are so called because on a marriage in that section sweetmeats were as plentiful as mud (*chíkur*). Narúlá is derived from *nirálá*, 'unique,' because once a snake got into the churn when a woman was making butter, so the men of this section never churn, though its women may.

The Gogias or Gogas have a saying:

Khat khúh, bhar páni, Tán tani parsing Gogiání.'

i.e., they say to a would-be son-in-law:

'Dig a well and fill it with water, Then marry a Gogiání.

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* Trans-Indus Captain O'Brien notes a solitary case of a girl of the Jam section (Uttarádhí) being given to a Kumbhar (Dakhané).

† Sirsa Settlement Report, 1884, p. 114.

As in other castes some sections of the Aroṛás are credited with inherited curative powers. Thus the Dalewánís of Jámpur can cure hydrophobia by spitting on a little earth and applying it to the bite. This power was conferred on their forbears by the blessing of their *pir*, the saint of Daira Dín Panáh. The Duás* have an inherited power of curing a sprain in the back or loins by touching the part affected. The pain called *chuk* may also be cured by this section which uses the following charm:—'*Duá síth báṛí, phúlón bháṛí darí, bhanné chíl* (waist) *karéndá sárí.*' The charm is read over a cloth and this is then applied thrice to the part, a push being finally given to it to expel the pain. The power was conferred on Séṭh Harí, the ancestor of the section, by *faqírs*. It is also said to be essential that the patient should go straight home without looking back. The power is exercised gratis.

A man of the Chugh *got* can cure *chuk* or pain in the loins† by pushing the sufferer from behind. If a Chugh is not on hand, it is sufficient to go to his house and rub one's back against the wall. Chugh may be derived from *chuk*, because the tribe has this power, but perhaps the idea is simply that a Chugh has power over *chuk*. It can also be cured by a family of Dhingṛá Aroṛás of Rájanpur who apply a part of their clothing to the part affected and push the patient thrice, or if none of them are present their house-wall is as efficacious as a Chugh.

Several Aroṛá sections are named after animals such as:—

Babbar (? 1) in Montgomery.
Chutáni,‡ bat.
Gábá, calf.
Ghírá, dove, Montgomery and Multán.
Giddaṛ, jackal.
Ghoṛá, horse, Dera Ismaíl Khán.
Hańs, goose, Montgomery.
Kúkaṛ,§ Kukkaṛ, cock, Montgomery, Multán and Hissár.
Kukṛeja, cockerell, Dera Ismaíl Khán.
Lúmar, fox, Montgomery.
Machhar, mosquito, Gujrát.
Makkar, locust, Gujrát.
Mendá (?) ram or Mindhá, long-haired, Montgomery.
Nangiál, snake, Dera Ismaíl Khán.
Nág-pál, Nang-pál.||
Nangṛú.
(?) Siprá, a serpent.

Other sections are named from plants, etc., and are perhaps more likely to be totemistic. Such are:—

Chávalá, rice.
Gerá, said to avoid the use of ochre, *gerú*, (in Dera Ismaíl Khán).
Gheia, *fr. ghi*, clarified butter.
Jandwání, named after the *jand* tree in Dera Ismaíl Khán.
Kastúriá, said to avoid the use of musk, *kaṣtúrí*, (Dera Ismaíl Khán).

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* In Hissar this section of the Aroṛás may not wear blue *lénghá* (trousers).

† A child born feet foremost can cure pain in the loins by kicking the part affected.

‡ Chutáni, bat: a child was once attacked by bats, which, however, left him uninjured. The section worships bats' nests (*charuchitti*) at marriages.

§ The Kúkar will not eat fowls, but most Hindus have a prejudice against them as food and in this very caste the Mehndiratta have for the last 12 or 14 years refused to eat them too.

|| Nangpál does not appear to mean 'snake,' but protector or raiser of snakes.

Kaṭhpál, wood or timber (Montgomery).
Katária,* dagger (Multán).
Khani-jau, barley-eater.
Loṭá, a vessel.†
Mának-táhliá: said, in Hissár, to reverence the *táhli* or *shisham* tree.
Mehndíratṭá,‡ henna: (Montgomery and Multán).
Mungí, a kind of tree (Hissár).
Pabrejá, a kind of plant (Multán)
Ribání,§ basil.
Sáwí-búṭí, green-herb.
Selání(?), *pípal* tree, Dera Ismaíl Khán.
Taneja,|| a kind of grass, *tíran* (Multán and Montgomery).

Tareja, *tarri*, 'a gourd': their ancestor once had to conceal himself among gourds, and they do not eat gourds.

Veh-khani, Víú-khání poison-eater: *fr. veh* or *víú*, 'poison', in the Sindhi dialect as spoken in Baháwalpur. Possibly arsenic is meant.

With regard to the sections mentioned as existing in Dera Ismaíl Khán, it is distinctly said that each shows reverence to the animal or plant after which it is named, thinking it sacred. The animal is fed, and the plant not cut or injured. The Cháwalás, however, do not abstain from using rice, or show it any respect.

The women of the Uttarádhí group wear red ivory bracelets (and affect red petticoats with a red border, in Ferozepore), whence this group is styled Lálchuriwálá.

The Dakhaná women wear white ivory bracelets (and also affect red petticoats, the lower part 'laced' with *black*¶).

By *gotra* the Aroṛás, in Gujrát at least, are said to be Kushal, but their real *gotra* appears to be Kásib, ? Kishab or Keshav.

At weddings the Uttarádhis in Ferozepore are said to have a distinctive custom in the *do rate phere, i.e.*, the boy's party must reach the bride's house on the afternoon of the 5th if the date fixed be the 6th or night of the 7th and the *milni* must be on the 5th-6th. Dakhnás and Dahrás must on the other hand arrive before or on the afternoon of the 6th and if the *lagan* be fixed for an early hour on the 6th the bridegroom and a Brahman go in advance for that ceremony, the wedding-party following so as to arrive in the afternoon.

Widow marriage** is in theory reprobated, but in practice tolerated among the Aroṛás, and in the south-west of the Punjab it is often

* This section has a legend that a dagger fell from a wall amongst a number of children who were playing beneath it, but did not hurt them. Hence the section became known as Katária, and worships the dagger, putting flowers before it at marriages.

† Declare they milked a cow into a *lotá* and presented it to their *gurú*.

‡ The Mehndíratṭá in Multán abstain from the use of henna, but so do other Hindus.

§ Because one of its members once received a *faqír* cordially, and the *faqír* blessed him saying he should prosper like basil (*riháni*).

|| In Multán the Tanejás abstain from eating *tarli* (gourd): or at least their women do, in Montgomery. The Tanejás of Jhang say they are Khattrís and that their ancestor instead of employing his own *purohit* called in some other Brahman and seated him on a kind of grass called *tiran*, whence came the name Taneja.

¶ Dahrá women are said to have red petticoats with a *green* border. These refined distinctions may possibly be observed in Ferozepore, but they are not general. It is also said that in some places Dahrá women alone wear white, and Dakhanás spotted bracelets of both colours.

** In Muzaffargarh widow re-marriage is not approved, and a couple who marry in defiance of the prejudice against it are called *kachchrá, i. e.*, mulish or wicked.

solemnized by the couple going out and circumambulating burning reeds. The Brahmans recognise widow marriage and assist at it, in fact if it is solemnised without a Brahman, people refrain from eating or drinking with the couple for a short time.

The customary law of the Aroṛás differs both from Hindu Law and the ordinary Punjab Custom. In its main features it resembles that of the Hindus generally in the south-west Punjab, and one of its distinctive features is the *sawái,* an extra quarter share which goes to the eldest son. Many Aroṛá sections allow sons by the wife of another caste provided she was married as a virgin, not as a widow, one-third of their father's property, two-thirds going to the sons by the other (Aroṛá) wife. The position of daughters and sisters is more favourable than it usually is among Hindus under the Punjab Custom.*

Arwal, a Jáṭ tribe, found in the Sangarh tahsíl of Dera Gházi Khán District. Like the Manjothas and Sánghis it follows the Baloch customs in all matters connected with marriage, etc., thus differing from nearly all the other Jáṭ tribes of that tahsil. Also found in Multán, where it is classed as agricultural.

Aryá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Arya Samáj.—By far the most important modern Hindu sect in the Punjab, the Arya Samáj was founded about 1847 by Pandit Dayánand Saraswati, a Brahman of Kathiáwár. Born in 1824, Dayánand had an equal aversion to idolatry and marriage, and after profound researches in Sanskritic lore he founded a *samáj* or union at Lahore soon after 1847—and subsequently in the rest of the Punjab. The latter part of his life was spent in travels in the United Provinces and Rájputána. His attacks on existing Hinduism roused great antagonism. He insisted on a special interpretation of the Vedas and left behind him several works such as the *Vede Bháshya,* or translation of the Vedas, the *Satyárth Prakásh* in which the Arya religion is contrasted with others, and the Bhumká, an introduction to the study of the Vedas.

"The Arya or 'Vedic' religion", writes Mr. Maclagan," is primarily the outcome of the solvent action of natural science on modern Hinduism. The members of the Arya Samáj find the fantastical representations of the world and of man which are put forward in the eighteen Puránas to be inconsistent with natural science, and so reject their authority, looking on them as the outcome of the ignorance and craft of comparatively recent generations of Brahmans. The original and only authoritative scriptures in the eyes of the Arya Samáj are the four Vedas, and its professed aim is to restore the paramount authority of the Vedas by purging away subsequent accretions. Scriptures more recent than the Vedas and anterior to the Puránas (such as the Brahmanas, the six philosophic Darshanas, the ten Upanishads, etc.), are regarded as explanatory of the Vedas and authoritative only where they are not contradictory thereto. The Vedas themselves constitute the only infallible revelation.—'The Vedas', wrote Dayánand, 'are revealed by God. I regard them as self-evident truth, admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being

* *Punjab Customary Law,* XVIII, pp. vii, ix, xvii, *cf.* also Introd., p. 8.

represented in nature, the kingdom of God.' The bases of the Aryan faith are the revelation of God in the Vedas and in Nature, and the first practical element in this belief is the interpretation of the Vedas in conformity with the proved results of natural science.

In the interpretation of the Vedas the Arya Samáj finds itself at issue with the Sanskritists of Europe, whose translations represent the Vedas as the religious literature of a primitive people and, like the literature of other primitive peoples, quite regardless of, and inconsistent with, scientific accuracy. The Aryas contend that such a view arises from a mistaken literal translation of their scriptures, and that the earlier, and consequently more trustworthy, commentators having always refused to construe the Vedas in their literal sense, it is a mistaken view to suppose that they were originally composed with any meaning other than a metaphorical or derived one. Following these principles, the Samáj not only defends the Vedic *rishis* from all imputations of pantheism and polytheism, but finds in their writings numerous indications of an accurate acquaintance with the facts of science. It holds that cremation, vegetarianism, and abstinence from spirituous liquors are inculcated by the Vedas, and inculcated to a large extent on purely scientific grounds. It holds that the great religious rite of Vedic times, the *agnihotra* or *homa* sacrifice, is instituted with a view to rendering air and water wholesome and subservient to health, and because 'it plays a prominent part in putting a stop to the prevalence of epidemics and the scarcity of rainfall.' It is convinced that the latest discoveries of science, such as those of electricity and evolution, were perfectly well known to the seers who were inspired to write the Vedas.

While conceding this much to modern natural science, the Aryas refuse to see in it anything tending to materialism or atheism. Retaining their confidence in the Vedas, they have avoided the radical materialism of some of the earlier opponents of popular Hinduism. The Arya philosophy is orthodox, and based mainly on the Upanishads. The tenets of Dayánand, though leaning rather to the Shankya doctrine, do not fit in precisely with any one of the six orthodox systems; but these systems are all regarded by the Aryas as true and as different aspects of the same principles. The three entities of Dayánand's philosophy are God, the Soul and *prakriti* or Matter. Soul he regarded as physically distinct from God, but related to Him as the contained to the container, the contemplated to the contemplator, the son to the father. Soul enters into all animals and there are indications of soul in the vegetable kingdom also. In most of its details the Aryan system retains the terminology of the traditional philosophy of Hinduism. It maintains above all things the law of metempsychosis and places the aim of virtue in escape from the law; but this *moksh* or beatitude is for an era (*kalp*) only, after the termination of which the soul resumes its wanderings. The localization of the Hindu paradises, Parlok and Swárg, is rejected: heaven and hell lie in the pleasures and sorrows of the soul, whether these be in this life or in the life to come.

As a consequence of this doctrine it holds the futility of rites on behalf of the dead, and by this cuts at the root of that great Hindu institution, the *sráddh*. Like other Hindus the Aryas burn the dead,

but for alleged sanitary reasons they employ spices for the burning. At first they took the *phúl* to the Ganges, but now they cast it into the nearest stream : they do not call in the Achâraj, and they omit all the ceremonies of the *kiryakarm.* At marriage they go round the sacred fire and walk the seven steps like the Hindus, but omit the worship of Ganesh. They generally employ Brahmans at weddings, but in several known instances these have been dispensed with. The Samáj finds an efficacy in prayer (*prárthana*) and worship (*upásná*) ; but it greatly limits the number of ceremonies to which it accedes any meritorious powers. It discourages entirely the practice of bathing in sacred streams, pilgrimages, the use of beads, and sandal-wood marks, gifts to worthless mendicants, and all the thousand rites of popular Hinduism. Only those rites (*sanskáras*) are to be observed which find authority in the Vedas, and these are 16 in number only. Idolatry and all its attendant ceremonies have, according to the Aryas, no basis in the Vedas and no place in true religion. Rám, Krishna and other objects of popular adoration are treated euhemeristically as pious or powerful princes of the olden time; and in their salutation to each other the Aryas substitute the word 'Namaste' for the 'Rám Rám' of the vulgar.

Social and political aims of the Samáj.—The Aryas are careful to defend their religion from a charge of novelty : they regard it as a revival of an old and forgotten faith, the decay of which was due mainly to the Brahmans. The Arya theory of to-day is that the real Brahman is one who is a Brahman in the heart ; that the Vedas are not confined to one class ; and that all castes are equal before God. It is careful, however, to accept the existence of the four castes of ancient Hinduism : it retains the sacred thread for the three superior castes, and by implication debars the Sudras from some of the privileges of the twice-born. In practice no Arya will marry with another caste or eat with men of another caste. The sect being almost entirely composed of educated men and being based on theories unfitted to the understanding of the lower castes, the right of Chúhras and the like to join its ranks has not, I understand, been put to the test. But the Samáj is said to have been successful in receiving back into Hinduism persons converted to Christianity or Muhammadanism and in reinstating such persons in caste. The Aryas do not regard the cow as a sacred animal, but follow Hindu prejudice in considering the slaughter of a cow more heinous than that of other animals : and in the anti-cow-killing movement the Samáj was to some extent identified with the movement, though less so in the Punjab than in the United Provinces. In other respects the social programme of the Samáj is liberal and anti-popular in the extreme. It sets its face against child-marriage and it encourages the remarriage of widows. It busies itself with female education, with orphanages and schools, dispensaries and public libraries, and philanthropic institutions of all sorts.

* * * * * * * *

The Arya doctrines have been formulated in a series of ten somewhat wide propositions, and any person professing belief in the fundamental principles of the Samáj is eligible for membership, and may, after probation, be admitted as a full member and obtain a vote in the affairs of the society. Weekly meetings are held—generally on Sundays, so as to admit of the presence of Government servants and

pleaders—with prayers, lectures on the Vedas and other subjects, hymns sung on the Sáma Veda system, and other miscellaneous proceedings. At an annual meeting, a report is read and an Executive Committee with office-bearers appointed. Each local Samáj is independent of the others: but a considerable number of the local Samájes have voluntarily submitted to the Paropakáriní Sabha or Provincial Committee, which in a general way supervises the local centres and arranges for the due provision of Upadeshaks or missionaries. The Arya Samáj, though paying extreme reverence to the memory of Swámi Dayánand, refuses to look on him or any one else as an infallible Guru; and in the absence of any central control exercised by an individual, the organization above described has been very instrumental in keeping the society together and preventing so far any serious schism in its ranks. A still more marked influence is undoubtedly exercised by the Dayánand Anglo-Vedic College, which was founded in Lahore some time ago and has been conducted entirely on Aryan lines. The College, while preparing students in the ordinary subjects with considerable success for the university examinations, pays special attention to instruction in Sanskrit and Hindi, and imparts a certain amount of religious training by the institutions of morning and evening prayer in the boarding houses, and by the reading of extracts from the *Satyárth Prakásh.*"

The above quotations show how inadequately the Arya Samáj is described as a sect. Since they were penned, in 1891, the Samáj has been divided on the question of the lawfulness or otherwise of animal foods and two parties have been formed, one the vegetarian or Mahátma, the other the flesh-eating or 'cultured.' The former is, however, by no means narrow in its views, for it favours female education. The latter holds possession of the Dayánand College and is thence also called the Anarkalli or College party as opposed to the vegetarian or City party.

Ásandári, syn. *matdári*, a degree or order of the Gosains. The term is applied to those settled in *mats*, as opposed to *abdhút*.

Asar, Asrá, Jáṭ clans (agricultural) found in Multán.

Asiál, a clan of the Manj Rájputs.

Asrá, see Asar.

Asram, a title found among Sanniásís.

Astáwar, a title found among Sanniásís.

Athangal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in the south of Multán tahsil, where it settled from Jammu in Mughal times.

Attár, a dispensing druggist. "You get the drugs from the *pansári*, and take them to the *attár* to make up. He also makes *arak* and sherbets. He no longer makes *itr* (otto) which is only made by the *gándi* or perfumer." [*D. C. J. I.*].

Aughán, Aghwán, synonyms for Afghán, (*q. v.*).

Aujla, a tribe of Jáṭs descended from their eponym a Hajúal Rájput and found in Siálkot: also found in Montgomery where they are Muhammadans and classed as agricultural.

AULAKH, Aurak, a Jáṭ tribe, whose head-quarters would appear to be in the Amritsar district, where they own a *bárah* of, originally, 12 villages, but they are found in the northern Málwa, as well as in the Mánjha. They are said to be of Solar descent, and their ancestor Aulakh lived in the Mánjha. But another story makes their ancestor one Raja Lúi Lák, a Lunar Rájput. They are related to the Sekhu and Deo tribes with whom they will not intermarry.

In Amritsar they give the following pedigree :—

Ram Chandar
|
Kasab
|
Dhaul
|
Raghupat
|
Ude Rúp
|
Pura
|
Majang
|
Markhanb
|
Goe
|
Mandal
|
Dhaních
|
Aulakh.

This would make them akin to the Punnun. They are also found as a Jáṭ (agricultural) tribe west of the Rávi as far as Leiah. In Montgomery they are both Hindu and Muhammadan. The Muhammadan Aulakh of Leiah have a curious tale. Complaint was made to Humáyún that Pír Muhammad Rájan drank *bhang*, in defiance of the Quranic prohibition. So the emperor summoned the saint to Delhi and made him walk along a narrow path beset with poisoned swords, while a ferocious elephant pursued him. But as he walked the steel turned to water and one of his disciples killed the elephant with a single blow of his staff. Among the courtiers was Rája Aulakh, a Punwar Rájput, who at once embraced Islám. The saint returned to Rájanpur, and Aulakh followed him, conquered the country from the Balún tribe and gave it to the Pírs, on whom the emperor also conferred it in *jágìr*, though the Aulakh continued to administer it until about 175 years ago, when their power declined.

AURAK, see Aulakh.

AURE, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

AURAKZAI, a branch of the Afrídís in Tíráh. See Orakzai.

AWÁN.—The Awáns are an important tribe, exclusively Muhammadan, chiefly found in the Salt Range, where they possess an Awánkárí,* but also widely spread to the east, south and west of that tract. Extend-

* There is also an Awánkárí in Jullundur : Purser's S. R., § 42. And in Hoshiárpur the Awáns hold a *bára* in the Dasúya *pargana* on the high level plain near Mukerian P. N. Q. I., § 465.

ing along the whole length of the Range from Jhelum to the Indus, they are found in great numbers throughout the whole country beyond it up to the foot of the Sulemáns and the Safed Koh*; though in trans-Indus Bannu they partly, and in Dera Ismail Khán wholly, merge in the Jáṭs, a term which in those parts means little more than a nondescript peasant. In Pesháwar the Awáns are included in the *hamsáya* or *faqír* class. In Kohát towards Khushalgaṛh they resemble the Awáns of the Salt Range, but elsewhere in that District are hardly distinguishable from the Bangash and Niázais among whom they live.

The independent possessions of the Awáns in the Salt Range were once very considerable, and in its western and central portion they are still the dominant race. As a dominant tribe the eastern limits of their position conicide approximately with the western border of the Chakwál and Pind Dádan Khán tahsíls, but they have also spread eastwards along the foot of the hills as far as the Sutlej, and southwards down that river valley into Multán and Jhang. They formerly held all the plain country at the foot of the western Salt Range, but have been gradually driven up into the hills by Paṭháns advancing from the Indus, and Tiwánas from the Jhelum.

The word Awán is not unplausibly derived from Ahwán, 'helper,'† but various explanations of its origin are given. According to one tradition the Awáns, who claim Arab origin, are descendants of Qutb Sháh, himself descended from Ali, and were attached to the Muhammadan armies which invaded India as 'auxiliaries,'‡ whence their name. In Kapúrthalá a more precise version of their legend makes them Alwi Sayyids, who oppressed by the Abbassides, sought refuge in Sindh; and eventually allied themselves with Sabuktagín, who bestowed on them the title of Awán. But in the best available account of the tribe§ the Awáns are indeed said to be of Arabian origin and descendants of Qutb Sháh, but he is said to have ruled Herát and to have joined Mahmúd of Ghazni when he invaded India. With him came six of his many sons: Gauhar Sháh or Gorrara, who settled near Sakesar: Kalán Sháh or Kalgán who settled at Dhankot (Kálábágh): Chauhán who colonised the hills near the Indus|| : Khokhar or Muhammad Sháh who settled on the Chenab: Tori¶ and Jhajh whose descendants are said to be still found in Tiráh and elsewhere.

* Raverty says 'Awán-kárs' held the Karwán *darra* in Kurram, but none appear to be found now in the Kurram Valley : *Notes*, p. 82.

† Another tradition is that when Zuhair went forth to fight with Hasan, he left his wife, then pregnant, with Zain-ul-ábidain in *amán* or 'trust,' whence her son's descendants are called Awán. A curious variant of this appears in Talagang where it is said that Qutb Sháh's descendant having lost all his sons was bidden by a saint to place his next born son in a potter's kiln 'on trust'. He did so, and after the kiln had been burnt the child was taken out alive.

‡ For Awán as equivalent to Auxiliary we may compare euergetai : McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 38

§ By Mr. W. S. Talbot in the *Jhelum Gazetteer*, 1905, pp. 102—104. He disposes of Cunningham's theory that Janjuás and Awáns were within historical times one race : (Arch. Survey Reports, II. 17 ff.) : and of Brandreth's theory that the Awáns, though recent immigrants into the Punjab, are descended from Bactrian Greeks. Mr. Talbot also mentions the Gangs and Munds who are generally reckoned as Awáns, but who are probably only affiliated indigenous clans.

|| One of his descendants was Khattar, founder of the Khattars of Attock.

¶ Possibly Turi is meant, and the Kurram Valley is referred to as their locality.

The originally Hindu character of these names is patent, and not explained away by the tradition that Chauhán and Khokhar took their mother's name.

In Gujrát tradition gives Qutb Sháh three wives, from whom sprang the Khokhars and the four *muhins* or clans of the Awáns. By Barth, his first wife, he had a son named Khokhar: by Sahd, he had Khuraṛa or Guraṛa: and by Fateh Khatun, three sons—Kalgán, Chauhán and Kundan.

These four clans are again divided into numerous septs, often bearing eponymous names, but sometimes the names of Gujar, Jáṭ and other tribal septs appear. Thus in Siálkot* the Awáns are said to be divided into 24 *muhins*. But in Gujrát the Khuraṛa clan comprises 21 sub-divisions, including such names as Jálap and Bhakri: the Kalgán comprise 43 sub-divisions, including Dudiál, Andar, Papín and others: the Chauháns have three septs, Ludain, Bhusin and Ghuṭṭar: and the Kundán Chechi, Mahr, *Malka*, Mayán, Puchal and *Saroia*. Few of these look like Muhammadan patronymics.

NOTE.—The Awáns in Kapúrthalá are said to have the following *gots*:—Kalgán (really a *muhin*), Rai Dúl, Ghalli, Jand, Bágewáli, Jaspál, *Khokhar*, Gobu or Gulistán, Harpál and Khor Joti.

The Awán septs give their names to several places-names, such as Golera in Ráwalpindi, Khioṛa (Khewra) in Jhelum, Bajára in Siálkot, Jand, etc.

As claiming descent from Qutb Sháh the Awáns are often called Qutb-sháhi, and sometimes style themselves Ulami. In Gujrát they only marry *inter se*, refusing to give daughters even to the Chibbs, and not inter-marrying with the Khokhars. In Jhelum too "Awáns give their daughters in marriage to Awáns only as a rule, though there seems to be some instances of marriages with leading men of the Chakwál tribes: it is said, however, that the Kálábágh Mallik refused to betroth his daughter to Sardár Muhammd Ali, chief of the Ráwalpindi Ghebas. In some families at least, prominent Awáns not infrequently take to wife women of low tribes (usually having an Awán wife also), and this practice does not seem to meet with as much disapproval as in most other tribes of equal social standing: but ordinarily Awán wives alone are taken.† Certain families marry with certain other families only: and in all cases marriage is generally but not necessarily within the *múhi*."

* The Customary Law of this District (Volume XIV) p. 3, gives the following list of Awán sub-clans:—

1	Bagwál	9	Harpál	17	Mangar
2	Bájra	10	Jalkhúh	18	Mirza
3	Biddar	11	Jand	19	Pappan
4	Chandhar	12	Jhán	20	Ropar
5	Chháila	13	*Khambre*	21	Salhí
6	*Dhingle*	14	Kharána	22	Sangwál
7	Ghulle	15	Malka	23	Saroya
8	Gorare	16	Mandú	44	Wadhál

Those in italics are returned as Khurara in Gujrát. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 11, 14, 22 and 24 are classed as Kalgán.

† In Ráwalpindi the children of a low-caste woman by an Awán are not considered true Awáns.

This passage is entirely consistent with the popular classification of the Awáns as *zamíndár* or yeomen, in contradistinction to the *sáhú* or gentry (Janjuas and Ghakkars), but on a level with the Mairs and other leading tribes of Chakwál.

The leading family among the Awáns is that of the Malik of Kálábágh, and throughout the Jhelum Salt Range they have numerous *maliks*,* notably Lál Khán of Nurpur in Pind Dádan Khán, head of the Shiál (descendants of Shihán, a great *malik* in the latter part of the eighteenth century).

Like the Kassars, Janjuas and Khokhars, but unlike the Ghakkars, the Awáns have the institution of *sirdári*, whereby the eldest son of a chief gets an extra share. In other respects their customs of inheritance are closely alike those of the other Muhammadan tribes among whom they live. In Sháhpur and Jhelum, however, the Awáns recognize a daughter's right to succeed.

In the Awán villages of Talagang tahsíl all the graves have a vertical slab at either end, while a woman's grave can be at once distinguished by a smaller slab in the centre.†

An Awán girl plaits her hair on the forehead and wears only ear-drops, this style being given up after marriage.‡ Betrothal is effected by the girl's father sending a bard or barber to the boy's home with a few rupees and some sweets: or no ceremony at all is observed.

Ayási, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Ayeshé, (heavenly), the name of the ruling family of Hunzad: for the legend of it: origin see Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 27.*

Ázád, "free", a term applied to the *be-shara* or irregular orders of Islám also called *majzúb*; opposed to *sálik*. Also used as a synonym for Qalandar. Ázáds hold that the *shará* or ritual law is only for the masses, not for those who have attained *marifat* or full comprehension of the Godhead.

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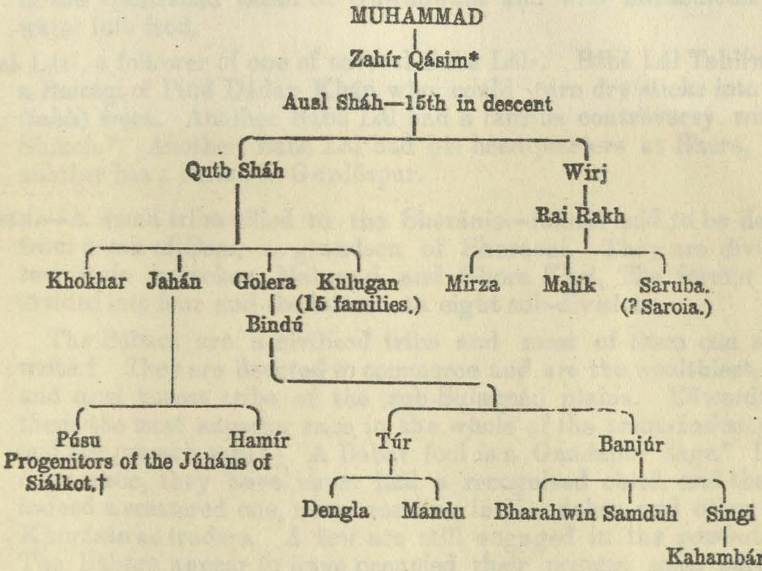
* But Brandreth says the chief is called 'Rai,' and his younger brothers and sons 'Malik.' Settlement Report, § 49, p. 23.

† P. N. Q. I., § 594.

‡ *Ibid.* II, § 352. There is a history of the Awáns in Urdu, published by Dr. Ghulám Nabi of Lahore.

APPENDIX.

M. Amín Chand's *History of Siálkot* gives a curious pedigree of the Awáns which is tabulated below :—



* Another account makes Ausl Sháh descended from Muhammad Khaifa, the Prophet's son, by a woman of Janír.

† See article *Jún.*

In Siálkot the Awáns are known under these 4 branches :—Gohera [there is a tract in the Ráwalpindi District still called Guhera, (or Gohera) after this tribe], Kahambára, Dengla and Mandú.

B

Bab—A Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Multán.

Bábá Lál Daryái, a sect, followers of a *sádhú* whose shrine is on the Chenáb in the Wazírábád tahsíl of Gujránwálá and who miraculously turned water into food.

Bábá Lálí, a follower of one of several Bábá Láls. Bábá Lál Tahlíwálá was a Bairági of Pind Dádan Khán who could turn dry sticks into *shisham* (*tahli*) trees. Another Bábá Lál had a famous controversy with Dárá Shikoh.* Another Bábá Lál had his headquarters at Bhera, and yet another has a shrine in Gurdáspur.

Bábar.—A small tribe allied to the Sheránis—indeed said to be descended from a son of Dom, a grandson of Sheránai. They are divided into two main branches, Mahsand and Ghora Khel. The former are subdivided into four and the latter into eight sub-divisions.

The Bábars are a civilised tribe and most of them can read and write.† They are devoted to commerce and are the wealthiest, quietest and most honest tribe of the sub-Sulaimán plains. Edwardes called them the most superior race in the whole of the trans-Indus districts, and the proverb says: 'A Bábar fool is a Gandapur sage.' Intensely democratic, they have never had a recognised chief, and the tribe is indeed a scattered one, many residing in Kandahar and other parts of Khorásán as traders. A few are still engaged in the *powinda* traffic. The Bábars appear to have occupied their present seats early in the 14th century, driving out the Jáṭs and Baloch (?) population from the plains and then being pushed northward, by the Ushtarani proper. Their centre is Chaudwan and their outlying villages are held by Jáṭ and Baloch tenants, as they cultivate little themselves.

Babbar, a Jáṭ tribe in Dera Ghází Khán—probably immigrants from the east or aboriginal—and in Bahháwalpur, where they give the following genealogy:—

RAJA KARAN.
|
Kamdo.
|
Pargo.
|
Janjuhan.
|
Khakh.
|
Babbar. | *Gabbar.* | *Rabbar.* | *Jhaggar.*

Babla, a section of the Bhátias, to which belong the *chaudhris* of Shujabad. Multán Gr., 1902, p. 166.

Bachhal, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in *pargana* Bhirug, Naráingarh tahsíl, Ambála: descended from a Taoni Rájpút by his Jáṭ wife.

Badah.—A Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* This sect is noticed in Wilson's *sects of the Hindus*.

† A Bábar, the Amín-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khán, was Diwán-i-Kul-Mamlakát to Taimúr Sháh and gave a daughter to Sháh Zamán Abdáli. Four Bábar families are also settled in Multán: *Gazetteer*, 1901-02, p. 161.

Badanah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Baddun, see **Badu**.

Badechh, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming to be Saroa Rájpúts by descent through its eponym and his descendant Kúra Pál whose sons settled in Siálkot under Shah Jahán: also found in Amritsar.

Bader, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Baḍgujar, **Baṛ-**, a class (or possibly rank) found among the Brahmans, Rájputs, Meos and possibly other tribes, as well as often along with Gújars. Thus the Baṛgújar Rájputs about Bhundsi in Gurgáon border on villages held by Gújars, and in one village there Gújars hold most of the village and Baṛgújar Rájputs the rest. Similarly in Básdalla near Púnahána in Gurgáon Meos hold most of the village and Gújars the rest. (Sir J. Wilson, K.C.S.I., in P. N. Q. I., § 130). But according to Ibbetson, the Baṛgújar are one of the 36 royal Rájput families, and the only one except the Gahlot which claims descent from Láwa, son of Rám Chandra. Their connection with the Mandahár is noticed under Mandahár. They are of course of Solar race. Their old capital was Rájor, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the south of Alwar, and they held much of Alwar and the neighbouring parts of Jaipur till dipossessed by the Kachwáha. Their head-quarters are now at Anúpshahr on the Ganges, but there is still a colony of them in Gurgáon on the Alwar border. Curiously enough, the Gurgáon Baṛgújar say that they came from Jullundur about the middle of the 15th century; and it is certain that they are not very old holders of their present capital of Sohna, as the buildings of the Kambohs who held it before them are still to be seen there and are of comparatively recent date.

Badhan or Pakhai, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming Saroa Rájpút origin and descended from an eponym through Kala, a resident of Jammu. Found in Siálkot.

Badhar, a Dogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Badhaur, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Badhi, a sept of Kanets found in Bashahr. They also own *pargana* Ghár in Kuthár.

Badhi, the carpenter who makes ploughs and other rude wood-work among the Gaddis: (fr. *badhná*, to cut with an axe or saw). See Baṛhái.

Bâdi, a gipsy tribe which does not prostitute its women. The word is said to be a corruption of Bází-(gar) *q. v. Cf. Wâdia.*

Badohal, a tribe of Jáṭs who offer food to their *sati*, at her shrine in Jasrán in Nábha, at weddings; also milk on the 9th *sudi* in each month. Found in Jínd.

Badozai, a Paṭhán family, found in Multán the Derajât and Bahâwalpur State.

Badro, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Badu, **Baddun**, a gipsy tribe of Muhammadans, found in the Central Punjab, chiefly in the upper valleys of the Sutlej and Beás. Like the Kehals

they are followers of Imám Sháfí* and by his teaching justify their habit of eating crocodiles, tortoises and frogs. They are considered outcast by other Muhammadans. They work in straw, make pipe-bowls, their women bleed by cupping and they are also said to lead about bears and occasionally travel as pedlars. Apparently divided into three clans, Wahlá, Dhará and Balara. They claim Arab origin. First cousins cannot intermarry. See Kehal.

Badwál, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Baḍye, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bagdar, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bághbán, Bághwán, the Persian equivalent of the Hindi word Máli, meaning a 'gardener,' and commonly used as equivalent to Aráín in the Western Punjab, and even as far east as Lahore and Jullundur. The Bághbáns do not form a caste and the term is merely equivalent to Máli, Maliár, etc.

Baghela, lit. "tiger's whelp," one of the main division of the Káthiás, whose retainers or dependents they probably were originally. Confined to the neighbourhood of Kamália in Montgomery, and classed as Rájput agricultural.

Baghur, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bagiyána, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bagrah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bagrána, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bágṛí,† (1) a term applied to any Hindu Rájput or Jáṭ from the Bágaṛ or prairies of Bíkáner, which lie to the south and west of Hissár, in contradistinction to Deswála. The Bágṛís are most numerous in the south of that District, but are also found in some numbers under the heading of Jáṭ in Siálkot and Patiála. In Gurdáspur the Bágṛi are Salahria who describe themselves as Bágaṛ or Bhágaṛ by clan, and probably have no connection with the Bágṛi of Hissár and its neighbourhood. (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bahádarke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery: also a Joiya sept.

Baháli, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Baháṛ, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bahi, a tribe of Paṭháns which holds a *bára* of 12 villages near Hoshiárpur, (should be verified?).

Báhman, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* It is said that in the time of the Prophet there were four brothers, Imám Azam, Imám Hamíl, Imám Sháfí, and Imám Náik, and Shaikh Dhamár, ancestor of the Badús, was a follower of this Imám Sháfí. Once Shaikh Dhamár killed a tortoise, an act which was reprobated by three of the brothers, but Imám Sháfí, approving his conduct, the Shaikh ate the animal whereupon the three Imáms called him *bad* and hence his descendants are called Badú! Such is the Badú legend, but the four Imáms were *not* brothers nor were they contemporaries of the Prophet, and Hamíl is a corruption of Hampal.

† It is doubtful whether Bágṛi is not applicable to any Hindu from the Bágar, and not merely to Rájputs and Játs. It is, however, specially applied to *Jáṭs* (*q. v.*). In Baháwalpur it is applied to any Hindu or Muhammadan from Jaisalmer or Bíkáner who speaks Bágṛi.

Bahniwál, a Jáṭ tribe, found chiefly in Hissár and Patiála. They are also found on the lower Sutlej in Montgomery, where in 1881 they probably returned themselves as Bhatti Rájputs, which they claim to be by descent. In Hissár they appear to be a Bágṛi tribe, though they claim to be Deswáli, and to have been Chauháns of Sambhar in Rájputána whence they spread into Bíkáner and Sirsa. Mr. Purser says of them:—"In numbers they are weak; but in love of robbery they yield to none of the tribes." They gave much trouble in 1857. In the 15th century the Bahniwál held one of the six cantons into which Bíkáner was then divided.

Bahoke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bahowáná, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bahrúpia.—*Bahrúpia* is in its origin a purely occupational term derived from the Sanskrit *bahu* 'many' and *rúpa* 'form,' and denotes an actor, a mimic, one who assumes many forms or characters, or engages in many occupations. One of the favourite devices of the Bahrúpias is to ask for money, and when it is refused, to ask that it may be given on condition of the Bahrúpia succeeding in deceiving the person who refuses it. Some days later the Bahrúpia will again visit the house in the disguise of a pedlar, a milkman, or what not, sell his goods without being detected, throw off his disguise, and claim the stipulated reward. They may be drawn from any caste, and in Rohtak there are Chúhṛa Bahrúpias. But in some districts a family or colony of Bahrúpias has obtained land and settled down on it, and so become a caste as much as any other. Thus there is a Bahrúpia family in Pánípat which holds a village revenue-free, though it now professes to be Shaikh. In Siálkot and Gujrát Mahtams are commonly known as Bahrúpias. In the latter District the Bahrúpias claim connection with the Rájás of Chittaur and say they accompanied Akbar in an expedition against the Paṭháns. After that they settled down to cultivation* on the banks of the Chenáb. They have four clans—Raṭhaur, Chauhán, Punwár and Sapáwat—which are said not to intermarry. All are Sikhs in this District. Elsewhere they are Hindus or Muhammadans, actors, mountebanks and sometimes cheats. The Bahrúpias of Gurdáspur are said to work in cane and bamboo. The Bahrúpia is distinct from the Bhánd, and the Bahrúpia villages on the Sutlej in Phillaur tahsíl have no connection with the *Mahtons* of Hoshiárpur.† Bahrúpias are often found in wandering gangs.

Báhtí, a term used in the eastern, as Cháng is used in the western, portion of the lower ranges of the Kángra Hills and Hoshiárpur as equivalent to *Ghirth*. All of them intermarry.

Bahti, hill men of fairly good caste, who cultivate and own land largely; and also work as labourers. They are said to be degraded Rájputs. In Hoshiárpur (except Dasúya) and Jullundur they are called Báhtí; in Dasúya and Núrpúr Cháng; in Kángra Ghirth; all intermarry freely. In the census of 1881 all three were classed as Báhtí. The Cháng are also said to be a low caste of labourers in the hills who also ply as muleteers.

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* As cultivators they are thrifty and ambitious. They also make baskets, ropes and rope-nets—*tranggars*, and *chikkas* in Gujrát.

† P. N. Q. I., § 1034.

BAID, a *got* of the Oswál Bhábrás, Muhiál Brahmans and other castes: also a physician, a term applied generaly to all who practise Vedic medicine.

BAIDWÁN,* an important Hindu-Sikh Jáṭ tribe in Ambála.

BAINS, a Jáṭ tribe, whose head-quarters appear to be in Hoshiárpur† and Jullundur, though they have spread westwards even as far as Ráwalpindi, and eastwards into Ambála and the adjoining Native States. They say that they are by origin Janjúa Rájputs, and that their ancestor Bains came eastwards in the time of Firoz Sháh. Bains is one of the 36 royal families of Rájputs, but Tod believes that it is merely a sub-division of the Súryabansi section. They give their name to Baiswára, or the easternmost portion of the Ganges-Jamna *doáb*. The Sardárs of Aláwalpur in Jullundur are Bains, whose ancestor came from Hoshiárpur to Jalla near Sirhind in Nábha some twelve generations ago.

THE BAIRÁGÍ.

BAIRÁGÍ.—The Bairágí (Vairágí, more correctly, from Sanskr. *vairágya*, 'devoid of passion,') is a devotee of Vishnu. The Bairágis probably represent a very old element in Indian religion, for those of the sect who wear a leopard-skin doubtless do so as personating Nar Singh, the leopard incarnation of Vishnu, just as the Bhagautí *faqír* imitates the dress,‡ dance, etc., of Krishna. The priest who personates the god whom he worships is found in 'almost every rude religion: while in later cults the old rite survives at least in the religious use of animal masks,'§ a practice still to be found in Tibet. There is, moreover, an undoubted pun on the word *bhág*, 'leopard', and Bairágí, and this possibly accounts for the wearing of the leopard skin. The feminine form of Bairágí, *bairágan*, is the term applied to the *tau*-shaped crutch on which a devotee leans, either sitting or standing, to the small enblematic crutch about a foot long, and to the crutch hilt of a sword or dagger. In Jínd the Bairági is said to be also called Shámí.

The orders devoted to the cults of Rám and Krishn are known generically as Bairágís, and their history commences with Rámánúja, who taught in Southern India in the 11-12th centuries, and from his name the designation Rámánúji may be derived.|| But it is not until the time of Rámánand, *i.e.*, until the end of the 14th century, that the sect rose to power or importance in Northern India.

The Bairágís are divided into four main orders (*sampardas*), *viz.*, Rámánandí, Vishnuswámí, Nímánandí and Mádhavachárí.

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* Fancifully derived from *baid*, a physician—who rescued a bride of the clan from robbers and was rewarded by their adopting his name.

† The Bains hold a *bárah* or group of 12 (actually 15 or 16) villages near Mahilpur in this District.

‡ Trumpp's Adi-Granth, p. 98.

§ Robertson Smith: Religion of the Semites, p. 437.

|| See Ibbetson, § 521: where the Rámánújis are said to worship Mahádeo and thus appear to be Shaivas. Further the Bairágís are there said to have been founded by Srí Anand, the 12th disciple of Rámánand. The termination *nandi* appears to be connected with his name.

It is only to the followers of Rámánand or his contemporaries that the term Bairágí is properly applied.

Of these the first-named contains six of the 52 *dwárás** (schools) of these Bairági orders, *viz.*, the Anbhímandi, Dundárám, Agarjí, Telájí, Kubbájí, and Ramsalují.

In the Punjab only two of the four *sampardás* are usually found. These are (*i*) the Rámánandís, who like the Vishnuswámís are devotees of Rámchandr, and accordingly celebrate his birthday, the Rámnaumi,† study the Rámáyaná and make pilgrimages to Ajudhiá: their insignia being the *tar pundri* or trident, marked on the forehead in white, with the central prong in red or white.

The only other group found in the Punjab is (*ii*) the Nímánandí, who, like the Mádhavachárís, are devotees of Krishna. They too celebrate the 8th of Bhádon as the date of Krishna's incarnation, but they study the Sri Madh Bhagwat and the Gíta, and regard Bindraban, Mathra and Dwárkánáth as sacred places. On their foreheads they wear a two-pronged fork,‡ all in white.

In the Punjab proper, however, even the distinction between Ráma and Nímá-nandí is of no importance, and probably hardly known. In parts of the country the Bairágís form a veritable caste being allowed to marry, and (*e.g.*) in Sirsa they are hardly to be distinguished from ordinary peasants, while in Karnál many (excluding the *sádhús* or monks of the monasteries, *asthal*, whose property descends to their spiritual children§) marry and their *bindu* or natural children succeed them.|| This latter class is mainly recruited from the Jáṭs, but the caste is also recruited from the three twice-born castes, the disciple being received into his *guru's* *sampardá* and *dwára.*¶ In some tracts, *e. g*, in Jínd, the Bairágís are mostly secular. They avoid in marriage their own *samparda* and their mother's *dwàra.* In theory any Bairágí may take food from any other Bairágí, but in practice a Brahman Bairágí will only eat from the hands of another Brahman, and it is only at the *ghostí* or place of religious assembly that recruits of all castes can eat together. The restrictions regarding food and drink are however lax throughout the order. Though the Bairágís, as a rule, abstain from flesh and spirits, the secular members of the caste certainly do not. In the southern Punjab the Bairágí is often addicted to *bhang*

To return to the Bairágís as an order, it would appear that as a body they keep the *jata* or long hair, wear coarse loin-cloths and usually affect the suffix Dás. As opposed to the Saniásís, or Lál-pádrís, they style themselves Sítá-pádrís, as worshippers of Sítá Rám.

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*It may be conjectured that the Valabhachárís, Bigánandís, and Nímí-Kharak-swámís are three of these *dwárás*: or the latter term may be equivalent to Nímánandí. Possibly the Sítá-pádrís are really a modern *dwára*. The Rádha-balabhí, who affect Krishna's wife Rádha, can hardly be anything but a *dwára*.

† The 9th of Bhádon.

‡ Its shape is said to be derived from the figure of the Nar Singh (man-líon) incarnation which tore Prahlád to pieces.

§ Called *nadí*, is contradistinction to *bindu* children. Celibate Bairágís are called Nágas, the secular *ghar-bárí* or *ghiristí*, *i.e.*, house-holders.

|| It is not clear how property descends, *e.g.*, it is said that if a *gurú* marry his property descends on his death to his disciples, in Jind (just as it does in Karnál). But apparently property inherited from the natural family devolves on the natural children, while that inherited from the *gurú* descends to the *chela*. In the Kaithal tahsíl of Karnál the agricultural Bairágís who own the village of Dig are purely secular.

¶ But men of any caste may become Bairágís and the order appears, as a rule, to be recruited from the lower castes.

As regards his tenets a Bairágí is sometimes said to be subject to five rules:—(*i*) he must journey to Dwárká and there be branded with iron on the right arm:* (*ii*) he must mark his forehead, as already described, with the *gopi chandan* clay: (*iii*) he must invoke one of the incarnations of Krishna: (*iv*) he must wear a rosary of *tulsi*: and (*v*) he should know and repeat some *mantra* relating to one of Vishnu's incarnations. Probably these tenets vary in details, though not in principle, for each *samparda*, and possibly for each *dwára* also.

The monastic communities of the Bairágís are powerful and exceedingly well conducted, often very wealthy, and exercise much hospitality. They are numerous in Hoshiárpur. Some of their *mahants* are well educated and even learned men, and a few possess a knowledge of Sanskrit.

Bairágí developments.

The intense vitality of the Bairági teachings may be gauged from the number of sub-sects to which they have given birth. Among these may be noted the Harí-Dásís (in Rohtak), the Kesho-panthís† (in Multán), the Tulsí-Dásís, Gujránwálá, the Murár-panthís‡, the Bábá-Lálís.

The connection of the earliest form of Sikhism with the Bairági doctrines is obscure, but it is clear that it was a close one. Kalladhárí, the ancestor of the Bedí family of Una, was also the predecessor of the Brahman Kalladhárí *mahants* of Dharmsál in the Una tahsíl, who are Bairágís, as well as followers of Nának, whence they are called Vaishav-Nának-panthí. This community was founded by one Nakodar Dás who in his youth was absorbed in the deity while lying in the shade of a banyan tree instead of tending his cattle, and at last, after a prolonged period of adoration, disappeared into the unknown. Another Bairági, Rám Thamman, was a cousin of Nának and is sometimes claimed as his follower. His tank near Lahore is the scene of a fair, held at the Baisákhí, and formerly notorious for disturbances and, it is said, immoralities. It is still a great meeting point for Bairágí ascetics. Further it will not be forgotten that Banda, the successor of the Sikh *gurús*, was, originally, a Bairágí, while two Bairágí sub-sects (the Sarndásí and Simrandásí§) are sometimes classed as Udásís.

A modern offshoot of the Bairágís are the Charandásís, founded by one Charan Dás who was born at Dehra in Alwar State in 1703.‖ His father was a Dhúsar who died when his son, then named Ranjít Singh, was only 5. Brought up by relations at Delhi the boy became a

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* These brands include the conch shell (*shank*), discus or *chakkar*, club or *gada*, and lotus. Besides the iron brands (*tapt mudra*, lit. fire-marks) water-marks (*sital mudra*, lit. cold-marks) are also used. Further the initiatory rite, though often performed at Dwárká, may be performed anywhere especially in the *guru's* house. Some Bairágís even brand their women's arms before they will eat or drink anything touched by them.

† Probably worshippers of a local saint or of Krishna himself.

‡ Possibly followers of a Bábá Murár whose shrine is in Lahore District, or worshippers of Krishn Murárí, *i.e.*, the enemy of Mur, a demon.

§ Sometimes said to be one and the same. Simran Dás was a Brahman, who lived two centuries ago, and his followers are Gosáíns who wear the *tulsi* necklace and worship their *guru's* bed.

‖ Another account says he became Sukhdeo's disciple at the age of 10 in Sbt. 1708, 1651 A. D. For a full account of the sect see Wilson's quoted in Maclagan's, *Punjab Census Report*, 1891, p. 121.

disciple of Sukhdeo Dás, himself a spiritual descendant of Biásjí, in Muzaffarnagar, and assumed the name of Charan Dás. He taught the unity of God, preached abolition of caste and inculcated purity of life. His three principal disciples, Swámí Rám-rúp, Jagtán Gosáín and a woman named Shahgoleai each founded a monastery in Delhi, in which city there is also a temple dedicated to Charan Dás where the impression of his foot (*charan*) is worshipped.* His initiates are celibate and worship Krishna and his favourite queen Rádha above all gods and goddesses. They wear on the forehead the *joti sarup* or "body of flame," which consists of a single perpendicular line of white;† and dress in saffron clothes with a *tulsi* necklace. The chief scripture of the sect is the Bhagat-ságar, and the 11th day of each fortnight is kept as a fast. Charan Dás is believed to have displayed miracles before Nádir Sháh, on his conquest of Delhi, and however that may be, his disciples obtained grants of land from the Mughal emperors which they still hold.

Bairwál, a tribe of Jáṭs who claim to be descendants of Birkhman, a Chauhán Rájput, whose son married a Jáṭ girl as his second wife and so lost status. The name is eponymous, and they are found in the Báwal Nizámat of Nábha.

Baistola, a Jain sect: see Jain.

Baizai, one of the two clans of the Akozai Yusafzai. It originally held the Lundkhwár valley, in the centre of the northernmost part of Pesháwar, and all the eastern hill country between that and the Swát river. It still holds the hills, but the Khattak now hold all the west of the valley and the Utmán Khel its north-east corner, so that the Baizai only hold a small tract to the south of these last. Their six septs are the Abba and Aziz Khels, the Bábòzai, Matorezai, Musa and Zangi Khels. The last lies south of the Ilam range which divides Swát from Buner. Only the three first-named hold land in British territory.

Bajáṛ, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bajárah, one of the 15 Awán families descended from Kulugan, son of Qutb Sháh: see History of Siálkot, p. 37.

Baju, Bajjú, a Rájpút tribe found in Siálkot and allied to the Bajwá Jáṭs.

Bájwá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Siálkot, Amritsar and Multán, and as a Hindu Jáṭ clan in Montgomery. The Bájwá Jáṭs are of the same kin as the Bajjú Rájpúts.‡ In Siálkot they have the customs of *rusoa* or *lagan* and *bhoja* twixt betrothal and marriage.

The *jathera* of the Bájwá is Bábá Mángá, and he is revered at weddings, at which the rites of *jandian* and *chhatra* are also observed,

The Bájwa Jáṭs and Bajjú Rájpúts have given their name to the Bajwát or country at the foot of the Jammu hills in the Siálkot District. They say that they are Solar Rájputs and that their ancestor Rájá

* Clearly there is some connection here with the Vishnupad or foot-impression of Vishnu.
† It is also called simply *sarup*, or "body" of Bhagwán.
‡ It might be suggested that *wá* is a diminutive form.

Shalíp was driven out of Multán in the time of Sikandar Lodi. His two sons Kals and Lís escaped in the disguise of falconers. Lís went to Jammu and there married a Kátil Rájput bride, while Kals married a Jáṭ girl in Pasrúr. The descendants of both live in the Bajwát, but are said to be distinguished as Bajjú Rájputs and Bájwa Jáṭs. Another story has it that their ancestor Jas or Rai Jaisan was driven from Delhi by Rai Pitora and settled at Karbalá in Siálkot. Yet another tale is that Naru, Rájá of Jammú, gave him 84 villages in *iláqa* Ghol for killing Mír Jagwá, a mighty Paṭhán. The Bajjú Rájputs admit their relationship with the Bájwa Jáṭs. Kals had a son, Dáwa, whose son Dewa had three sons, Muda, Wasr, and Nána surnamed Chachrah. Nána's children having all died, he was told by an astrologer that only those born under a *chachrí* tree would live. His advice was taken and Nána's next son founded the Chachrah sept, chiefly found near Narowál. The Bajjú Rájpúts have the custom of *chúnḍavand* and are said to marry their daughters to Chibh Bhau and Manhás Rájputs, and their sons to Rájpúts. The Bajjú Rájputs are said to have had till quite lately a custom by which a Mussalman girl could be turned into a Hindu for purposes of marriage, by temporarily burying her in an underground chamber and ploughing the earth over her head. In the betrothals of this tribe dates are used, a custom perhaps brought with them from Multán, and they have several other singular customs resembling those of the Sáhi Jáṭs. They are almost confined to Siálkot, though they have spread in small numbers eastwards as far as Patiála.

Bakarkí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bakhar, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bakkhar, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bákhri, a clan found in the Shahr Faríd *iláqa* of Baháwalpur. They claim to be Sumrás by origin, and have Cháran bards, which points to a Rájput origin. They migrated from Bhakhkhar to Multán, where they were converted to Islám by Gaus Bahá-ud-Dín Zakaría, and fearing to return to their Hindu kinsmen settled down in Multán as weavers. Thence they migrated to Núrpur, Pákpattan and other places, and Faríd Khán I settled some of them in Shahr Faríd from Núrpur. They make *lungís*. (The correct form is probably Bhàkhri).

Bakhshiál, a family of Wahora Khatris, settled at Bháun in Jhelum, which has a tradition of military service.

Bakhtiár, a small Paṭhán tribe of Persian origin who are associated with the Mián Khel Paṭháns of Dera Ismail Khán, and now form one of their principal sections.

Raverty however disputes this, and ascribes to the Bakhtiárs a Sayyid origin. Shirán, the eponym of the Shirami Paṭháns, gave a daughter to a Sayyid Isháq whose son by her was named Habíb the Abú-Sa'íd, or 'Fortunate' (Bakhtyár). This son was adopted by his step-father Miánai, son of Dom, a son of Shiráz. The Bakhtiárs have produced several saints, among them the Makhdúm-i-'Alam, Khwája Yahyá-i-Kabír, son of Khwája Iliás, son of Sayyid Muhammad, and a contemporary of Sultán Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh. He died in

1333 A. D., and his descendants are called Shaikhzais. Raverty says the Persian Bakhtiáris* are quite distinct from the Bakhtiárs.

BAKHTMAL *sádhs*, a Sikh sect founded by one Bakhtmal. When Gurú Govind Singh destroyed the *masands* or tax-gatherers one of them, by name Bakhtmal, took refuge with Mátá, a Gujar woman who disguised him in woman's clothes, putting bangles on his wrists and a *nath* or nose-ring in his nose. This attire he adopted permanently and the *mahant* of his *gaddi* still wears bangles. His followers are said to be also called Bakhshísh *sádhs*, but this is open to doubt. The head-quarters of the sect appears to be unknown.

BAL, a Jáṭ tribe of the Biás and Upper Sutlej, said to be a clan of the Sekhu tribe with whom they do not intermarry. Their ancestor is also said to have been named Baya Bal, a Rájput who came from Málwa. The name Bal, which means "strength," is a famous one in ancient Indian history, and recurs in all sorts of forms and places. In Amritsar they say they came from Ballamgarh, and do not intermarry with the Dhillon.

BAL, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BALAGAN, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming to be Jammu Rájputs by descent from their eponym. Found in Siálkot.

BALÁHAR, in Gurgaon the *baláhar* (in Sirsa he is called *daurâ*) is a village menial who shows travellers the way, carries messages and letters, and summons people when wanted by the headmen. In Karnál he is called *lehbar*†; but is not a recognised menial and any one can perform his duties on occasion. In Sirsa, Gurgaon and Karnál he is almost always a Chúhṛa, *cf. Batwál.*

BALÁHI, BALÁÍ, *cf. baláhar.*—In Delhi and Hissár a *chaukidár* or watchman: in Sirsa a Chamár employed to manure fields, or who takes to syce's and general work, is so termed.

BALBIR, a sept of Kanets which migrated from Chittor in Rájputána with the founders of Keonṭhal and settled in the latter State. The founders of Keonṭhal were also accompanied by a Cháik, a Saláṭhi and a Pakrot, all Brahmans, a Chhibar Kanet, a blacksmith and a *turi* and the descendants of all these are still settled in the State or in its employ.

BALFAROSH, a synonym for Bháṭ (Ráwalpindi).

BALHAM, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BÁLI, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

BÁLI, a section of the Muhiáls (Brahmans): corr. to the Dhannapotras of the South-West Punjab.

BALKÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur: *balká* in the east of the Punjab is used as equivalent to *chela*, for 'the disciple of a *faqir*.'

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* There is said to be a sept of the Baloch of this name in Baháwalpur and Muzaffargarh, on both sides of the Panjnad.

† Or *rehbar*, probably from *ráhbar*, 'guide.' In Karnál is no Baláhar caste, the term being applied to a sweeper who does this particular kind of corvée—which no one but a sweeper (or in default a Dhának) will perform.

BÁLMÍKÍ, VÁLMÍKÍ.—The sect of the Chúhras, synonymous with Báláshâhi and Lálbegí, so-called from Bálmík, Bálrikh or Bálá Sháh, possibly the same as the author of the *Rámáyana.** Bálmík, the poet, was a man of low extraction, and legend represents him as a low-caste hunter of the Nárdak in Karnál, or a Bhíl highway-man converted by a saint whom he was about to rob. One legend makes him a sweeper in the heavenly courts, another as living in austerity at Ghazni. See under Lálbegí.

BALO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BALOCH. MEANING OF BALOCH.

The term Baloch is used in several different ways. By travellers and historians it is employed to denote (*i*) the race known to themselves and their neighbours as the Baloch, and (*ii*) in an extended sense as including all the races inhabiting the great geographical area shown on our maps as Balochistan. In the latter sense it comprises the Brahuis, a tribe which is certainly not of Baloch origin. In the former sense it includes all the Baloch tribes, whether found in Persia on the west or the Punjab on the east, which can claim a descent, more or less pure, from Baloch ancestors. Two special uses of the term also require notice. In the great jungles below Thánesar in the Karnál district is settled a criminal tribe, almost certainly of Baloch extraction, which will be noticed below page 55.† Secondly, throughout the Punjab, except in the extreme west and the extreme east, the term Baloch denotes any Muhammadan camel-man. Throughout the upper grazing grounds of the Western Plains the Baloch settlers have taken to the grazing and breeding of camels rather than to husbandry; and thus the word Baloch has become associated with the care of camels, insomuch that in the greater part of the Punjab, the word Baloch is used for any Musalmán camel-man whatever be his caste, every Baloch being supposed to be a camel-man and every Muhammadan camel-man to be a Baloch.

ORIGINS OF THE BALOCH.

Pottinger and Khanikoff claimed for the Baloch race a Turkoman origin, and Sir T. Holdich and others an Arab descent. Bellew assigned them Rájput descent on very inadequate philological grounds, while Burton, Lassen and others have maintained that they are, at least in the mass, of Iranian race. This last theory is supported by Mr. Longworth Dames who shows that the Baloch came into their present locations in Mekran and on the Indian border from parts of the Iranian plateau further to the west and north, bringing with them a language of the Old Persian stock, with many features derived from the Zend or Old Bactrian rather than the Western Persian.

HISTORY OF THE BALOCH.

Dames assigns the first mention of the Baloch in history to the Arabic chronicles of the 10th century A. D., but Firdausi (c. 400 A.H.) refers to a still earlier period, and in his *Sháh-náma*‡ the Baloches are described as forming part of the armies of Kai Káús

* Temple (in *Legends of the Punjab*, I, p. 529) accepts this tradition and says Bálmíkí is the same as Bálá Sháh or Núri Sháh Bálá, but assigns to him 'the place next to Lál Beg.'

† This group is also found in Ambála, and the Giloi Baloch of Lyallpur are also said to be an offshoot of it.

‡ So Dames, but the text of the *Sháh-náma* is very corrupt, and the reading *Khoch* "crest" cannot be relied upon implicity.

and Kai Khusrao. The poem says that the army of Ashkash was from the wanderers of the Koch and Baloch, intent on war, with exalted cockscomb crests, whose back none in the world ever saw. Under Naushírwán, the Chosroes who fought against Justinian, the Baloch are again mentioned as mountaineers who raided his kingdom and had to be exterminated, though later on we find them serving in Naushírwán's own army. In these passages their association with the men of Gíl and Dailám (the peoples of Gílán and Adharbaijan) would appear to locate the Baloch in a province north of Karmán towards the Caspian Sea.

However this may be, the commencement of the 4th century of the Hijra and of the 10th A.D. finds the Balús or Baloch established in Karmán, with, if Masudi can be trusted, the Qufs (Koch) and the Zutt (Jaṭṭs). The Baloch are then described as holding the desert plains south of the mountains and towards Makrán and the sea, but they appear in reality to have infested the desert now known as the Lut, which lies north and east of Karmán and separates it from Khorásán and Sístán. Thence they crossed the desert into the two last-named provinces, and two districts of Sístán were in Istakhri's time known as Baloch country.* Baloch raiders plundered Mahmúd of Ghazní's ambassador between Tabbas and Khabis, and in revenge his son Masúd defeated them at the latter place, which lies at the foot of the Karmán Mountains on the edge of the desert.

About this time Firdausi wrote and soon after it the Baloch must have migrated bodily from Karmán into Mekrán and the Sindh frontier, after a partial and temporary halt in Sístán. With great probability Dames conjectures that at this period two movements of the Baloch took place: the first, corresponding with the Saljúq invasion and the overthrow of the Dailami and Ghaznawí power in Persia, being their abandonment of Karmán and settlement in Sístán and Western Makrán; while the second, towards Eastern Makrán and the Sindh border, was contemporaneous with Changiz Khán's invasion and the wanderings of Jalál-ud-Dín in Makrán.

To this second movement the Baloch owed their opportunity of invading the Indus valley; and thence, in their third and last migration, a great portion of the race was precipitated into the Punjab plains.

It is now possible to connect the traditional history of the Baloch themselves, as told in their ancient heroic ballads, with the above account. Like other Muhammadan races, the Baloch claim Arabian extraction, asserting that they are descended from Mír Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet, and from a fairy (*parí*). They consistently place their first settlement in Halab (Aleppo), where they remained until, siding with the sons of Ali and taking part in the battle of Karbalá, they were expelled by Yazíd, the second of the Omayyad Caliphs, in 680 A.D. Thence they fled, first to Karmán, and eventually

* Their settlements may indeed have extended into Khorásán. Even at the present day there is a considerable Baloch population as far north as Turbat-i-Haidari (Curzon's *Persia*, 1892, i, p. 203).

to Sístán where they were hospitably received by Shams-ud-Dín,* ruler of that country. His successor, Badr-ud-Dín, demanded, according to eastern usage, a bride from each of the 44 *bolaks* or clans of the Baloch. But the Baloch race had never yet paid tribute in this form to any ruler, and they sent therefore 44 boys dressed in girls' clothes and fled before the deception could be discovered. Badr-ud-Dín sent the boys back but pursued the Baloch, who had fled south-eastwards, into Kech-Makrán where he was defeated at their hands.

At this period Mír Jalál Khán, son of Jíand, was ruler of all the Baloch. He left four sons, Rind, Láshár, Hot and Koráí from whom are descended the Rind, Lashárí, Hot and Koráí tribes; and a son-in-law, Murád, from whom are descended the Jatoí† or children of Jato, Jalál Khán's daughter. Unfortunately, however, certain tribes cannot be brought into any of these five, and in order to provide them with ancestors two more sons, Alí and Bulo, ancestor of the Buledhi, have had to be found for Jalál Khán. From Alí's two sons, Ghazan and Umar, are descended the Ghazani Marrís and the scattered Umránís.

Tradition avers that Jalál Khán had appointed Rind to the *phágh* or turban of chiefship, but that Hot refused to join him in creating the *ásrokh* or memorial canopy to their father. 'Thereupon each performed that ceremony separately and thus there were five *ásrokhs* in Kech.' But it is far more probable that five principal gatherings of clans were formed under well-known leaders, each of which became known by some nickname or epithet, such as *rind* "cheat," *hot*, "warrior," Lashárí, "men of Láshár" and, later, Buledhí, "men of Boleda." To these other clans became in the course of time affiliated.

A typical example of an affiliated clan is afforded by the Dodáí, a clan of Jáṭ race whose origin is thus described :—

Dodá‡ Sumra, expelled from Thaṭha by his brethren, escaped by swimming his mare across the Indus, and, half frozen, reached the hut of Sálhe, a Rind. To revive him Sálhe placed him under the blankets with his daughter Mudho, whom he eventually married. "For the woman's sake," says the proverb, "the man became a Baloch who had been a Jaṭṭ, a Jaghdal, a nobody; he dwelt at Harrand under the hills, and fate made him chief of all." Thus Dodá founded the great Dodáí tribe of the Baloch, and Gorish, his son, founded the Gorsháni or Gurchání, now the principal tribe of Dodái origin. The great Mirráni tribe, which for 200 years gave chiefs to Dera Gházi Khán, was also of Dodáí origin.

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* According to Dames there was a Shams-ud-Dín, independent *malik* of Sístán, who claimed descent from the Saffáris of Persia and who died in 1164 A.D. (559 H.) or nearly 500 years after the Baloch migration from Aleppo. Badr-ud-Dín appears to be unknown to history.

† It is suggested that Jatoi or 'husband of a Jáṭ woman,' just as *bahnoi* means 'husband of a sister,' although in Jatoi the *t* is soft.

‡ Dodá, a common name among the Sumrás whose dynasty ruled Sindh until it was overthrown by the Sammas. About 1250 A.D. or before that year we find Baloch adventurers first allied with the Sodhás and Jharejás, and then supporting Dodá IV, Sumra. Under Umar, his successor, the Baloches are found combining with the Sammas, Sodhás and Jatts, (Jharejas), but were eventually forced back to the hills without effecting any permanent lodgment in the plains.

After the overthrow of the Sumrás of Sindh nothing is heard of the Baloch for 150 years and then in the reign of Jám Tughlaq, the Sammá (1423—50), they are recorded as raiding near Bhakhar in Sindh. Doubtless, as Dames holds, Taimur's invasion of 1399 led indirectly to this new movement. The Delhi empire was at its weakest and Taimur's descendants claimed a vague suzereignty over it. Probably all the Western Punjab was effectively held by Mughal intendants until the Lodi dynasty was established in 1451. Meanwhile the Langáh Rájputs had established themselves on the throne of Multán and Sháh Husain Langáh (1469—1502) called in Baloch mercenaries, granting a *jágir*, which extended from Kot Karor to Dhankot, to Malik Sohráb Dodáí who came to Multán with his sons, Gházi Khán, Fath Khán and Ismáil Khán.*

But the Dodáí were not the only mercenaries of the Langáhs. Sháh Hussain had conferred the *jágirs* of Uch and Shor(kot) on two Sammá brothers, Jám Báyazíd and Jám Ibrahím, between whom and the Dodáís a feud arose on Sháh Mahmúd's accession. The Jáms promptly allied themselves with Mír Chákur, a Rind Baloch of Síbí who had also sought service and lands from the Langáh ruler and thereby roused the Dodáís' jealousy. Mir Chákur is the greatest figure in the heroic poetry of the Baloch, and his history is a remarkable one. The Rinds were at picturesque but deadly feud with the Lashárís. Gohar, the fair owner of vast herds of camels favoured Chákur, but Gwaharám Lashári also claimed her hand. The rivals agreed to decide their quarrel by a horse race, but the Rinds loosened the girths of Gwaharám's saddle and Chákur won. In revenge the Lasháris killed some of Gohar's camels, and this led to a desperate 30 years' war which ended in Chákur's expulsion from Síbí in spite of aid invoked and received from the Arghún conquerors of Sindh. Mír Chákur was accompanied by many Rinds and by his two sons, Sháhzád† and Shaihak, and received in *jágír* lands near Uch from Jám Bayazíd, Sammá. Later, however, he is said in the legends to have accompanied Humáyún on his re-conquest of India. However this may have been, he undoubtedly founded a military colony of Rinds at Satgarha, in Montgomery, at which place his tomb still exists. Thence he was expelled by Sher Sháh, a fact which would explain his joining Humáyún.

At this period the Baloch were in great force in the South-West Punjab, probably as mercenaries of the Langáh dynasty of Multán, but also as independent freebooters. The Rinds advanced up the Chenab, Rávi and Sutlej valleys; the Dodáí and Hots up the Jhelum and Indus. In 1519 Bábar found Dodáís at Bhera and Khusháb and he confirmed Sohráb Khan's three sons in their possession of the country of Sindh. He also gave Ismáil Khán, one of Sohráb's sons, the ancient *pargana* of Ninduna in the Ghakhar country in exchange for the lands of Shaikh Báyazid Sarwáni which he was obliged to surrender. But in 1524 the Arghúns overthrew Sháh Mahmúd Langáh

* The founders of the three Dehras, which give its name to the Deraját. Dera Fath Khán is now a mere village.

† Sháhzád was one of miraculous origin his mother having been overshadowed by some mysterious power, and a mystical poem in Balochi on the origins of Multán is ascribed to him. Firishta says he first introduced the Shía creed into Multán, a curious statement.

with his motley host of Baloch, Ját, Rind, Dodái and other tribes, and the greatest confusion reigned.

The Arghúns however submitted to the Mughal emperors, and this appears to have thrown the bulk of the Baloch into opposition to the empire. They rarely entered the imperial service—a fact which is possibly explained by their dislike to serve at a distance from their homes—and under Akbar we read of occasional expeditions against the Baloch. But the Lasháris apparently took service with the Arghúns and aided them against Jám Firoz—indeed legend represents the Lashári as invading Guzerát and on return to Kachhi as obtaining a grant of Gundava from the king.* The Jistkánis, a Lashári clan, also established a principality at Mankera in the Sindh-Ságar Doab at this time, but most of the Lasháris remained in Makrán or Kachhi. Among the earliest to leave the barren hills of Balochistán were the Chándias who settled in the Chándko or Chandúká tract along the Indus,† in Upper Sind on the Punjab border. The Hots pressed northwards and with the Dodáis settled at Dera Ismáil Khán which they held for 200 years. Close to it the Kuláchis founded the town which still bears their name. Both Dera Ismáil Khán and Kuláchi were eventually conquered by Patháns, but the Kuláchis still inhabit the country round the latter town. South of the Jistkánis of Mankera lay the Dodáis of the once great Mirráni clan which gave Nawábs to Dera Ghazi Khán till Nádir Sháh's time. Further still afield the Mazáris settled in Jhang and are still found at Chatta Bakhsha in that District. The Rinds with some Jatois and Koráis are numerous in Multán, Jhang, Montgomery, Shábpur and Muzaffargarh, and in the last-named district the Gopángs and Gurmánis are encountered. All these are descendants of the tribes which followed Mir Chákur and have become assimilated to the Jaṭṭ tribes with whom in many cases they intermarry. West of the Indus only has the Baloch retained his own language and tribal organization.

In the Deraját and Sulaimáns the Baloch are grouped into *tumans* which cannot be regarded as mere tribes. The *tuman* is in fact a political confederacy, ruled by a *tumandár*, and comprising men of one tribe, with affiliated elements from other tribes not necessarily Baloch. The *tumans* which now exist as organisations are the Marri, Bughti, Mazári, Dríshak, Tibbi Lund, Sori Lund, Leghári, Khosa, Nutkáni, Bozdár, Kasráni, Gurchání and Shambáni. Others, such as the Bule*dh*i, Hasani, Jakráni, Kahiri, are found in the Kachhi territory of Kalát and in Upper Sind, with representatives in Baháwalpur territory.

The Bozdár *tuman* is probably in part of Rind descent, but the name means simply goatherd. They live in independent territory in the Sulaimáns, almost entirely north-west of Dera Ghází Khán.

The Bughti or Zarkáni *tuman* is composed of several elements. Mainly of Rind origin it claims descent from Gyándár, a cousin of Mír Chákur. The Raheja, a clan with an apparently Indian name, is said to have been founded by Raheja, a son of Gyándár. The No*th*áni

* The Maghassis, a branch of the Lasháris, are still found in Kachh Gundáva.
† Chándias are also numerous in Muzaffargarh and Dera Ismáil Khán.

clan holds the guardianship of Pir Sohri's shrine though they have admitted Gurcháni to a share in that office, and before an expedition each man passes under a yoke of guns or swords held by men of the clan. They can also charm guns so that the bullets shall be harmless,* and claim for these services a share of all crops grown in the Bughti country.

The Shambánis, who form a sub-*tuman*, but are sometimes classed as an independent *tuman*, trace their descent to Rihán, a cousin of Mír Chákur, and occupy the hill country adjacent to the Bughti and Mazári *tumans*. The Bughti occupy the angle of the Sulaimán Mountains between the Indus and Kachhi and have their head-quarters at Syaháf (also called Dera Bíbrak or Bughti Dera).

The Bule*dhi* or Burdi *tuman* derives its name from Boleda in Makrán and was long the ruling race till ousted by the Gichki. It is also found in the Burdiká tract on the Indus, in Upper Sindh and in Kachhi.

The Dríshak *tuman* is said to be descended from one of Mir Chákur's companions who was nicknamed Dríshak or 'strong,' because he held up a roof that threatened to crush some Lashári women captives, but it is possibly connected with Dízak in Makrán. Its head-quarters are at Ásni in Dera Ghází Khán.

The Gurcháni *tuman* is mainly Dodái by origin, but the Syáhphá*dh* Durkáni are Rinds; as are probably the Pitafi, Jogáni, and Cháng clans—at least in part. The Jistkánis and Lasháris (except the Gabol† and Bhand sections) are Lasháris, while the Subriáni and Holawáni are Bule*this*. The Gurcháni head-quarters are at Lálgarh near Harrand in Dera Ghází Khán.

Kasráni‡ (so pronounced, but sometimes written Qaisaráni as descended from Qaisar) is a *tuman* of Rind descent and is the most northerly of all the organised *tumans*, occupying part of the Sulaimans and the adjacent plains in Deras Ghází Khán (and formerly, but not now), Ismáil Khán.

The Khosas form two great *tumans*,§ one near Jacobábád in Upper Sindh, the other with its head-quarters at Bátil near Dera Ghází Khán. They are said to be mainly of Hot descent, but in Dera Ghází Khán the Isáni clan is Khetrán by origin, and the small Jajela clan are probably aborigines of the Jaj valley which they inhabit.

The Leghári *tuman* derives its origin from Kohphrosh, a Rind, nicknamed Leghár or 'dirty.' But the *tuman* also includes a Chándia clan and the Haddiáni and Kaloi, the sub-*tuman* of the mountains, are said to be of Bozdár origin. Its head-quarters are at Choti in Dera Ghází Khán, but it is also found in Sindh.

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* The following Baloch septs can stop bleeding by charms and touching the wounds, and used also to have the power of bewitching the arms of their enemies :—The Bajáni sept of the Durkáni, the Jabráni sept of the Lashári, and the Giráni sept of the Jaskáni; among the Gurchánis: the Shahmáni sept of the Hadiáni Legháris, and, among the Khosas, the Chitar and Faqírs.

† A servile tribe, now of small importance, found mainly in Muzaffargarh.

‡ The Qasránis practise divination from the shoulder-blades of sheep (an old Mughal custom) and also take auguries from the flight of birds.

§ The Khosas also form a sub-*tuman* of the Rinds of Shorán and a clan of the Lunds of Tibbi.

The Lunds form two *tumans*, one of Sori, with its head-quarters at Kot Kandiwála, the other at Tibbi, both in Dera Gházi Khán. Both claim descent from Ali, son of Riháu, Mír Chákúr's cousin. The Sori Lunds include a Gurcháni clan and form a large *tuman*, living in the plains, but the Tibbi Lunds are a small *tuman* to which are affiliated a clan of Khosas and one of Rinds—the latter of impure descent.

The Marri *tuman*, notorious for its marauding habits which necessitated an expedition against it only in 1880, is of composite origin. The Ghazani section claims descent from Ghazan, son of Ali, son of Jalál Khán and the Bijaránis from Bijar Phuzh* who revolted against Mír Chákur. The latter probably includes some Paṭhán elements. The Mazaránis are said to be Khetráns, and the Loharánis of mixed blood, while Jaṭṭ, Kalmati, Bule*dh*i and Hasani elements have doubtless been also absorbed.

The Mazáris are an organised clan of importance, with head-quarters at Rojhán in Dera Gházi Khán. Its ruling sept, the Báláchání, is said to be Hot by descent, but the rest of the tribe are Rinds. The name is derived apparently from *mazâr*, a tiger, like the Paṭhán 'Mzarai.' The Kirds or Kurds, a powerful Brahúi tribe, also furnish a clan to the Mazáris. The Mazáris as a body (excluding the Balácbánis) are designated Syáh-láf, or 'Black-bellies.'

Other noteworthy tribes, not organized as *tumans*, are—

The Ahmdánis† of Máná in Dera Ghází Khán. They claim descent from Gyándár and were formerly of importance.

The Gishkáuris, found scattered in Dera Ismáil Khán, Muzaffargarh and Mekrán, and claiming descent from one of Mír Chákur's Rind companions, nick-named Gishkhaur. But the Gishkhaur is really a torrent in the Boleda Valley, Mekrán, and possibly the clan is of common descent with the Bule*dhi*.‡

Tálpur or Talbur, a clan of the Legháris, is, by some, derived from its eponym, a son of Bulo, and thus of Bule*dhi* origin. Its principal representatives are the Mírs of Khairpur in Sind, but a few Tálpurs are still found in Dera Ghàzi Khán. Talbur literally means 'wood-cutter' (fr. *tál*, branch, and *buragh*, to cut).

The Pitáfis, a clan found in considerable numbers in Dera Ismáil Khán and Muzaffargarh.§ Pitáfi would appear to mean 'Southern.'

The Nutkáni or No*dh*akáni, a compact tribe, organized till quite recently as a *tuman*, and found in Sangarh, Dera Ghàzi Khán District.

The Mashori, an impure clan, now found mainly in Muzaffargarh.‖

The Mastoi, probably a servile tribe, found principally in Dera Ghàzi Khán where it has no social status.

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* The Phuzh are or were a clan of Rinds, once of great importance—indeed the whole Rind tribe is said to have once been called Phuzh. They are now only found at Kolánah in Mekrán, in Kachhi and near the Bolan Pass.

† Large Ahmdáni clans are also found among the Lunds of Sori and the Haddiáni Legháris.

‡ The Lashári sub-*tuman* of the Gurcháni also includes a Gishkhauri sept, and the Dombkis have a clan of that name.

§ Also as a Gurcháni clan in Dera Ghàzi Khán.

‖ The Bughtis have a *Masori* clan.

The Dashti, another servile tribe, now found scattered in small numbers in Deras Ismáil Khán and Ghází Khán, in Muzaffargarh and Baháwalpur.

The Gopáng, or more correctly Gopháng (fr. *gophank*, 'cowherd'), also a servile tribe, now scattered over Kachhi, Dera Ismáil Khán, Multán and Muzaffargarh, especially the latter.

The Hot (Hút) once a very powerful tribe (still so in Mekrán) and widely spread wherever Baloches are found, but most numerous in Dera Ismáil Khán, Muzaffargarh, Jhang and Multán.

The Jatoi, not now an organized tribe, but found wherever Baloches have spread, *i.e.*, in all the Districts of the South-West Punjab and as far as Jhang, Sháhpur and Lahore.

The Koráí or Kaudái, not now an organized *tuman*, but found wherever Baloches have spread, especially in Dera Ismáil Khán, Multán and Muzaffargarh.

The history of the Baloch is an instructive illustration of the transformations to which tribes or tribal confederacies are prone. The earliest record of their organisation represents them as divided into 44 *bolaks* of which 4 were servile.

But as soon as history begins we find the Baloch nation split up into 5 main divisions, Rind, Lashári, Hot, Korai (all of undoubted Baloch descent) and Jatoi which tradition would appear to represent as descended from a Baloch woman (Jato) and her cousin (Murád). Outside these groups are those formed or affiliated in Mekrán, such as the Bule*dh*is, Ghazanis and Umaránis. Then comes the Dodái tribe, frankly of non-Baloch descent in the male line. Lastly to all these must be added the servile tribes, Gopángs, Dashtis, Gholás and others. In a fragment of an old ballad is a list of servile tribes, said to have been gifted by Mír Chákúr to Bánari, his sister, as her dower and set free by her:

'The Kirds, Gabols, Gadahis, Tálburs and the Marris of Káhan—all were Chákur's slaves.'

Other versions add the Pachálo (now unknown) and 'the rotten-boned Bozdárs.' Other miscellaneous stocks have been fused with the Baloch—such as Paṭháns, Khetráns, Jaṭṭs.

Not one single tribe of all those specified above now forms a *tuman* or even gives its name to a *tuman*. We still find the five main divisions existing and numerous, but not one forms an organised *tuman*. All five are more or less scattered or at least broken up among the various *tumans*. The very name of *bolak* is forgotten—except by a clan of the Rind Baloch near Síbí which is still styled the Ghulám (slave) *bolak*. Among the Marris the clans are now called *ṭakar* (*cf.* Sindhi *ṭakara*, mountain), the septs *phallí*, and the smaller sub-divisions *phárá*. The *tuman* (fr. Turkish *túmán*, 10,000) reminds us of the Mughal *hazára*, or legion, and is a semi-political, semi-military confederacy.

Tribal nomenclature among the Baloch offers some points of interest. As already mentioned the old main divisions each bore a significant name. The more modern tribes have also names which occasionally look like descriptive nick-names or titles. Thus Lund (Pers.) mean

knave, debauchee or wanderer, just as Rind does: Khosa (Sindhi) means robber (and also 'fever'): Marri in Sindhi also chances to mean a plague or epidemic. Some of the clan-names also have a doubtfully totemistic meaning: *e. g.*, Syáh-phá*dh*, Black-feet: Gul-phá*dh*, Flower-feet (a Doíshak clan): Gan*d*a-gwálagh, small red ant (a Durkáni clan) Kalphur, an aromatic plant, *Glinus lotoides* (a Bughti clan).

BALOCH CUSTOMARY LAW IN DERA GHÁZI KHÁN.*

Custom, not the Muhammadan Law prevails among the Baloch as a body but the Nutkánís profess to follow the latter and to a large extent do in fact give effect to its provisions. Baloch often postpone a girl's betrothal till she is 16 years of age, and have a distinctive observance called the *hiski*,† which consists in casting a red cloth over the girl's head, either at her own house or at some place agreed upon by the kinsmen. Well-to-do people slaughter a sheep or goat for a feast; the poorer Baloch simply distribute sweets to their guests. Betrothal is considered almost as binding as marriage, especially in Rájanpur tahsíl, and only impotence, leprosy or apostasy will justify its breach. Baloch women are not given to any one outside the race, save to Sayyids, but a man may marry any Muhammadan woman, Baloch, Jáṭ or even Paṭhán, but not of course Sayyid. The usual practice is to marry within the sept, women being sold out of it if they go astray. Only some sections of the Nutkánis admit an adult woman's right to arrange her own marriage; but such a marriage, if effected without her guardian's consent, is considered 'black' by all other Baloch. Public feeling demands strong grounds for divorce, and in the Jámpur tahsíl it is not customary, while unchastity is the only recognised ground in Rájanpur. Marriage is nearly always according to the orthodox Muhammadan ritual, but a form called *tan-bakhshí* ('giving of the person') is also recognised. It consists in the woman's mere declaration that she has given herself to her husband, and is virtually only used in the case of widows. The rule of succession is equal division among the sons, except in the families of the Mazári and Dríshak chiefs in which the eldest son gets a somewhat larger share than his brothers. Usually a grandson got no share in the presence of a father's brother, but the custom now universally recognised is that grandsons get their deceased fathers' share,‡ but even now in Sangarh the right of representation is not fully recognised, for among the Baloch of that tahsíl grandsons take *per capita*, if there are no sons. As a rule a widow gets a life interest in her husband's estate, but the Gurchánis in Jámpur refuse to allow a woman to inherit under any circumstances. Daughters rarely succeed in the presence of male descendants of the deceased's grandfather equally remote, the Baloch of Rájanpur and Jámpur excluding the daughter by her father's cousin and *nearer* agnates; but in Sangarh tahsíl daughters get a share according to Muhammadan Law, provided they

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* From Mr. A. H. Diack's *Customary Law of the Dera Ghází Khán District*, Vol. xvi of the Punjab Customary Law Series.

† The *hiski* is falling into disuse in the northernmost tahsíl of Dera Ghází Khán and among the Gopáng along the Indus in Jámpur.

‡ A few Nutkání sections in Sangarh still say that they only do so if it is formally bequeathed to them by will.

do not make an unlawful marriage.* Where the daughter inherits her right is not extinguished by her marriage, but the Baloch in Rájanpur tahsíl insist that if married she shall have married within her father's *phalli*, or if unmarried shall marry within it, as a condition of her succession. The resident son-in-law acquires no special rights, but the daughter's son in Jámpur and Rájanpur succeeds where his mother would succeed. No other Baloch appear to recognise his right. When brother succeeds brother the whole blood excludes the half in Sangarh and Dera Gházi Khán tahsíls, but in Jámpur and Rájanpur all the brothers succeed equally. Similarly, in Sangarh, the associated brothers take half and the others the remaining half. Sisters never succeed (except in those few sections of the Nutkánís of Sangarh which follow Muhammadan law). A step-son has no rights of succession, but may keep what his step-father gives him during his life-time, and, in Sangarh and Rájanpur, may get one-third of a natural son's share by will. Adoption is not recognised, except possibly among the Baloch of Sangarh, and those of Rájanpur expressly forbid it. But adoption in the strict Hindu sense is quite unknown, since a boy can be adopted even if the adoptor has a son of his own, and any one can adopt or be adopted. In Sangarh, again, a widow may adopt, but only with the consent of her husband's kinsmen. The adopted son retains all his rights in his natural father's property, but in Sangarh he does not succeed his adoptive father if the latter have a son born to him *after* the adoption (a rule curiously inconsistent with that which allows a man to adopt a *second* son). Except in Jámpur tahsíl, a man may make a gift of the whole of his land to an heir to the exclusion of the rest, and as a rule he may also gift to his daughter, her husband or son and to his sister and her children, but the Lunds and Legháris would limit the gift to a small part of the land. Gifts to a non-relative are as a rule invalid, unless it be for religion, and even then in Jámpur it should only be of part of the estate. Death-bed gifts are invalid in Sangarh and Jámpur and only valid in the other two tahsíls of Dera Gházi Khán to the extent allowed by Muhammadan Law. Sons cannot enforce a partition, but in Sangarh their consent is necessary to it; yet in that and the Dera Gházi Khán tahsíls it is averred that a father can make an unequal partition (and even exclude a son from his share) to endure beyond his life-time. But in Jámpur and Rájanpur the sons are entitled to equal shares, the Mazári and Dríshak chiefs excepted. The subsequent birth of a son necessitates a fresh partition. Thus among the Baloch tribes we find no system of tribal law, but a mass of varying local usage. Primitive custom is ordinarily enforced, and though the semi-sacred Nutkánis in Sangarh tahsíl consider it incumbent upon them to follow Muhammadan Law, even they to do not give practical effect to all its niceties.

Birth customs. The usual Muhammadan observances at birth are in vogue. The *báng* is sounded into the child's ear by the *mullah* six days after its birth and on the 6th night a sheep or cattle are slaughtered and the brotherhood invited to a feast and dance. The child

* But the Khosas and Kasránis in this tahsíl do not allow daughters to succeed at all, unless their father bequeath them a share, and that share must not exceed the share admissible under Muhammadan Law.

is also named on this occasion. If a boy it is given its grandfather's name, if he be dead; or its father's name if *he* is dead: so too an uncle's name is given if both father and grandfather be alive. Common names are Dádú, Bangul, Kambír, Thagia (fr. *thayagh*, to be long-lived), Dríhan.

Circumcision (*sháde, tahor*) is performed at the age of 1 or 2, by a *tahorokh* or circumcisor who is a Domb, not a *mulláh* or a Pirhain, except in the plains where a Pirhain is employed. In the hills a Baloch can act if no Domb be available. Ten or twelve men bring a ram and slaughter it for a feast, to which the boy's father (who is called the *tahor wázha**) contributes bread, in the evening: next morning he entertains the visitors and they depart. In the plains cattle are slaughtered and the brotherhood invited; *nendr* being also given—a usage not in vogue in the hills.

Jhand, the first tonsure, is performed, prior to the circumcision, at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar, the weight of the child's hair in silver being given to its *mujáwars*.

Divorce (called *sáwan* as well as *tilák*) is effected in the hills by casting stones 7 times or thrice and dismissing the wife.

Concubinage is not unusual, and concubines are called *suret*, but *winzas* are not known, it is said. The children by such women are called *suretwál* and receive no share in their father's land, but only maintenance during his life-time. These *surets* appear, however, to hold a better position than the *molíd* or slave women.

Terms of kinship. The kin generally are called *shád* or *bráthari* (brotherhood), *brahmdagh*.

Pith-phiru, fore-fathers.

Father's sister, *phuphí*,—Father, *pith* (× Mother, *máth*)—Father's brother, *nákho*

Son, *bachh* or *phusagh* × *nashár*† or *dakhún*‡ (Daughter-in-law) — Grand-child *chhuk-zákht*

Daughter, *jinkh* × Son-in-law, *zamáth*

Father's brother × *tri*§ — Cousin, *i.e.*, paternal uncle's child, *nákhozákht*.

Brother, *bráth, birá*‖ } — Prop. — { Sister, *gwár* or *gohár* × *sirzákht, i.e.*, sister's husband.

Brother × Brother's wife, *nashár*.

Sister — Sister's child, *gohar-zákht*

The mother's brother is *máma* as in Punjabi, but her sister is *tri* and *her* son *tri-zákht*.

In addressing relatives other words are used, such as *abba*, father; *addá* (fem.-*i*), brother (familiarly). A wife is usually *zál*, also *ámrish*.

A step-son is *patrák*, *pazádagh* or *phizádagh* (fr. *phadha*, behind, thus corresponding to the Punjabi *pichhlag*). A step-daughter is *nafuskh*.¶

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* *Wázha*=*Khwaja* or master. The father is 'lord of the *tahor* or purification.'

† It will be observed that *nashár*=son's *or* brother's wife.

‡ *Dakhún* or *dahún* also appears to mean brother's wife.

§ *Tri* thus equals mother's sister or father's brother's wife.

‖ *Baráthar* is a poetical form.

¶ Dames' Monograph, p. 25.

A namesake is *amnám* and a contemporary *amsan*. Equally simple are the Baloch marriage customs. The youth gives shawls to his betrothed's mother and *her* sisters, and supplies the girl herself with clothes till the wedding. Before that occurs minstrels (*doms*) are sent out to summon the guests, and when assembled they make gifts of money or clothes to the bridegroom. Characteristically the latter's hospitality takes the form of prizes—a camel for the best horse, money to the best shot and a turban to the best runner. The actual wedding takes place in the evening. *Nendr** or wedding gifts, the *neota* or *tambol* of the Punjab, are only made in the plains, but among the hill Baloch a poor man goes the round of his section and begs gifts, chiefly made in cash. Similarly the tribal chiefs and headmen used to levy benevolences, a cow from every herd, a sheep from every flock, or a rupee from a man who owned no cattle, when celebrating a wedding. It is also customary to knock the heads of the pair together twice and a relation of them ties together the corners of their *chádars* (shawls).

A corpse is buried at once, with no formalities, save that a *mulláh*, if present, reads the *janáza*. Dry brushwood is heaped over the grave.

Three or four days later the *ásrokh*† or *sehá* takes place. This appears to be a contribution also called *pathar* or *mhanna*, each neighbour and clansman of the deceased's section visiting his relations to condole with them and making them a present of four annas each. In the evening the relations provide them with food and they depart.

On a chief's death the whole clan assembles to present gifts which vary in amount from four annas to two rupees. Six months afterwards the people all re-assemble at the grave, the brushwood is removed and the grave marked out with white stones.

Of the pre-Islamic faith of the Baloch hardly a trace remains. Possibly in Nodh-bandagh (*lit.* the cloud-binder), surnamed the Gold-scatterer, who had vowed never to reject a request and never to touch money with his hands, an echo of some old mythology survives, but in Baloch legend he is the father of Gwaharám, Chákur's rival for the hand of Gohar. Yet Chákur the Rind when defeated by the Lashááris is saved by their own chief Nodh-bandagh, and mounted on his mare Phul ('Flower').

The Baloch is as simple in his religion as in all else and fanaticism is foreign to his nature. Among the hill Baloch *mullahs* are rarely found and the Muhammadan fasts and prayers used to be hardly known. Orthodox observances are now more usual and the Qurán is held in great respect. *Faqírs* also are seldom met with and Sayyids are

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* Also called *mhanna*, lit. 'contributions.'

† See Douie, *Bilochí náma*, pp 64-65. But Dames (*The Baloch Race*, p. 37) translates *ásrokh* by memorial canopy, apparently with good reason. Capt. Coldstream says: '*Asrokh* is a ceremony which takes place on a certain day after a death The friends of the deceased assemble at his house and his heirs entertain them. and prayers are repeated.' The ceremony of *dastarbandi* or tying a *pagrí* on the head of the deceased's heir is then performed by his leading relative in presence of the guests. The date varies among the different *tumans*. In Dera Gházi Khán it is generally the 3rd day after the death: in Balochistán there is appearently no fixed day, but as a rule the period is longer.'

unknown.* The Baloch of the plains are however much more religious, outwardly, and among them Sayyids possess considerable influence over their *muríds.*

The Bugtis especially affect Pir Sohri ('the red saint') a Pirozáni of the Nod*h*ánit section. This *pir* was a goatherd who gave his only goat to the Four Friends of God and in return they miraculously filled his fold with goats and gave him a staff wherewith if smitten the earth would bring forth water. Most of the goats thus given were red (*i.e.*, brown), but some were white with red ears. Sohri was slain by some Bule*dh*is who drove off his goats, but he came to life again and pursued them. Even though they cut off his head he demanded his goats which they restored to him. Sohri returned home headless and before he died bade his sons tie his body on a camel and make his tomb wherever it rested. At four different places where there were *kahír* trees it halted, and these trees are still there. Then it rested at the spot where Sohri's tomb now is, and close by they buried his daughter who had died that very day, but it moved itself in another direction. Most Baloches offer a red goat at Sohri's tomb and it is slaughtered by the attendants of the shrine, the flesh being distributed to all who are present there.

Another curious legend is that of the prophet Drís (fr. Arab. Idrís) who by a *faqír's* sarcastic blessing obtained 40 sons at a birth. Of these he exposed 39 in the wilderness and the legend describes how they survived him, and so terrified the people that public opinion compelled Drís to bring them back to his home. But the Angel of Death bore them all away at one time. Drís, with his wife, then migrates to a strange land but is falsely accused of slaying the king's son. Mutilated and cast forth to die he is tended by a potter whose slave he becomes. The king's daughter sees him, blind and without feet or hands, yet she falls in love with him and insists on marrying him. Drís is then healed by Health, Fortune and Wisdom and returning home finds his 40 sons still alive! At last like Enoch he attains to the presence of God without dying.‡

It must not however be imagined that the Baloch is superstitious. His nervous, imaginative temperament makes him singularly credulous as to the presence of sprites and hobgoblins in desert place, but he is on the whole singularly free from irrational beliefs. His Muhammadanism is not at all bigoted and is strongly tinged with Shiaism, its mysticism appealing vividly to his imagination. "All the poets give vivid descriptions of the Day of Judgment, the terrors of Hell and the joys of Paradise, mentioning the classes of men who will receive rewards or punishments. The greatest virtue is generosity, the crime demanding most severe punishment is avarice," a law in entire accord with the Baloch code. One of the most characteristic of Baloch legends is the Prophet's Maráj or Ascension, a quaintly beautiful narrative in anthropomorphic form § Some of the legends current

* There are a considerable number of Sayyids among the Bozdárs.

† More correctly Nod*h*akáni, descendants of Nod*h*ak, a diminutive of *nodh*, 'cloud,' a common proper name among the Baloch. The word is corrupted to Nutkáni by outsiders.

‡ For the full version see *The Baloch Race*, pp. 169—175 where the legend of the Chihil Tan *ziárat* is also given. That shrine is held in special reverence by the Brahúis.

§ It is given in Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, pp. 157—161.

concerning Ali would appear to be Buddhist in origin, *e.g.*, that of *The Pigeon and the Hawk.**

Music is popular among the Baloch, but singing to the *dambiro*, a four-stringed guitar, and the *saríndá*, a five-stringed instrument like a banjo, is confined to the Dombs. The Baloch himself uses the *nar*, a wooden pipe about 30 inches in length, bound round with strips of raw gut. Upon this is played the *hung*, a kind of droning accompaniment to the singing, the singer himself playing it with one corner of his mouth. The effect is quaint but hardly pleasing, though Dames says that the *nar* accompaniments are graceful and melodious.

The Magassi Baloch.

The Magassi Baloch who are found in Multán, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghází, Miánwáli and Jhang,† appear to be a "peculiar people" rather than a tribe.‡ As both Sunnis and Shías are found among them they do not form a sect. Most of them in the above Districts are *muríds* or disciples of Mián Núr Ahmad, Abbássí, of Rájanpur in Dera Ghází Khán, whose grandfather Muhammad Árif's shrine is in Miánwáli. The Magassis in Balochistán are, however, all disciples of Hazrat Ghaus Bahá-ud-Dín of Multán. Like all the *muríds* of the Mián, his Magassi disciples abstain from smoking and from shaving the beard. Magassis will espouse any Muhammadan girl, but never give daughters in marriage outside the group, and strictly abstain from any connection with a sweeper woman, even though she be a convert to Islám. At a wedding all the Magassi who are *murids* of the Mián assemble at the bride's home a day before the procession and are feasted by her parents. The guests offer prayers § to God and the Mián for the welfare of the married pair. This feast is called *shádmána*|| and

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* *Ibid.* p. 161.

† The Baloch of Jhang merit some notice. They are divided into the following septs :—

1	Rínd-Madárí-Gádí.	11	Gúrmání.	21	Mírrání.
2	Rínd-Laghárí.	12	Híndrání.	22	Mírúáná.
3	Rínd-Chándiá.	13	Hot.	23	Nútkaní.
4	Rínd-Kerní.	14	Jamálí.	24	Parihár.
5	Rínd-Gádhí.	15	Jískání	25	Patafí.
6	Bhand.	16	Jatoí.	26	Sábqí.
7	Almání.	17	Laghárí.	27	Shalobí.
8	Gíshkaurí	18	Líshari.	28	Galkále.
9	Gopáng.	19	Lorí.	29	Kúrái.
10	Goráh.	20	Márath.	30	Mangesí, &c.

The Madárí-Gádí Rínds will not give brides to the Laghárí, Chándia, Kerní and Gádhí Rínd septs, from whom they receive them, but all these Baloch will take wives from other Muhammadans except the Sayyids. The Mangesí only smoke with men of their own sept.

‡ In Balochistán the Magassi are said to form a *tuman* under Nawáb Qaisar Khán, Magassi, of Jhal Magassi. They say that in the time of Ghází Khán many of them migrated into the present Sangarh tahsíl of Dera Ghází Khán, but were defeated by Lál Khán, *tumandár* of the Qasránis and driven across the Indus, where they settled in Nawánkot, now in Leiah tahsíl Their settlement is now a ruin, as they were dispersed in the time of the Sikhs, but a headman of Nawánkot is still regarded as their *sirdár* or chief

§ In Multán these prayers are called *ází* and are said to be offered when the feast is half eaten.

|| In Leiah a *shádmána* is said to be observed on occasions of great joy or sorrow. All the members and followers of the "Sarai' or Abbássi family assemble and first eat meat cooked with salt only and bread containing sugar, the leavings being distributed among the poor after prayers have been recited. Every care is taken to prevent a crow or a dog from touching this food, and those who prepare it often keep the mouth covered up. A *shádmána* is performed *at the shrines of ancestors*. It is a solemn rite and prayers are said in common. A boy is not accepted as a disciple by the Pir until he is circumcised, and until he is so accepted he cannot take part in a *shádmána*.

precedes all the other rites and ceremonies. Contrary to Muhammadan usage a Magassi bridegroom may consummate his marriage on the very first night of the wedding procession and in the house of the bride's father. At a funeral, whether of a male or female, the relatives repeat the four *takbírs,* if they are Sunnis, but disciples of the Mián recite the *janáza* of the Shías. Magassis, when they meet one another, or any other *muríd* of the Mián Sáhib, shake and kiss each other's hands in token of their hearty love and union.

The Magassi in Leiah are Shías and like all Shías avoid eating the hare. But the following customs appear to be peculiar to the Magassi of this tahsíl: When a child is born the water in a cup is stirred with a knife, which is also touched with a bow smeared with horse-dung and given to the child to drink. The sixth night after a male birth is kept as a vigil by both men and women, the latter keeping apart and singing *síhrá* songs, while among the men a *mírási* beats his drum. This is called the *chhati.* On the 14th day the whole brotherhood is invited to assemble, women and all, and the boy is presented to them. The doyen of the kinsmen is then asked to swing the child in his cradle, and for this he is given a rupee or a turban. From 14 *paos* to as many sers of *gur* and salt are then distributed among the kinsmen, and the boy is taken to the nearest well, the man who works it being given a dole of sugar and bread or flour. This is the rite usually called *ghari gharoli,* and it ought to be observed on the 14th day, but poor people keep it on the day after the *chhati.* The tradition is that the *chhatti* and *ghari gharoli* observances are kept because Amír Hamza was borne by the fairies from Arabia to the Caucasus when he was six days old, and so every Baloch boy is carefuly guarded on the sixth night after his birth. Amír Hamza was, indeed, brought back on the 14th day, and so on that day the observances are kept after a boy's birth. For this reason too, it is said, the bow is strung! All wedding rites take place at night, and on the wedding night a couch and bedding supplied by the bridegroom are taken to the bride's house by *mírásis,* who sing songs on the way, and get a rupee as their fee. The members of the bridegroom's family accompany them. This is called the *sejband.*

At a funeral five *takbírs* are recited if the *mullah* happens to be a Shía, but if he is a Sunni only four are read. The *nimáz* in use are those of the Shías.

The Baloch as a criminal tribe.

The Baloch of Karnál and Ambála form a criminal community. They say they were driven from their native land in the time of Nádir Sháh who adopted severe measures to check their criminal tendencies, but they also say that they were once settled in the Qasúr tract near Lahore and were thence expelled owing to their marauding habits. They give a long genealogy of their descent from Abraham and derive it more immediately from Rind, whose descendants, they say, are followers of the Imám Sháfi and eat unclean things like the Awáns, Qalandars, Madáris and the vagrant Baloch who are known as

Haburas. Gullú they insert in their genealogy as the ancestor of the Giloi Baloch. Speaking an *argot* of their own called Balochi Fársi, they are skilful burglars and wander great distances, disguised as *faqirs* and butchers. When about to start on a plundering expedition *sardárs* or chiefs are appointed as leaders, and on its termination they divide the spoil, receiving a double portion for themselves. Widows also receive their due share of the booty. The Giloi Baloch of Lyallpur, however, claim descent from Sayyid "Giloi," a nickname said to mean "freebooter." This tribe was formerly settled in the Montgomery District, but has been transplanted to two villages in Lyallpur and is settling down to cultivation, though it still associates with criminals in Ferozepur, Montgomery and Baháwalpur. It now makes little use of its peculiar patois.

Balúch, Blúch, a Paṭhán sept, see Blúch.

Bálú-panthí.—A small Bairági sub-sect. Bálá Thappa* or Bálá Sáhib was a Bairági *sádhú* of Jáṭ birth who lived in the Daska tahsíl of Siálkoṭ.

Balwatrah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bamba, an important tribe in Kashmír, and represented by two families in Hazára: District Gazetteer, 1907, p. 34.

Bám-márgi, Vámachári, the 'left-handed' worshippers of Kálí and the most notorious division of the Shákṭiks. Said to have been founded by the Jogi Kanípá, chiefly recruited from Saniásís and Jogís, and to be found chiefly in Kángra and Kashmír. As a rule their rites are kept secret and they are perhaps in consequence reputed to be chiefly indulgence in meat, spirits and promiscuity. The Choli-márg and Birajpání are more disreputable groups or sub-sects of the Bám-márgí.

Bámozai, an Afghán family, settled in Multán, which came from Khorásán in the time of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí: *Multán Gazetteer*, 1901-02, pp. 161—2.

Banáích, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bá-nawá, ? a synonym for be-nawá, *q.v.*

Baṇb, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Baṇḍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bandal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Baṇdechh, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Banḍejah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bandiál, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bangakh, see Bangash.

Bangálí, (1) a native of Bengal: (2) a vagrant tribe, probably akin to the Sánsís (with whom they certainly intermarry) and found chiefly in Kángra, whither they were probably driven from Hoshiárpur by the passing of the Criminal Tribes Act.

* This title suggests a Gurkha origin, as Thappa is a common title among the Gurkhas.

The Bangális are a small group, but are in constant communication with the Sapehras and other criminal tribes of the plains. They live by begging, exhibiting snakes, hunting and pilfering, but are probably not addicted to serious crime. Their camps are said to contain never less than 7 or more than 15 male adults. They make reed huts and can strike camp on the shortest notice, travelling with donkeys as pack-animals. Dogs are kept for hunting, and the Bangálí will eat any wild animal, even a hyæna, but he eschews beef or pork according to the prejudices of the people among whom he finds himself. There is said to be a special Bangálí *argot,* known only to the tribe. Their women are prostitutes, as well as dancers and singers. Besides propitiating local deities the Bangális are said to specially affect Sakhi Sarwar as 'Lakhdátá' and occasionally visit his shrine at Dharmkot near Nasírábád. (3) The term Bangálí is applied to Kanjar in some districts and in others to any Sapáda or snake-charmer in the plains.* There is no evidence that (2) or (3) have any connection with Bengal. In Panjabi Bangálí means a braggart, as in *bhukhkhá Bangáli,* a boastful person.

BANGASH, BANGAKH.† This is the name given to a number of Paṭhán tribes, formerly estimated to amount to some 100,000 families, as well as to the tract of mountainous country which they held. This tract was once divided into Bálá (Upper) and Páin (Lower) Bangash and was thence called the Bangashát (in the plural) or 'the two Bangash.' The first historical mention of the Bangashát occurs in Babar's *Tuzúk,* but the two tracts had long been under the control of the Turk and Mughal rulers of the Ghazníwí empire as the most practicable routes from Ghazní and Kábul into India lay through them. At a period when the Khaṭaks and Orakzais are barely referred to, we find constant mention of the Afgháns of Bangash. Roughly speaking, Upper Bangash included Kurram and Lower Bangash the country round Kohát, but it is difficult to define accurately the shifting boundaries of the *tumán* as it was called by the Mughals. According to the Ain-i-Akbari this *tumán* formed part of the *sarkár* and *súbah* (province) of Kábul.

The Afghán tribes of Bangash were of Kuráni (Karlárni) origin and the following table gives their traditional descent:—

KARLÁRNAI.

- Kakái (second son).
  - Sulaimán.
    - Wazír.
    - Bai.
    - Malik Kakhai Mír.
  - Sharaf-ud-Dín, (called Shítak by the Afgháns).
    - The Bannúchis.

The Baizai, descendants of Bai, and the Malik-Míris or Míranzais, sprung from Malik Mír, were the parent tribes of the Afgháns of Bangash, and to these were affiliated the Kághzi, descended from Kákhai or Kághai, daughter of Malik Mír, by a husband of an unknown tribe. The Malik-Míris, as Malik Mír's descendants in the male line, held the chieftainship, but it subsequently passed to the Baizais. The latter

* Because of the belief that charming is most successfully practised at Dacca in Bengal. There is or was a wild tribe in the rocks above Solon called Bangális. Sapehra and Sapáda are doubtful forms of Sapela, snake-charmer.

† The Eastern (or rather Northern) Afghán form.

has several branches, the Mardo, Azú, Lodi and Sháhú *khels*. The Míranzai *khèls* are the Hassanzai, with the Baḍah, Khákhá and Umar *khels*. A third branch, the Shámilzai,* apparently identical with the Kághzi, produced the Lanḍi, Hassan Khel, Músá Khel and Isá Khel.

Like the other Karlárni tribes the Afgháns of Bangash were disciples of the Pir-i-Roshán, and their attachment to that heresy brought about their ruin, the Mughal government organizing constant expeditions against them. After the Khaṭaks had moved towards the north-east from the Shuwál range (in Wazíristán),† the Baizai, Malik-Mírís and Kághzis then settled in the Upper Bangash, invaded the Lower (Kohát) and, in alliance with the Khaṭaks, drove the Orakzai who then held the Lower Bangash westwards into Tíráh. This movement continued till the reign of Akbar.‡

The history of the Bangash tribes and the part they took in the Mughal operations against the Roshánías are obscure. Probably they were divided among themselves,§ but those of them who had remained in Kurram appear to have adhered to the Roshánía doctrines.

After Aurangzeb's accession in 1659, we find Sher Muhammad Khán, of Kohát, chief of the Malik-Mírís, in revolt against the Mughals. He was captured, but subsequently released and became an adherent of the Mughals. Khushhál Khan the Khaṭak gives a spirited account of his little wars with Sher Muhammad Khan which ended in his own defeat and the final establishment of the Bangash in their present seats.

Among the Bangash Paṭháns of Kohát, betrothal (*kwazda*, 'asking') is privately negotiated, the boy's father taking the initiative. Then a day is fixed upon for the father and his friends to visit the girl's father. At the latter's house prayers are read and sweets distributed, the *nikáh* being sometimes also read on this occasion. But as a rule the girl simply puts on a gold or silver coin as the sign that she is betrothed. If the wedding is to be celebrated at no distant date, the *rarmána* or bride-price is paid at the betrothal—otherwise it is not paid till the wedding. But a price is invariably expected, its amount varying from Rs. 100 to 1,000, and the boy's father also has to supply the funds for entertaining the wedding party on the wedding day. The day following the betrothal pitchers of milk are exchanged by the two parties and the milk is drunk by their kinsfolk. The boy's father also sends the girl a suit of clothes and some cooked food on each Id and the Shabrát.

On the day fixed for the commencement of the festivities sweets are distributed by the boy's father among his friends and kinsmen and music is played. Three days before the wedding comes the *kenawal*, when the boy's kinswomen visit the bride and observe this rite, which consists in stripping the bride of all her ornaments and shutting her up in a room by herself. The next night the women visit her again for the *kamsi khlaswal* or unplaiting of her hair. For this the barber's wife receives a fee. On the third day the bridegroom gives a feast to all his friends

* Also interesting as having given birth to the Bangash Nawábs of Farrukhábád.

† The Míranzai give their name to the Miranzai *tappa*, Upper and Lower, which forms the Hangù tahsil of Kohát.

‡ The *Ain* still includes the Orakzai in the Bangash *tumán*, but its vaguely defined boundaries may have been at that time deemed to include Tíráh.

§ Some hundreds of them were deported into Hindustan.

and fellow-villagers, and in the afternoon he and his friends don garlands. The *neundra* is also presented on this day. Then the boy and his wedding party go to the bride's house, returning that same night if it is not too far away, or else remaining there for the night. On the fourth day in the morning *churi* is given to the wedding party and coloured water sprinkled on them, some money being placed on the dish used for the *churi* as the perquisite of the bride's barber. After a meal the girls of the party, accompanied by the bridegroom's best man (*saubhalná*), go to a spring or well to fetch water in which the bride bathes. This is called *ghari gharol*, as it often is in the Punjab. Then the pair are dressed in new clothes and the *nikáh* is solemnized. Some parents give their daughter a dowry of clothes and ornaments, called *plarganai mál* or 'paternal wealth.' On the next day but one after the wedding *churi** is brought from the bride's house to the bridegroom's—an observance called *tirah*. On the seventh day, *uwamma wraj*, the bride is fetched to her house by her kinswomen, but three or four days later she returns to her husband, sometimes with more presents of clothes and ornaments from her parents.

The Bangash of Kohát are tall and good looking, they shave the head and clip the beard like the people of Peshawar. Though neat in dress which is generally white, they have not much courage. The Shiah Bangash† are much braver. In Upper Míranzai the Bangash still affect the dark blue turban and shirt, with a grey sheet for a *lungi*, which were once common to the whole tribe—as Elphinstone noted. They shave the head and eradicate most of the hair on the chin and cheeks, leaving little but the ends of the moustache and a Newgate fringe. Young men often wear love locks and stick a rose in the turban—when they feel themselves irresistible. The *mullás* have not yet succeeded in preaching down the custom of clipping the beard. The Míranzai women wear the ordinary blue shift with a loose trousers of *susi* and a shirt, but the shift is often studded with silver coins and ugly silk work. Few other ornaments are worn.

Banhor, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Báni, Bal, a female servant, a *dái*.

Bániá.—The word *báníá* is derived from the Sanskrit *bánijya* or trader; and the Báníá by caste, as his name implies, lives for and by commerce. He holds a considerable area of land in the east of the Province; but it is very rarely indeed that he follows any other than mercantile pursuits. The commercial enterprise and intelligence of the class is great, and the dealings of some of the great Báníá houses of Dehli, Bíkáner, and Márwár are of the most extensive nature. But the Báníá of the village, who represents the great mass of the caste, is a poor creature, notwithstanding the title of Mahájan or "great folk," which is confined by usage to the caste to which he belongs.

* Wheat flour cooked with *ghi* and dry sugar.

† Those of Samilzai dress in white with a coloured *lungi* and turban of a peculiar pattern woven locally. In Upper Míranzai a peculiar tunic is worn—it is not very long and about 13 inches below the collar is gathered into numerous pleats—which distinguishes them from *paráchas* or Muhammadan shop-keepers.

He spends his life in his shop, and the results are apparent in his inferior physique and utter want of manliness. He is looked down upon by the peasantry as a cowardly money-grubber; but at the same time his social standing is from one point of view curiously higher than theirs, for he is what they are not, a strict Hindu; he is generally admitted to be of pure Vaisya descent, he wears the *janeo* or sacred thread, his periods of purification are longer than theirs, he does not practise widow-marriage, and he will not eat or drink at their hands; and religious ceremonial and the degrees of caste proper are so interwoven with the social fabric that the resulting position of the Báníá in the grades of rustic society is of a curiously mixed nature. The Báníá is hardly used by the proverbial wisdom of the countryside: "He who has a Báníá for a friend is not in want of an enemy;" and, "First beat a Báníá, then a thief." And indeed the Báníá has too strong a hold over the husbandman for there to be much love lost between them. Yet the money-lenders of the villages at least have been branded with a far worse name than they deserve. They perform functions of the most cardinal importance in the village economy, and it is surprising how much reasonableness and honesty there is in their dealings with the people so long as they can keep their business transactions out of a court of justice.

Organisation.—The organisation of the Báníás is exceedingly obscure. They have certain territorial divisions, but there is also a true subcaste, called Bára-Saini* in Gurgaon, which is said to be quite distinct from the others. They are descended from Chamárs and at marriage the boy wears a *mukat* or tiara of *dák* leaves, shaped like a basket, into which a piece of leather is fixed.

The territorial groups are at least three in number. Of these the chief is the Aggarwáls, and there is a curious legend about their origin. Básbak Nág had 17 daughters, who were married to the 17 sons of Ugar Sain, but these snake daughters of Báshak used to leave their homes by night to visit their parents, and in their absence their husbands lived with their handmaidens, and descendants of these are the Dasa or Chhoti-sarn *gots* of the Báníás, each *got* taking its name from that of the handmaiden from whom it is descended. The children of Báshak Nág's daughters formed the 17 *gots*† of the Aggarwál. Once a boy and girl of the Goyal *got* were married by mistake and their

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* From *bárá*, 12, and *seni*, an army (Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh I*, p. 177.)

† *Cf.* Punjab Census Report, 1883, § 533. The Aggarwál *gots* include:—

1. Jíndal.	8. Mangal.
2. Mindal.	9. Tahil.
3. Gar.	10. Kansal.
4. Eran.	11. Bánsal.
5. Dheran.	12. Mahwar.
6. Mital.	13. Goyal or Goik.
7. Mansal.	14. Gond.

Of these Kansal and Bánsal are named from *kans*, a grass, and *báns*, bamboo, and they do not cut or injure these plants. The Mahwar are said to be descended from a son of Agar Sain who married a low-caste wife, so other Báníás will not smoke with them. Another account adds Sengal.

descendants form the half-*got* called Gond,* so that there are 17½ *gots* in all. And again one of the sons of Ugar Sain married a low-caste woman and his descendants are the Mahwar *got* which cannot smoke with other Bániás. The Aggarwál Mahájans only avoid their own section in marriage (Jínd).

The second group is the Saralia, who are an off-shoot of the Aggarwál and appear to have the same *gots*.

The third group, the Oswál, appears to form a true sub-caste.† They strenuously claim a Punwár Rájput origin, but other Rájputs of various tribes joined them. They followed one of their Brahmans in becoming Jains, in Sambat 422.

Hence there are three territorial groups or sub-castes, and a fourth of lower status based on descent :—

Sub-caste I. Aggarwál { Sub-groups :— *i.* Bisa, *ii.* Dasa or Chhotí-sarn. } from Agroha.‡ } In Western Rájputána.
Sub-caste II. Sarália, from Saráļa. } In Western Rájputána.
Sub-caste III. Oswál,—from Osianagrí—in Eastern Rájputána.
Sub-caste IV. Bára-Saini.

Apparently there are, besides these territorial groups, cross-divisions of the caste based on religious differences. These seem to be Saraogi or Jain, Maheshri or Shaiva, Aggarwál-Vishnoi or Vaishnavas. But the Maheshri, who undoubtedly derive their name from Mahesh or Shiva, are not now all Shaivas, for one of their number was in consequence of a miracle converted to Jainism and so founded the Tahtar *got* of the Oswál, among whom the Kamáwat *got* is also Maheshri. It would appear that the Shaiva groups formed true sub-castes, for the Maheshri certainly do not intermarry with the Aggarwál or Oswál§ though Vaishnava and Jain Aggarwáls intermarry freely in Gurgaon.

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* Or Gand, *cf.* the Gand or impure section of the Bhátias. Hissar Gazetter, 1892, p. 137. In Jhelum the Gond and Billa sections do not intermarry, being said to be descendants of a common ancestor.

† The original Oswál *gots* are said to be :—

1. Thaker,	10. Bahádur, Punwár,
2. Baphna (Rájput, by origin),	11. Kanbat „
3. Sankhli,	12. Baid,
4. Kamáwat Punwár (*Maheshri*),	13. Tagu Srishtri, Sanklá,
5. Mor Rakh Pokarna, Sanklá Punwár,	14. Burugotra, Bhattí,
6. Kuladhar, Bribat Punwárs,	15. Dádu „
7. Sri Srim, Sanklá „	16. Chorbheria, Raghubansi,
8. Srishtgota, Punwár,	17. Kanaujia, Rahtor,
9. Suchanti, Punwár,	18. Chuichat.

19. Kotari, or keepers of the treasure-house,

but the last does not seem to be a true *got*, so that there were only 18 *gots*, as there still are among the Aggarwál.

The Baid are said to have been originally a branch of the Srishtgota and to have been so called because Devi effected a miraculous cure of the eyes of a girl belonging to that section by causing a special kind of *ak* to grow, the juice of which healed them.

‡ To which place the Aggarwáls make annual pilgrimages, as it is the ancient city of Agar or Ugar Sain. They also have a boy's hair cut there for the first time.

§ An account from Jínd divides the Bánias (like the Bhábras) into the Srimal and Oswál groups, each with different *gots* :—

Srimal *gots*.		Oswál *gots*.	
Chanália.	Bángaria.	Ranke.	Bambel.
Borá.	Júníwál.	Dugar.	Bambh.
Kanodia.	Tánk.	Gadia.	Náhar.

But from the extreme south-east of the Punjab comes the following account which differs widely from those given above. The Báwal *nizámat* borders on Rájputána, and forms part of Nábha, in which State he Bániás are represented by four groups:—(1) Aggarwál, (2) Rustagi, (3) Khandelwál, (4) Mahúr, who rank in this order, each group being able to take water from the one above it, but not *vice versá*.

(*i*). The Aggarwáls of Báwal *nizámat* in Nábha perform all the ceremonies observed by the Brahmans of that tract, but they have a special custom of boring the ears and noses of children, both male and female. This is called *parojan*. For this ceremony they keep some of the rice used at the *lagan* preceding a wedding in another family; and carry the *deotas*, which are usually kept in the *parohit's* charge to their own house. The *deotas* are worshipped for seven days. The *pandit* fixes a *mahúrat* or auspicious time for the boring and the rite is then performed, a feast being given to Brahmans and relatives. In the case of a boy, he is made to sit on a he-goat which is borrowed for the occasion and alms are given, a present being also made to the boy. In Nábha town some Aggarwál families perform this ceremony, but others do not.

(*ii*). The Rustagí* group is found only in the Báwal *nizámat*, in Gurgaon, Delhi, Alwar, Budaon, Bulandshahr and Gwálior. They are most strongly represented in Báwal, at Bhora in Rewári tahsil and at Barand in Alwar State, but probably do not exceed 1,000 families in the whole of India. Though in marriage they only avoid one *got*, yet owing to the paucity of the numbers the poorer members cannot get wives and so die unmarried. They say that Rohtásgarh was their original home and that their name Rustagí is derived from Rohtás. They have 18 *gots* named after the villages which they originally inhabited. They avoid widow re-marriage, but do not invariably wear the *janeo*, as the Aggarwáls do. They perform the first hair-cutting of a boy at Nagarkot or Dahni in Alwar at the *asthán* of Devi. They observe the *milni*, *i.e.* when the parents of a betrothed couple meet the girl's father must give the boy's father from one to twenty-one rupees, and the girl's father must not visit the village where his daughter has been betrothed until after the marriage under the penalty of paying the *milni*, but once paid it is not payable a second time. At the Dewáli Rustagís pay special reverence to their *sati*. They are all Vaishnavas and also worship Gopí Náth. The *barát* must arrive the day before the wedding, but they have no other special marriage customs.

(*iii*). The Khandelwáls are few in number. They have 72 *gots*, the principal one in Nábha State being the Bajolia. They claim to have come from Khatu Khandela in Jaipur. The *barát* in this group also arrives the day before the wedding but the boy's father has to feed the *bará* himself on that day. Like the Ahírs the Khandelwáls on the *widai* day have a special custom. The women of the bride's family clothe the boy's father in yellow clothes and put a pitcher of water on his head, with a necklace of camel's dung round his neck and compel him to go and worship the well just as the women do. He only escapes after much teasing by paying them from 11 to 51 rupees. They do not wear the *janeo*, and as they are devotees of Bhagwán Dás, Mahátmá, of Tikha in the Báwal Thána they do not smoke or sell tobacco.

(*iv*). The Mahúr are few in number in Báwal. They have two *gots* Mawal and Kargas. They are Vaishnavas and specially reverence Hanúmán.

BANJÁRA.—This and the Labána caste are generally said to be identical,† being called Banjára in the eastern districts and Labána in the Punjab proper. But Banjára, derived from *banij*, 'a trader', or perhaps from *bánji* 'a pedlar's pack,' is used in the west of the Punjab as a generic term for 'pedlar.' Wanjára (*q. v.*) is doubtless only another form of the name.

The Banjáras of the eastern districts are a well-marked class, of whom a complete description will be found in Elliott's *Races of the N.-W. P.*, I, pp. 52—56. They were the great travelling traders and carriers of Central India, the Deccan and Rájpútána; and under the

* According to an account from Pataudi State the groups are Aggarwál, Rasangi, Mahesri, Saraogi and Kalal, and in Gurgáon it is said that the Saraogi and Vishnav (*sic*) Bániás do not intermarry though they can eat *kachchi* and *pakki* with each other.

† In Southern India the Brinjára is also called Lawánah or Lumbána (fr. *lún*, Sanskr *lavan*, 'salt'). See also under *Multáni*.

Afghán and Mughal empires were the commissariat of the imperial forces. A simile applied to a dying person is:

Banjára ban men phire liye lakriá háth;
Ṭáṇḍa wáhá lad gaya, koi sangi nahín sáth.

"The Banjára goes into the jungle with his stick in his hand.
He is ready for the journey, and there is nobody with him."

From Sir H. Elliott's description they seem to be a very composite class, including sections of various origin. But the original Banjára caste is said to have its habitat in the sub-montane tract from Gorakhpur to Hardwár. The Banjáras of the United Provinces come annually into the Jumna districts and Eastern States in the cold weather with letters of credit on the local merchants, and buy up large numbers of cattle which they take back again for sale as the summer approaches; and these men and the Banjára carriers from Rájpútána are principally Hindus. The Musalmán Banjáras are probably almost all pedlars. The headmen of the Banjára parties are called *náik* (Sanskrit *náyaka*, "chief") and Banjáras in general are not uncommonly known by that name. The Railways are fast destroying the carrying trade of these people except in the mountain tracts. The word *banjára* is apparently sometimes used for an oculist, and any Hindu pedlar is so styled. Synonyms are *bisáti* or *maniár* in the central, and *lanati* in the eastern districts, and, amongst Muhammadans, *khoja* and *parácha.* In Amritsar their *gots* are said to include Manhás, Khokhar and Bhaṭṭi septs, and they have a tradition that Akbar dismissed Chaudhri Sháh Quli from his service whereupon he turned trader or *banjára.*

BANNÚCHI.—The hybrid branch of the Paṭháns which holds the central portion of the Bannú tahsil, between the Kurram and Tochi rivers. This tract they occupied towards the close of the 14th century, after being driven out of Shawál by the Wazírs and in turn driving the Mangal and Hanni tribes back into Kohát and Kurram. The Bannúchis have attracted to themselves Sayyids and other doctors of Islám in great numbers, and have not hesitated to intermarry with these, with the scattered representatives of the former inhabitants of their tract who remained with them as *hamsáya*, and with the families of the various adventurers who have at different times settled amongst them; insomuch that "Bannúchi in its broadest sense now means all Muhammadans, and by a stretch, even Hindus long domiciled within the limits of the irrigated tract originally occupied by the tribe." The descendants of Shítak, however, still preserve the memory of their separate origin and distinguish themselves as Bannúchi proper. They are of inferior physique, envious, secretive, cowardly, lying, great bigots, inoffensive, and capital cultivators. Sir Herbert Edwardes says of them: 'The Bannúchis are bad specimens of Afgháns; can worse be said of any race? They have all the vices of Paṭháns rankly luxuriant, their virtues stunted.' Their Isakhi clan, however, is famed for the beauty of its women. 'Who marries not an Isakhi woman deserves an ass for a bride.'

Shítak, a Kakai Karláni, by his wife Bannú had two sons, Kiwi and Súrání. The former had also two sons, Míri and Sami. To Míri's sons fell the south, to Sami's the centre, and to Súráni's the north and

west of Dand, the modern Bannu, which was named after Shítak's wife. When Bannu became a part of the kingdom of Kábul the Bannúchis split into two factions, 'black' and 'white,' which left them a prey to the Wazírs.

Banot, a sept of Hindu Rájputs, which holds a *bárah* or group of 12 villages near Garhshankar in Hoshiárpur. The Banot say they are of the same origin as the Nárús, and the name is said to mean 'shadow of the *ban*' or forests of the Siwáliks in which they once dwelt.

Bánsí, a class of musicians, players on the pipe (*báns*) at temples and village shrines, but virtually employed in the same way as Halís or Sipís, in Chamba.

Banwra, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bányá-í, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bányí, see **Bányá**.

Baoei, a tribe of Muhammadans, of Jáṭ status, found in Montgomery.

Bapar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Baphlá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bappí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán: see **Bosan**.

Bar, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bar Mohmand, see **Mohmand**.

Barái, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Baraiya, (Sanskrit, *varájívi*), an astrologer according to the *Dharma Purán*, begotten by a Brahman on a Súdrá. But under the same name the *Tantrá* describes a caste sprung from a *gopá* (cowherd) and a *Tantraváya* (weaver) and employed in cultivating betel (Colebrooke, *Essays*, 272-3).

Bárakzai, a famous clan of the Abdáli or Durráni Afgháns which supplanted the Sadozai family of that branch early in the 19th century. Its most famous members were Fath Khán and Dost Muhammad his brother. The latter took the title of *amir* after Sháh Shujá's failure to recover Qandahár in 1834 and founded the present ruling house of Afghánistán: (for its history see M. Longworth Dames in *The Encyclopædia of Islám*, 1908).

Barar, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán, and in Montgomery in which District it is both Hindu and Muhammadan: (2) a Hindu and Muhammadan Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Barar, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Baraṛ, fem. *Barṛi*, a low caste given to begging and roguery. In Jullundur the Baraṛs make winnowing fans (*chhaj*), baskets, and sieves (*chhanra*) of reed. They also hunt with dogs. Their observances resemble those of the Chúhṛas. At a wedding one of the caste is selected to officiate, and he kindles the fire and makes the couple go round it. The bride's parents keep the wedding party one or three days, feeding its members on rice, sugar and bread. On its departure the girl's father gives her

a (marriage portion) dower. The women sing songs, and the men chant a ballad called *guga.* The Baráṛs believe in Lál Beg and every Rabi they offer him a *rot* of 2¼ *sers* with a fowl, boiled and smothered in *ghí.* This is either given to *faqírs* or eaten by themselves. Some of the caste are vagrants and form a link between the Sánsis and Chuhṛás.

BARÁṚ, (1) The name of a caste of Jáṭs around Bhaṭiṇḍá; *Baráṛ baṇs,* a person belonging to, or descended from, the Baráṛ caste. See under Sidhú Baráṛ; (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BAṚÁṚÁ, also called Baṛaṛ and Baṛáṛí, a basket-maker and bamboo-worker in the higher hills who has also spread into the sub-montane tracts. He is not a scavenger by profession though he is said to worship Lál Beg, the Chúhṛas' deity. See Koli and Nirgálú.

BARGHAṬ, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BAṚHIÁL, a sept descended from Andeo Chand, son of Udai Chand, fourteenth Rájá of Kahlúr. Another account makes them descendants of Rájá Ajít Chand's younger son.

BAṚHÁÍ.—A wood-cutter or carpenter in the hills (root *badhná,* to cut, *cf.* Bádhi). In Kullú the Baṛháís and Bádhis are the same, but not in Kángṛa Proper. In Kullú they do not scruple to eat the flesh of dead animals. The Baṛháís are not a separate caste, but Kolis or Dágis that use the axe, and one of the Koli groups is returned as Baṛháí. There is also a Baṛháí tribe or clan among the Ráthis of Kángṛa.

BÁṚHI.—The synonym for Tarkhán in the Jumna Districts. The Báṛhi considers himself superior to his western brother the Kháti, and will not marry with him: his married women wear the nose-ring. *Cf.* Bádhi and Baṛháí.

BÁRÍ, a caste in Báwal who make *patals* and *dúnas** of leaves, while some are cooks to Hindu Rájputs. They are immigrants from Rájputána, and claim Rájput origin to which their *got* names point. These are Chauhán (who are Asáwarias† by persuasion), and others.

In marriage they avoid four *gots,* and also fellow-worshippers of the *devi.* Thus an Asáwaria may not marry an Asáwaria Chauhán. At a wedding the *pheras* are not performed until the bride has put on ivory bangles—like a Rájput bride. They affect Bhairon, eat flesh and drink liquor, but Hindu Rájputs will eat food cooked by them and though now regarded as Sudras they are admitted to temples.

BARIÁ, VARYÁ, a Rájput tribe, said in Jullundur to be Solar Rájputs descended from Rájá Karan of the Mahábhárat. Their ancestor Mal (!) came from Jal Káhra in Patiála about 500 years ago. Those of Siálkoṭ, where they are found in small numbers and rank as Jáṭs, not Rájputs, say they are of Lunar Rájput descent. The tribe is practically confined to Patiála and Nábha, and the name of the ancestor Mal, if common to the tribe, looks as if they were not Rájputs at all. Another form of the name appears to be 'Waráh.' The Waráh are descendants of Waráh, whose grandson

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* *Patal,* a plate made of leaves (also a screen, made of reeds), *duna,* a cup made of leaves. Both are generally made from the leaves of the *dhák* tree.

† Devotees of Asáwaria *Devi,* whose temple is at Sambbar in Jaipur.

Rájá Banni Pál, is said to have founded Bhaṭinḍa, after conquering Bhatner and marrying the daughter of its Rájá. Banni Pál's son Udasí was defeated by a king of Delhi but received a *jagir*. His son Sundar had seven sons, of whom the eldest founded Badhar in Nábha. (*Cf*. Barián).

Barián, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming to be Lunar Rájputs of the Jaler, Sahi and Lakhí families—through its eponym whose descendant Tok settled in Siálkoṭ. (*cf*. Bariá).

Bárik (? Barakki), a clan of Paṭháns, claiming Arab descent. With the Ansárí Shaikhs they came from the Logar valley between Kábul and Ghazni and settled at Jullundur. It includes the Guz,* Aliák and Bábákhel families and one branch of it is called Súdákhel. Elphinstone† describes the Barakkis as a class of Tájiks, mixed with the Ghiljis (Ghilzais or possibly Khilchis). The Barakkis are also described as a Tájik people, speaking a language of their own, and Raverty notes that some Barakki Tájiks also dwell among the Urmurs at Kániguram in the Wazír country. For the connection of the Bárik Paṭháns with Shaikh Darwesh see the article on the Roshanías.

Barikká. (s. m.). A low caste of Muhammadans.

Barkanḍáj. (s. m.). Corrupted from the Arabic word Barqandáz. A policeman; a constable; a village watchman.

Barkezai, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Barlás, Barlásyí, a Mughal clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Barukzai (? Barakzai), a Pathan clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Barwálá, Batwál. These two names, though probably of different origin, are used almost as synonyms, the former being more common in the lower hills and the latter in the mountain ranges of Kángṛa. But in Chamba the Barwálá is clearly distinct from the Batwál, being a maker of mats and winnowing fans, and the name is probably derived from *bará* or *baria*, the kind of grass used for them. *Batwál* or *batwár* on the other hand means a tax collector, and *batwál* is an ordinary peon of any caste, even a Brahman, though of course he may be by caste a Batwál.‡ At the capital, Chamba, Barwálás used to be employed as watchmen and thus went up in the social scale as Batwáls. In Kángṛa however the Batwál form a true caste, while Barwálá is little more than the name of an occupation. Both words correspond very closely with the Lahbar or Baláhar of the plains, and denote the village watchman or messenger. In the higher hills this office is almost

* For the Ghuzz Turks in Kurram see Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*.

† *Caubul*, p. 315.

Also see the *Saints of Jalandhar* in Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*.

‡ Dr. J. Hutchison notes regarding the Batwáls of Chamba that they claim descent from Siddh Kaneri, a deified ascetic of whom they know nothing. Formerly employed as watchmen, a few are still enlisted in the State Police. Barwálás and Batwáls are all Hindus and have their own *gotras*, but Brahmans do not officiate at their weddings, which are solemnised by two literate men of the caste. Their observances follow the usage of the locality in which they are settled. Thus in Chamba the *biyah* or full wedding rite is observed as among the high castes, though expense is curtailed and the ceremonies abridged. A Brahman fixes the day of the wedding. The dead are burnt.

confined to the Batwálás, while in the lower hills it is performed by men of various low castes who are all included under the generic term of Barwálá. These men are also the coolies of the hills, and in fact occupy much the same position there as is held by the Chamárs in the plains, save that they do not tan or work in leather. In Kángra they are also known as Kiráwak or Kirauk, a word which properly means a man whose duty it is to assemble coolies and others for *begár* or forced labour, and they are also called Satwág or "bearers of burdens." Like most hill menials they often cultivate land, and are employed as ploughmen and field labourers by the Rájputs and allied races of the hills who are too proud to cultivate with their own hands. They are true village menials, and attend upon village guests, fill pipes, bear torches, and carry the bridegroom's palanquin at weddings and the like, and receive fixed fees for doing so. In the towns they appear to be common servants. They are of the lowest or almost the lowest standing as a caste, apparently hardly, if at all, above the Dumna or sweeper of the hills; but the Batwál has perhaps a slightly higher standing than the Barwálá. Indeed the name of Barwálá is said to be a corruption of *baharwálá* or "outsider," because, like all outcasts, they live in the outskirts of the village.

At Batwál weddings in Siálkot the learned among the Meghs officiate. The Batwáls have Brahman priests, but they do not conduct their marriage rites: they also avoid contact with them. The Batwáls marry their girls at an early age, but allow widow-remarriage, and that too without regard to the husband's brother's claims. Two *gots* only are avoided. Batwáls* are menials.

Birth observances.—Four or twelve months after the birth of a boy *ritań* are observed as follows:—Loaves of bread fried in oil are arranged in piles, seven in each heap, and the head of each family takes a pile and distributes it among its members. Only those who belong to the *got* in which the birth has taken place can take part in this feast. Among the Jhanjotra the head of a boy or girl is not shaved till the child begins to talk. Sometimes a *bodi* is retained, as among Hindus.

Their wedding ceremonies are thus described:—

Four posts are fixed in the ground and four more placed over these. On these four latter two turbans, supplied by the fathers or guardians of the bride or bridegroom, are spread. Then the bride's father places her hands in those of the bridegroom, saying: 'In God's name I give you this girl (my daughter or relation).' Then the pair, the bride's hands clasped in the bridegroom's, walk round an earthen pitcher placed inside the four upright posts. This duly done, the marriage is completed.† On his way home the bridegroom has to wind some raw cotton seven times round a shrub.

The Batwáls either burn or bury their dead. In either case on the way to the ground they halt and place two balls of leavened barley bread at the shoulders, and two at the feet, of the corpse. Thirteen

* The Batwáls' folk-etymology derives their name from *betwál*, 'son of a daughter'. A Rájá's daughter became enceinte by an illicit amour and was expelled her father's kingdom. A Chuhrá took her to wife, but her child founded the Batwál caste.

† At weddings food is thrown to the crows—which birds the Batwáls are said to chiefly worship—and until they take the food the Batwáls themselves will not eat.

days after the death they take to a Brahman a rupee and 4 *sers* of wheat flour, and these he carries to a tank, where he recites prayers. As amongst Hindus *bhajjan** is performed after a death. Two yards of cotton cloth, knotted at the four corners, are hung over the left shoulder, in token of mourning, by the kin.

The remains of a body are taken either to the Ganges or to Parmandal.

The Batwáls are not allowed to sell *ghi*, and after a cow has calved they do not eat *ghi* until some has been offered to a Brahman.

In Siálkoṭ the Barwálá *gots* are:—

Dhaggá	Lakhotra	Nandan
Jhanjotra	Lahoria	Sangotra
Kaith	Molún or Molán	Sargotra
		Sindha

Each of the Batwál *gots* in Siálkoṭ has its own temple, *e. g.*, the Jhanjotra at Ghulhe in Zafarwál tahsíl: the Kaith at Amranwalí in Siálkoṭ: and the Molán at Gillanwálá in Zafarwál. The temple is simply a mound of earth before which they prostrate themselves, each head of a family sacrificing at it a goat in honour of his eldest son.

In Kapúrthalá the Barwálá *gots* are:—

Badiál	Dhádi	Phankráin
Chakmak	Jhajriha	Batrí
Chandgirain	Náhra	Soner
Chauhán	Pambália	

With the Chandgirain *got* the other Batwáls have no connection, and do not even smoke with them. Like the Batwáls the Barwálás in Siálkoṭ employ Meghs, who rank higher than the ordinary Meghs, as priests in religious and ceremonial observances.

The Barwálás make baskets in Siálkoṭ. In Kapúrthalá they are village watchmen and messengers.

Baryár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Barye, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Básan, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar: Basan in Montgomery.

Basáti, Basátiá, a pedlar; a petty merchant.

Báshá, a synonym for Bhánd, *q. v.* The term is applied to a jester or tumbler kept by wealthy men, also to an actor (and so equivalent to Bahrúpia, especially in the Central Punjab). In Siálkoṭ the Báshá is said to be a class of Pernas. The Báshás are usually Muhammadans, and though probably mostly Mírásis by origin will not intermarry with them. The term is also applied generally to any immoral person. Báshás are also cuppers and toy-sellers.

Ba-shara, 'regular: a term applied to the four great regular orders among the Sunni Muhammadans, *viz.*, the Chishti, Qádirí, Saharwardí and Nakshbandi, who all uphold Sufi-ism. Opposed to Be-shara'.

Bashera, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

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* Worship.

Bashgáli, a tribe of the Siáh-posh Káfirs : see under Káfir.

Bashkár, a group of non-Paṭhán tribes which used to occupy the Panjkora Kohístán or Kohístán-i-Malízai in Dír, the upper part of this Kohístán being known as Bashkár and the lower as Sheríngal, but the Bashkár are now chiefly confined to the tract of that name. The Bashkarí language is said to be the same as the Garhwí.

According to Biddulph the Bashkárik, as he terms them, have three clans ; Múlanor, Kútchkor and Joghior. The Bashkárik name the months thus :—

Hassan Husain	Tlái Ishpo (third sister)	Roz
Safar	Chot Ishpo (fourth sister)	Lokyül (small festival)
Param Ishpo (first sister)	Súepi (great month)	Miána (intervening)
Dowim Ishpo (second sister)	Shokadr	Gányül (great festival)

See under Torwál.

Basi. A tribe of Jáṭs, whose forebear Tulla has a *mat* at Gopálpur in Ludhiána. At the birth of a son, and also at the Diwálí, earth is dug there in his name.

Basrá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur : Basrác, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Baṭ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. Also a sept of Kashmiri Pandit, converted to Islám and found in the north-west submontane Districts of the Punjab.

Batahra, (*cf* Patáhar), a stone-mason, a carver or dresser of stone, in the Kángṛa hills. In Kullú he is said to be a Koli who has taken to slate quarrying. In Chamba, however, they appear to form a true caste, working generally as stone-masons, but sometimes as carpenters or even cultivators. In Gurdáspur and Kángṛa the word is synonymous with ráj.

Batakzaí, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Batak, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Báṭ, Báṭh, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar. Crowther gives the following list of the Báṭ septs : Baṭ, Dhol, Jhandol, Pophart, Khaire, Jhandher, Desi, Tatla, Anjla, Ghuman, Ghumán, Khak, Dhawal, Janua,* Randher, Madri, Sadri, Hoti, Seti, and Kirbat, which may all intermarry, so that a Báṭ sometimes may marry a Báṭ. All these septs are said to be descendants of San-or Sainpál, who came from the Málwa 800 years ago. They first settled at Odhyara in Lahore. Khair(a)'s descendants have two *jatheras*, Rajpál and his grandson Sháhzáda, who fell in a fight with the Kang Jáṭs at Khadúr Sáhib in Amritsar. The Báṭh are also found as a Hindu and Muhammadan Jáṭ clan in Montgomery.

Bátheke, a sept of the Waṭṭú Rájputs, found in Montgomery and Baháwalpur.

Bathmánú, a Brahman *al*, of Bathmána village in Dhámi and one of the chief tribes in that State. With the Jamogi Kanets it gives the *ráj-tilak* to the Ráṇá, and like them belongs to the Garg *gotra*. The *wazír* of the State usually belongs to one of these two septs.

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* There is said to be a settlement of Januas (? Janjúas) 'beyond Peshawar' who have become Muhammadans.

Báṭí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multan.

Baṭṭar, a Jáṭ sept.

Baṭṭí, a Hindu Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Báuria, Báwaria. The following is Sir Denzil Ibbetson's account of the Báuria groups :—" They are said to be divided into three sections : the Bidáwati of Bíkáner who trace their origin to Bidáwat in Jaipur, do not eat carrion, disdain petty theft but delight in crimes of violence, will not steal cows or oxen, and affect a superiority over the rest; the Jangali or Kálkamlia, also called Káldhaballia—fr. *dhabla,* a skirt, the blanket, *kamal,* forming a petticoat,—generally found in the Jangaldes of the Sikh States, Ferozepore, and Sirsa, and whose women wear black blankets ; and the Káparia who are most numerous in the neighbourhood of Dehli, and are notoriously a criminal tribe. The three sections neither eat together nor intermarry. The Kálkamlia is the only section which are still hunters by profession, the other sections looking down upon that calling. The Káparia are for the most part vagrant ; while the Bidáwati live generally in fixed abodes."

This account is amplified in an interesting account of the tribe by Mr. H. L. Williams of the Punjab Police. He gives the following table of their tribal system which is clearly based on the usual principle of territorial and other groups which cross-divide the natural sections* :—

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* As regards the Báurias in Lyallpur Mr. J. M. Dunnett writes :—
" There is a further and occupational division among the Báurias. Non-cultivators are Kápria, Gumria, and Gadera, while Káldhablia, Deswalia, Dewawate and Labána are cultivators. The division, I think, really means that some live by hunting pure and simple, the others combining agriculture with it. At any rate the difference in *izzat* is so great that intermarriage between two divisions is unknown. Why Gadera, which must mean a shepherd, is classed as non-agriculturist, while Labánas, who hunt pigs are classed as cultivators I do not know."

Group.	Section.	Locality.	Occupation.
1. Deswáli (territorial) or Gomaria (contemptuous, because they take food from the hands of Muhammadans).	1. Solkhi. 2. Makwána. 3. Panwár. 4. Dhándal. 5. Sánkhla. 6. Bháti or Dábi. 7. Rahlaúr. 8. Sadwa. 9. Bargújar.	Chiefly found in Hariána.	Cultivators.
2. Bidáwati (territorial), Bigoti (a corruption).	1. Chohan. 2. Panwár. 3. Bháti. 4. Dhandal. 5. Manáwat. 6. Sunáwat. 7. Rahtor. 8. Cháran. 9. Jalpáwat. 10. Dhol Pachwaia. 11. Parhiár.	Chiefly found in Rájputána.	Cultivators.
3. Káldhablia,* or Kálkamlia ...	1. Sohengre. 2. Dhándal. 3. Cháran. 4. Chohan. 5. Panwár. 6. Sunáwat. 7. Solkhi. 8. Bháti. 9. Ugáwat. 10. Rahtor. 11. Sadáwat. 12. Nathnta. 13. Dhol Pachwaia.	Ferozepore ...	Breeders and herdsmen of goat and sheep.
4. Nágauri, Bágri, (territorial) or Báharla.	1. Chohan. 2. Panwár. 3. Bháti. 4. Solkhi. 5. Sankla. 6. Cháran. 7. Manáwat. 8. Ugáwat. 9. Sadáwat.		The Báharwálás live in huts like the Kápriwála, and their women too are mendicants.
5. Dilliwal (territorial), or Bhátia ...	1. Solkhi. 2. Bháti. 3. Chohan. 4. Dhãndal. 5. Manáwat. 6. Sunáwat. 7. Cháran. 8. Sadáwat. 9. Paranál. 10. Dhamdhara. 11. Dibás. 12. Panwár.	Chiefly found in districts on the Jumna.	
6. Gandhíla	1. Játu. 2. Dáblia. 3. Panwár. 4. Rahtaur. 5. Chohan. 6. Chanandia. 7. Bagri. 8. Pharra. 9. Sunáwat. 10. Dawáwat.	Chiefly found in districts on the Jumna.	Makers and sellers of leather thongs: also trappers.

* This term is also applied to a sept of the Sapela (snake-charmer) Jogís.

Group.	Section.	Locality.	Occupation.
7. Paundla	1. Chohan. 2. Bargújar. 3. Paunar. 4. Bháti. 5. Manáwat. 6. Raghàwat. 7. Solkhi. 8. Chaptawat.		Said to be good cultivators.
8. Kápriá, or Kápriwál (allied to the Sánsi).	1. Jatú. 2. Rámáwat. 3. Birá. 4. Agotia. 5. Rahtaur. 6. Chohan. 7. Gálri.	Vagrant ...	Like the Kálkamliás. The Kápriwáls live in reed huts in the jungle like Sánsis. Their women are also mendicants.
9. Jákhar	1. Bargújar. 2. Chohan. 3. Panwár. 4. Dhándal. 5. Parhiar.		
10. Dhandoti	1. Chohan. 2. Panwár. 3. Bargújar. 4. Parmár.		

Besides the derivation from *báwar*, a snare, which is the one usually given, Mr. Williams records other traditions as to the origin of the name 'Bauria.' According to one the emperor Akbar demanded a *dolá* from Sándal, Rájá of Chitór, and on the latter's refusing, a battle was fought, in which some of the warriors were engaged near a *báoli*, or well. Those on the Rájput side were called Báolias or Báwalias. A third explanation is that, after the capture of Chitor, a young man of one of the tribes which had taken to the jungles saw and loved a Rájput maid of good lineage. They were married, but the young man returned to jungle life and was called Baola (imbecile) by the bride's relations for doing so, or on account of his uncouth manner. Mr. Williams' account continues :—

"Tradition says that the Báwarias are descendants of Chánda and Jora, and when Fatta and Jaimal, Rájputs of the Surajbans or Solar race, were joint Rájás of Chitor, Shaháb-ud-dín of Ghor assailed the fortress. It was defended by the Rájputs and their feudal military classes, of whom the Bhils were the professional bowmen ; the Aheris, the skilled swordsmen ; and the Báwarias, the *bandúkchis** or musketeers. In this connection the Báwarias, although claiming Rájput origin, do not profess to have been the equals of the Rájput ruling class, but rather their vassals or feudatories. Some few Báwarias still wear the Rájput badge of metal *kara*, or ring, on the right ankle.

"Of the now outcaste tribes, whom the Báwarias recognize as having shared with them the defence of Chitor, the Gádi Lohárs, or wandering cutlers, are not only distinguished by the Rájput clan designations and silver and metal *karas*, but openly proclaim that they are doomed to a wandering existence till the Rájput power is again established in Chitor.

"The Bidáwati Báwarias and others, whose place of origin is said to be Chhauni Bahádurán in Bíkáner, claim to be descendants of Rájá Rasálu.

"*Religion.*—The religion of the Báwarias is ancestor worship combined with allegiance to certain deities who are common to them and other outcaste or foul-feeding tribes." Mr. Williams then remarks that several Báwaria clans affect Gúga, many of their members wearing silver amúlets with his image in relief. It would appear that the cult of Gúga is specially affected by the clans of Chauhán descent, as Gúga was a Rájput of that tribe and is peculiarly the patron of all clans which claim Chauhán origin. The Bhátis and other groups also affect Gúga, and such groups as worship him do not affect Devi. Mr. Williams adds :—

"Rám Deo, supposed to have been an incarnation of Krishná, was the son of Ajmal, a Rájput of Ranchhal. He is specially reverenced by the Panwár sept and several of the wandering tribes. Similarly Kálí, Laltá Masáni and other deities have devotees among the Báwarias. But the criminal members of the tribe make a special cult of Narsingh and pay their devotions to him in the following manner :— When planning a criminal expedition, a *chirágh* filled with *ghí* is ignited and a live coal placed beside it, *ghí* and *halwá* are added till both are in flame ; on the smoke and fumes, called *hom*, arising, the persons present fold their hands and make supplication, saying : '*He,*

* Similarly the Máchhis or Jhiwars claim to have been artillerists in the Native Indian Armies, and they also manufactured gunpowder, shot being made by the Lohárs.

Nar Singh, through thy blessing we shall succeed. Remember to protect us.' The remains of the *halwá* are given to black dogs and crows.

Worship of the Sun also obtains in some septs. The cenotaph of an ancestor named Jujhar at Jhanda, in Patiála, is visited for religious purposes."

In Gurgaon and the tracts round that District the Báurias are divided into numerous groups. Of these the most important, locally, is the Jarúláwálá or Latúríá,* so called because its members wear long hair, like Sikhs.† This group is endogamous and includes 14 *gots*:—

1 Badgujar.		10 Gangwál‡‡	
2 Chauhan.‡		11 Jaghotia.§§	
3 Panwár.		12 Katoria.‖‖	
4 Ráthaur.		13 Kotia.	
5 *Agotia.*§		14 Mewátia.	
6 Baghotia.‖		15 Bhatti	in Lahore.
7 Berará.¶		16 Parwar	in Lahore.
8 Cháond.**		17 Sangra	in Lahore.
9 Dábria.††		18 Jagonsa	in
		19 Konja	in

These 14 *gots* are strictly exogamous. Widow re-marriage (*karao*) is permissible; but not marriage outside the Jarúláwála group. Even marriage with a Rájput woman, of a *khanp* from which the Báurias are sprung, is looked down upon, and the offspring are called *súretwál*, as among the Rájputs, or *taknot*. Such children find it difficult to obtain mates and, if boys, can only do so by paying heavily for their brides. Such men too are only allowed to smoke with pure Báurias after the *nari* has been removed from the *huqqa*.

The addition to (or possibly overlapping) this grouping are a number of occupational groups, as follows:—

1. Sehádariá,¶¶ skilled in entering (*sic*) the burrows of the *seh* (porcupine) and found in Bhawání, Hissar District.

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* But see ‖‖ below.

† The Báurias do not appear to become true Sikhs but, probably because many of them wear long hair, they are often said to be so. Regarding the Báurias of Lyallpur Mr. J M. Dunnett writes:—

"They are, I find, all Hindús, out-castes of course, but still wearing the *choti* and burning their dead. In one Police station in anticipation of registration (as members of a Criminal Tribe) they had become Sikhs, but in no case had the *pahul* been taken before orders for registration had been issued. One man thus naively explained that he had all the *kakkas* except the *kachh*, and I had really come before he could get that made. In their zeal they had even gone the length of wearing a sixth *kakka*, called *kanpan*, a small spade, with which they said the *patásha* used in the *pahul* is stirred."

‡ Sub-divided into 8 septs in Lahore, in which District they rank highest.

§ Of Panwár origin.

‖ ? Bighotia, from Bighoto, but they are said to be named from Baghot a village in Nábha and to be descended from Játú Rájputs.

¶ Berará, so called from *berar*, a mixture of several kinds of grain; the *got* is descended from a Panwár who married a woman of his own *got* by *karewa*.

** From Cháond, a village.

†† From *dab*, a grass found in the Jumna riverain lands whence they came; the *got* claims Panwár or even Chauhán origin.

‡‡ From beyond the Ganges: *cf.* Gangwália a group mentioned below.

§§ Of Badgújar origin.

‖‖ The Katorias claim Ráthaur extraction. But it is also said that the Báurias who live in Punjab are called Jarúláwálá or Katoria and wear long hair, like Sikhs. The Báurias of the United Provinces are styled Bidkias.

¶¶ Or Sehodhariá.

2. Telbechá, dealers in the oil of the pelican and other birds, and found east of the Ganges. These have an off-shoot in the

3. Bailia, a group which modestly claims Jhíwar-Kahár origin, and is distinguished by *churis* (or an iron bangle) worn on the wrist.

4. Ugaṛwa, an off-shoot of the Bágrís who live by burglary.

5. Bhaurjalia (*sic*) who use the *baur* (*báwar*) or snare.

6. Badhak or Badhakia, hunters, found in Bharatpur State, Mathra, etc.

7. Chiṛimárs, bird-snarers, found in the same tracts.

Other groups are territorial, such as the—

1. Dilwális, found in Delhi and its neighbourhood. An off-shoot of this group is the Náṛíwál which sells ropes.

2. Nágauria, from Nágaur in Jodhpur State.

3. Bágṛi, from the Bágaṛ of Bíkáner.

4. Maṛús, from Márwáṛ.

Other groups of less obvious origin are also found. Such are the—

1. Káldhablia or Kaldhablia, who wear the black woollen cloak (*kamlí*) and are found in the Patiála State and to the west of Bhiwání.

2. Gangwália,* found in Jaipur State.

3. Hábúrá, vagrants from the east of the Jumna.

4. Gandhíla, found on any riverain in the Punjab (? proper) and also east of the Jumna.

5. Ahiria, found in and about Hodal and Palwal. According to a Brahman *parohit* of the Ahirias at Hodal the Báurias and Ahirias are descended from Goha, a Bhil, one of whose descendants married a Thakur.† Her children by him became Ahirias (Heria or Heri, lit. a hunter), while the Báurias are of pure Bhil blood. Closely allied to the Ahiria are the Badhaks. The Ahiria and Báuria do not intermarry.

The *panch,* who are chosen from the four *khánps* and the Mewátia group, are regarded as leaders of the tribe. They form a *pancháyat* (or ? a *pancháyat* for each *khánp*) for the whole group. Offences are tried before the *pancháyat* which administers to the offender an oath on the Ganges or the Jumna: or he is made to advance five paces towards the sun and invoke its curse if he is guilty: but the most binding oath is that taken while plucking the leaf of a *pipal* tree. Fines go towards the expenses of the *pancháyat,* and any surplus to the *panch. Pancháyats* also solemnize the marriages of widows and the fee then realised is paid to the widow's father-in-law.

The Báuria *sehrhs.*

Tradition avers that when a *ráni* of Nimrána married she was accompanied by five families of Ráthaur Báurias from whom are descended the present Ráthaur (? *Báurias* or) Rájputs. Hence the

* Not, apparently, the same as the Gangál *got* mentioned above.
† Apparently named Karaul, and founder of the State of Karaulí.

Ráthaurs* regard Nimrána as their *Sehrh* and worship Deví at her temple there. The Panwárs have their *sehrh* at Kaliána near Nárnaul: the Badgújars theirs at Kanaund: and the Chauháns at Ranmoth near Mandnau (?) in Alwar.

The Dabrias specially affect Masání Deví † but the Báurias as a whole have no distinctive cults and few special observances. *Some* of them wear the hair long in honour of Masání Deví, to whom a childless man vows that if a child be vouchsafed to him its hair shall remain uncut. Some Báurias also wear the *patri,* an ornament shaped like a *jugni* and made of gold; in case of sickness prayer is offered *through* (*sic*) the *patri* to the *pitars,* 'ancestors,' and on recovery the sufferer has a *patri* made and wears it round his neck. At meal times *it* is touched and a loaf given in alms in the *pitars'* names.‡ Another charm is the *deví ká dáná,* a few grains of corn, which are carried on the person and which, like the *patri,* avert all evil.

The Deví at Nagarkot, Záhir Pír (Gúga) and Thakurji (? Krishna) are other favourite deities of the Báurias, but the Sun god is also propitiated in times of calamity or sickness. Fasts (*bart*) are kept on Sunday in honour of the Sun, and water thrown towards it. The *janeo* is never worn. For some reason not explained an oath on a donkey is peculiarly binding. Mr. Williams notes that Báurias are said not to ride the donkey and to regard it with peculiar aversion. Oaths are also taken on the cow and the *pipal* tree.

The Báurias are strict Hindús, refusing to eat anything, even *ghí,* which has been touched by a Muhammadan, though they will drink water from a *bhishti's* skin, but not that kept in his house. Báurias will only eat meat procured by themselves or killed by *jhatka.* Pork they eschew, but not the flesh of the wild pig.§ The *nílgai* is regarded as a cow and never eaten, nor is the flesh of a he-buffalo save by the Báurias of Shaikháwatí in Jaipur. As they are no longer permitted to possess swords they slaughter goats with the *chhuri.*

In Lahore, where the Báurias are said to be non-criminal, they have a dialect of their own called Ladí. Elsewhere their *patois* is called Lodi and is said to be understood by Bhíls, Sánsis, Kanjars and such like tribes. The Báwariah dialect is called Ghirhar, and sometimes Pashtu.

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* And the Katorias, as being of Ráthaur descent.

† Mr. Williams says :—'Goats are offered to Deví and, at the time of oblation, water is sprinkled on the animal's head; if it shakes its ears the omen is propitious and Deví has accepted the sacrifice.' And Mr. Dunnett writes :—"In Lyallpur the worship of a *deví* is admitted by all but the Songira Dharmwat who revere Bhairkiya and Narswer (Nar Singh). The *deví* is worshipped in jungles at the sacred tree. At its roots a square is marked out with stones, and in the centre a hole is dug. A he-goat is then slain, and the blood poured into the hole, the holy tree and the foreheads of the worshippers being also sprinkled. Over the hole a hearth is then constructed, on which the skull, the left fore-leg, liver, kidneys and fat are burned. The remainder is then cooked on the same hearth, and eaten by the worshippers. The ceremonial is of course based on the idea that the god is of the brotherhood of the tribe."

‡ 'When anyone is in trouble, the cause is ascribed to his having angered a departed spirit, called *patar,* to appease which some crumbs are fried in oil and put in a brazier, before which all those present fold their hands and beat their brows.' (Williams).

§ In some parts the Báurias will, it is said, eat the flesh of animals which have died a natural death.

Birth observances.—The child's name is chosen by a Brahman. On the fifth day after birth the mother takes a *lota* full of water on her head to the nearest well, a Brahmani and Nain, with other women, accompanying her and singing songs. She takes with her *bhanjor* (moistened grain) of gram or *bájra* and after worshipping the well throws some of the *bhanjor*, with a little water out of her *lota* and a *makka* brought by the Brahmani or Nain into the well. The rest of the *bhanjor* is distributed among children. The mother is deemed purified on the tenth day. Ráthaur children are taken to the *sehrh* at Nimrána to have their heads shaved, but the Panwárs, Chauháns and Badgújars all take theirs to Masáni Deví at Gurgaon.

Wedding rites.—Betrothal is not specially initiated by either side, but as soon as the negotiations have reached a certain stage the girl's father, his Brahman or *nai* goes with the *tika* and even the poorest man confirms the agreement by presenting a rupee to the boy. Well-to-do people give him a camel or gold earrings.

Báuria men are, in their youth, sometimes branded. Most of their women are tattooed in one or more places on the face, *viz.*, near the outer corners of the eyes, at the inner corner of the left eye, on the left cheek and on the chin : hence Báuria women are easily recognizable.

Báurias do not marry within their own *got*, and it is said that the bridegroom must not be younger than the bride, and that a blind or one-eye'd man must espouse a blind or one-eye'd woman! In some tribes, adds Mr. Williams, fair women are only married to fair men, and the blackskinned, which form the majority, mate with one another.

The girl's father intimates the date fixed for her wedding by sending a *sáha chitthi* written in Sanskrit, and on the day fixed the wedding party goes to the girl's house. The bridegroom wears the *sehra* and his forehead is smeared with *haldi.* The ceremonies are all in essence the same as those observed by the Rájputs, except that no *khera* is named, for the simple reason that the Báurias have no fixed abodes. Weddings are, however, not solemnised by sending the *putka* or *katár* in lieu of the bridegroom. Báuria brides wear a necklace made of horse hair on which are threaded gold and silver beads. This is called *sohág sútra* and it is worn till the husband's death, when it is burnt with his corpse.

On a man's death his elder and then his younger brother have the first claim to his widow's hand. Failing such near kinsmen a stranger may espouse her on payment of *pichha,* a sum assessed by the *panches* and paid by the new husband to the nearest agnate of the deceased's father.

Co-habitation with a woman of another caste is punished by not allowing the offender to smoke with the brotherhood, and the woman is regarded as a *suret* and her children as *suretwál* even though she be a pure Rájput by caste. Infidelity on a wife's part is purged away by pressing a red hot iron into her tongue.*

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* Mr. Williams' account of the Báwaria marriage customs is however different and runs as follows :—

"Each tribal sub-division is endogamous, and each *got* exogamous to the father's *got*. Marriage is permitted in the mother's *got* excluding near relations. Marriage within th

The observances at death differ in no way from those current among orthodox Hindus. The bones of the dead are taken to Garh Muktesar and there thrown into the Ganges. Mr. Williams however writes :—"The dead over seven years of age are burnt among most of the tribes, though some, as the Bidáwati, practise burial. The corpse of a young person is draped with fine white cloth, of an old man with coarse cloth, and of a woman with turkey red. On the third day after a funeral, boiled rice is distributed among young girls. When a Báwaria wife is cremated her widower lights the pile. A father performs the same office for a son, a son for a father, on failing such relationship, any near relative. On the third day following, the ashes are collected and rice is laid on seven *pípal* leaves and placed at the foot of the tree, certain persons being told to watch from a distance. If a crow eats the rice, it is a good omen; but bad if a dog devours it. The period of mounrnig lasts twelve days. The ceremony of *shrádh* is performed in Assu, when rice is given to crows, the idea being to supply the necessities of the deceased in another world."

Sporting Propensities.—A distinguishing feature of this people is their shikarring proclivities. In all parts of the Province they have dogs, large meshed nets for catching jackals and other vermin, and thong nooses for antelope. Where jungle is thick and game plentiful, sport sometimes takes the form of slaughter. Game is gradually driven into an enclosure formed by two lines of stakes, several feet apart, each tipped with a coloured rag and forming an angle at the apex of which are planted in several parallel rows the little bamboo stakes with slip knot thongs, looking in the distance like a patch of dry grass. The third side of the triangle is formed by the Báwarias with dog and tom toms. When the beat begins, the line of beaters advances

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prohibited degrees of consanguinity is punished with excommunication up to a period of 12 years, as among the Kuchband and other cognate tribes. The higher *gots* in the social scale are the Solkhi. or Sulankhi, Panwár, Chohán, Bháti, and Sánkhla, and hence intermarriage with them is sought after for the sake of their blue blood.

Marriage and betrothal occur when both sexes have arrived at adult age. Sons may remain unmarried without incurring odium; but, in the case of daughters, the *pancháyat* interferes and penalties are inflicted if too much time is allowed to pass.

The ceremonies at betrothal—*sák* or *mangani*—are simple. An emissary of the suitor meets, by appointment, the girl's relatives and hands a sum ranging from Rs. 5 to 9 to the senior male relative present, who pays the amount to the girl's father. The suitor is then invited, if acceptable, to the evening meal, when the contract is made. An interval then passes before the date of mariage is fixed, previous to which the girl's paternal uncle visits the suitor and gives him a rupee. Seven days before the wedding, the same relative presents himself and ties black cotton tags round the youth's ankles.

Marriage is always by *phera*, as among tribes of the same category. On the day appointed, four wooden pegs, a span long, are driven into the ground forming a square, a fire lit in the centre and cotton seed steeped in oil placed over it. A square copper coin (*mansuri paisa*) is put on the top of each peg. The couple circle seven times round the fire with a knot tied in their garments, and the ceremony ends. A Brahman is usually present and receives a donation of Rs. 2 to 5, Rs. 24 to 100, according to the status of the parties, is paid to the bride's parents, who prepare an outfit of cooking utensils and clothing, and return some of the rupees in a *tháli*, or brass vessel. The home-coming, or *mukláwa* ceremony comes last and consists in the bride's being sent to her husband's house with a gift of a *chadar* from her parents.

Marriage by *karewa* is permitted and is the only form permissible to widows. It is availed of when a woman is destitute, or has no parents. A surviving brother is required to marry the widow, and, in default, she may claim compensation through a *pancháyat*. When a widow marries, bracelets of lacquer are put on her and a fine of Rs. 5 imposed. A woman convicted of adultery is disgraced and her *chadar* torn, the male accomplice being fined from Rs. 2 to 4 by the *pancháyat*."

with great noise and howling, causing the game to gallop away until the line of stakes is reached, when scared by the coloured rags the animals glance aside and speed towards the apex, where a clear space appears with no visible obstacle but some tufts of familiar grass. In attempting to clear these, some antelope are caught in the thongs and thrown violently to the ground, when their throats are cut.

BÁWÁ, fem. BÁWÍ (1), a title given to the male descendants of the first three Gurús of the Sikhs; (2) a *fakír* or *sádhú*; the head of an order of monks.

BAWÁH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BAWRE, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

BAZÁZ, (1) a cloth-dealer; (2) a section of the Aroṛas.

BAZ'ID KHEL, a section of the Jawaki Afrídis found in Baizai, Kohát.

BÁZÍGAR, *fr.* Pers. *bázi*, 'play.' The Bázígar is usually a Muhammadan, the Naṭ a Hindu. Among the Bázígar both sexes perform, but among Naṭs only the males. Some say the Bázígar is a tumbler and the Naṭ a rope-dancer, others that the former is a juggler and also an acrobat, the latter an acrobat only. In the Eastern Punjab the Bázígar is termed Bádi. See Naṭ.

In Ferozepur the Bázígars have a shrine at Sadhaiwala, built in honour of an old woman who died not many years ago. Liquor is poured into a cup-shaped hole in this tomb and drunk. Weddings in families which affect this shrine are generally solemnised there. They have a Rájá, and his wife is Ráni. Both settle disputes without appeal and are almost worshipped, the latter being attended by a number of women who carry her long train. Bázígar camps consist of reed huts pitched in regular lines. The 'caste' is said to be recruited from various castes, even Brahmans and Jáṭs, but each sub-division is endogamous. The Bázígars are in fact only an occupational group.

BED,* a section of the Muhiáls.

BEDA,† (1) a musician caste in Ladákh: see *Ind. Art.* 1901, p. 330; (2) the caste which supplies the potential victim who rides on the rope at the Bihunda sacrifices in the Upper Sutlej valley: see *North Indian Notes and Queries*, IV, § 144.

BEDÍ, fem. Bedan (*i.q.*, *vedi*), a section of the Khatrí caste to which Gurú Nának, the founder of Sikhism, belonged. It is divided into two sub-sections, which intermarry.

BEGEKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery. BEGKE, a sept of the Joiyas in Baháwalpur.

BELDÁR, *fr. bel*, mattock. One who works in mortar, etc., with a hoe or a spade, a labourer whose work is to dig or delve. In the Western Punjab the term is applied to the Od, *q. v.*

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* The Sanskrit *ambashthá* or *vaidyá* (vulg. *baidya, bed*), a professor of medicine: begotten by a Brahman on a Vaisyá woman. (Colebrooke's Essays, p. 272).

† In Traill's *Statistical Account of Kumaon* (reprinted from *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XVI in Official Reports on the Province of Kumaon*, 1878) at p. 51 an account is given of the propitiatory festivals held in villages dedicated to Mahádeva. At these *badis* or rope-dancers are engaged to perform on the tight-rope or slide down an inclined rope stretched from the summit of a cliff to the valley beneath. The *badis* do not appear to be a caste.

Benach, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Be-nawá (? Bá-nawá) (1) a doubtful syn. for *be-shara*: (2)—or Bá-nawá,* according to Mr. Maclagan one of the most prominent of the Be-shará or unorthodox orders of Islám, and said to be followers of one Khwájá Hasan Basrí. The term is sometimes apparently applied in a loose manner to Qádirí and Chishtí *faqírs*, but it is properly applicable only to a very inferior set of beggars—men who wear patched garments and live apart. They will beg for anything except food, and in begging they will use the strongest language; and the stronger the language, the more pleased are the persons from whom they beg. Many of the offensive names borne by villages in the Gujránwála District are attributed to mendicants of this order, who have been denied an alms. The proper course is to meet a Be-nawá beggar with gibes and put him on his mettle; for he prides himself on his power of repartee, and every Be-nawá wears a thong of leather which he has to unloose when beaten in reply, and it is a source of great shame for him to unloose this thong (*tasma khol dená*). The Be-nawás appear to be rare in the west of the Punjab, and those in our returns are mainly from Karnál, Jullundur, Ludhiána and Hoshiárpur.

Berag, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Be-shará, a term applied to the irregular or unorthodox orders of Islám whose followers, while calling themselves Musalmáns, do not accommodate their lives to the principles of any religious creed: *cf. ázád.* The Be-shará orders include the Be-nawá, Gurzmár, Madári and Rasúlsháhis.

Besku, s.m. (K.), the watchman of harvested grain.

Beta (incorrectly Batia), a small outcaste group found in Spiti, corresponding to the Hesís of Kullú. They live by begging, making whips for the men and bracelets of shell for the women, and attending weddings as musicians along with the blacksmiths. Blacksmiths do not eat with them or take their women as wives. Merely to drink water out of another man's vessel conveys no pollution in Spiti, and in the higher parts of the Spiti valley the *hookah* is also common to all: while in the lower parts Hesís are merely required to smoke from the bowl of the common pipe through a stem provided by themselves.

Betu, the synonym for Dági (*q.v.*) used in the Saráj tahsil of Kullú.

Beṭhí, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bhábha, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán: a sept of the Samwas in Baháwalpur.

Bháḅrá, fem. Bháḅrí, a caste of the Jainis, chiefly engaged in trade. The term Bháḅrá appears to be of great antiquity, being found in an inscription of Asoka. The name is now fancifully derived from Bhaobhala, 'one of good intent,'† but in Jullundur the Bháḅrás attribute their name to their refusal to wear the *janeo* at the instance of one Bir Swámi, who thereupon declared that their faith (*bhú*) was great. The term Bháḅrá however appears to be used by outsiders of any Bániás, especially of the Oswáls and others whose home is in Rájputána, whether they

* Be-nawá can be the only correct form, meaning "without the necessaries of life," a a mendicant.

† *Bhao*, motive, *bhala*, good

are Jains by religion or not. This would appear to be the case in Ráwalpindi, and in Sirsa the Sikh immigrants from Patiála certainly call the Oswál Bánias Bhábṛás.

The Bhábṛás of Hoshiárpur are an interesting community. As a caste they have two groups, each comprising various *gots* or *als*, *viz.* :—

GROUP I.—OSWÁLS.

Gots.

Bhábhú.	Liga.	Ranke.
Nahar.	Lohra.	Karnátak.
Gadhia.	Seoni.	Baid.
Mahmia.	Tattar.	Bhandári.
Duggar.	Barar.	Chatar.

GROUP II.—KHANDERWÁLS.

Gots.

Bhaursa.	Seoni.
Sethi.	Bhangori.

The Oswál came originally from Osia in Jaipur, the Khanderwál from Khandela in Jodhpur. As to the origin of the *got* names, Mahmia or Maimia is derived from Mahm, the town in Rohtak, and was originally called Dháriwál. Seoni (which occurs in both the groups) is a Khatri clan. The Liga (who perform the first tonsure, or *mundan*, at home) came from Sultánpur, in Kapúrthala: the Tandwái, of Tánda (? in Hoshiárpur) are an *al* of the Bhábhús, formed only a 100 years ago and not yet a *got*. The Nahar or 'lions' once drank the milk of a lioness and hail from Jaipur. The Gadhia are called Churria in Rájputána. Most Bhábṛás cut their boys' hair for the first time at Dádi Kothi (now called Kangar Kothi), their temple near Jaijon. Most of the Hoshiárpur Bhábṛás are Oswáls, of the Bhábhú and Nahar, those of Báláchaur being Gadhia and Nahar by *got*. Some Bhábṛás respect Brahmans and employ them on *social* occasions, at weddings and funerals, and for the *shrádhs*, though the Jain tenets forbid the *shrádh* observances. The Khanderwáls alone appear to wear the *janeo*. In Jínd the Jains are said to be recruited from the Aggarwál,* Oswál, Srímál, and Khandelwál Bánias, but the last three are also styled Bhábṛás—whether Jains or not. Jain Aggarwáls are said to intermarry with the Vaishnava Aggarwáls in that State but not in Karnál. Another account from Jínd states that the Oswál are *bísa, i. e.,* of pure descent, while the Srímál are only *dasa, i. e.,*† of impure descent, and that these two groups do not intermarry. The Oswál are also stated to avoid only the paternal *got*·

* An account of rather doubtful authority makes the Oswáls and Khandelwáls only 'Bháos,' the Bágrí form of *bhái*, 'brother'—and derives Bhábṛá from *bháo*—because Parasnáth was an Oswál of the ruling family of Osnagar. It makes the Aggarwalás Saráogís, *i. e., sikhs* or disciples. Each group is said to be endogamous, *i. e.,* Bhábṛás do not intermarry with Saráogís.

† Another account says that both Oswál and Srímál contain *bísa* and *dasa* classes, the *dasa* being in a minority in both groups.

in marriage, while the Srímál observe the four-*got* rule. On the other hand the Bhábṛás of Nábha are said to have two sub-castes: Oswál, who observe the four-*got* rule, and Kundewál (? Khandelwál), who avoid only the paternal *got* in marriage.* And again in Máler Kotla the 'Bhábṛás or Oswáls' are said to avoid two *gots*. The Jain Bhábṛás are strictly monogamous, a second wife not being permitted during the life-time of the first under any circumstances.† For further information regarding the Aggarwál, Oswál, etc., see Bánia, and for the Jain sectarian divisions see Jain.

Bhachar, a Khokhar clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

Bhadah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bhaddar, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bhadiár, a tribe of Jáṭs, in Siálkoṭ, which claims Solar Rájput origin and is descended from its eponym. Atú, 7th in descent from him, came from Ajúdhia and took service under the Rájás of Jammú.

Bhadro, an Aráiṅ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Montgomery.

Bhagar, a Jâṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bhagat Bhagwán. See under Udásí.

Bhágat, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bhagat-panthí.—A sect of the Nának-panthís which appears to be quite distinct from the Bhagtis or followers of Bábá Suraj of Chába, Bhagtái in the Kahúta tahsíl of Ráwalpindi. It is found in the Bannu District, in Pahárpur, and in tahsíl Dera Ismáíl Khán. Though they reverence the *Granth*, the Nának-panthís observe the usual Hindu ceremonies at marriage or death, but the Bhagat-panthís do not. They take the *Granth* to their houses, and read certain portions of it at weddings. Marriage and betrothal ceremonies may be performed at a *dharmsála*, or the marriage may be celebrated by taking the *Granth* to the house and there reciting portions of it. No funeral rites are performed and the dead are buried, not burnt. Passages from the *Granth* are read for a few days after the death. And on occasions of marriage or death *karáh parshád* is distributed. There is no rule of *chhút* or 'touch,' forbidding contact with other castes. The sect makes no pilgrimages, avoids idolatry, and performs no *shrádh* for the dead. Daily worship is an essential duty and consists in recitations of the *Granth* at six stated hours of the day, *viz.*, before sunrise, before noon, afternoon, before sunset, in the evening and at night. At worship they sit down eight times, rising eight times and making eight prostrations. This sect thus strives after pure Sikhism and freedom from Brahminical supremacy.

Bhaggu, a sub-division of Jáṭs.

Bhagti, a Gosain sub-sect or order, said to have been founded by Kánshi Rám, a brother of Sáindás. The latter was a Brahman Bairági whose son Rámánand has a shrine, well-known in and about the Gujránwálá District, at Baddoke. His sect has many followers among the more respectable Khatrís and Brahmans of Lahore and its neighbourhood.

* Till recently the Oswál of the Punjab avoided two *gots* in marriage, and the Dhundias among them still do so, but in 1908 a great assemblage of the Pujeras resolved that only the paternal *got* need be avoided.

† This is however said to be merely a counsel of perfection.

BHAGTÍÁ, a musician who accompanies dancing boys.

BHAIṆS, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHAIṆSYÍ, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar

BHAJOKÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

BHÁKHRI ; see BAKHRI.

BHAKRÁL, one of the group of tribes which hold considerable areas in the south-east of the Ráwalpindi District. The Bhakrál are also found in some numbers in Jhelum and Gujrát. Like the Budhál they probably came from the Jammu territory across the Jhelum. They do not approve of widow marriage. A large number of the tribe also return themselves as Punwár in Ráwalpindi, and the tribe may be classed as Rájput.

BHAKRÍ, a Sayyid clan* (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BHALAṚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BHALEṚAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BHALKÁ, a sept of the Baloch in Sindh, Baháwalpur, and Dera Ghází Khán said to be addicted to robbery.

BHALLOWÁNÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

BHAMAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHAMRÁÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHAMYE, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHÁND, BHAND.—The Bhánd or Naqqál is the story-teller, joker, and buffoon, and is often also called Básha. The name comes from the Hindi *bhánda* "buffooning." He is separate from, and of a lower professional status than, the Bahrúpia. Both are commonly kept by Rájás* and other wealthy men like the jester of the early English noble, but both also wander about the country and perform to street audiences. The Bhánd is not a true caste any more than the Bahrúpia, and is probably often a Mírási by caste. Elliott seems to imply that Bahrúpia is a caste and Bhánd an occupation; but the former statement is certainly not true in the Punjab.

BHAṆḌAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHANDELA, a minor caste found in Sirmúr, and corresponding to the *Sikligar* of the plains. They appear to have come from Márwár in the Mughal times and retain their peculiar speech and intonation. Sikhs by religion, they are dealers in arms, etc., by occupation, and are said to be much given to crime.

BHAṆḌER, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHAṆGGÍ, fem. BHAṆGGAN (also a woman who drinks *bhang*). A man of the sweeper caste: also a man belonging to the Bhanggí *misl*.

BHAṆGGIÁ, fem. BHAṆGGERAṆ, a dealer in *bhang*.

BHANGO, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Siálkoṭ which claims Solar Rájput ancestry and is descended from its eponym, who came from Nepal. Also found in Amritsar (agricultural); and in Montgomery as a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural).

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* Kádeh Bhánd, known as Kádir Bakhsh, was a famous Bhánd, who used to go from one court to another. The Mahárája of Patiála gave him a village.

Bhangú, Bhanggú,* a Ját tribe which does not claim Rájput origin. The Bhangú and Nol were among the earliest inhabitants of the Jhang District and held the country about Shorkot, the Nol holding that round Jhang itself before the advent of the Síáls, by whom both tribes were overthrown. Probably the same as the Bhango, *supra.*

Bhaníwál, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bhanjrá, a synonym for Dumná in the lower hills of Hoshiárpur and Gurdáspur. He makes sieves, winnowing fans and other articles of grass and bamboo. Like the Sansois, Sariáls and Daolis, the Bhanjrás may be regarded as an occupational group of the Dumnás, with whom they intermarry.

Bhanot, a Rájput clan which occupies a *báráh* or 12 villages immediately north of Garhshankar round Padráwa, Sálempur and Posi. The name is fancifully derived from *ban*, because they once dwelt in the *banot* or shadow of the *ban* or forests of the Siwáliks, and they are said to have come from Bhátpur, a village close to that range not now held by them. They appear to have been an *al* of the Nárús.

Bhaṇkáṇaye, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bhaṇrar, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bhanwála, a small Ját clan in Jínd, whose *jathera* is a Gosain.

Bhao, a sept of Raghbansi Rájputs, found in Gujrát, immigrants from Ajudhia into Jammu and thence into the Gujrát sub-montane. The name, which perhaps suggests a Rájputána origin, is said to be derived from the fear (*bhao*) which the tribe inspired: but others say the Bhao were free-booters and hence earned the title.

The Bhao rank high, and they, the Manhás and Jural, greet one another '*Jai deo.*' They also intermarry with the Chibhs of Kadhále and Ambariála; but not with the rest of that tribe, owing to an ancient feud. The first tonsure is performed at Kilít, a place in Samrála, in Jammu territory.

Bhár, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Bharah, Bhárah, two Ját clans (agricultural) found in Multán: (possibly one and the same).

Bharáis—The Bharáis who are scattered throughout these Provinces are also known as Pirhain,† a name which is explained thus:—

(*i*) One Bukan Ját was a devotee of Sakhi Sarwar who one day said to him *tujhe piri di*, 'the saint's mouth has fallen on thee,' whence the name Pirhai.

(*ii*) Another account says that after leaving Dhaunkal, Sakhi Sayyid Ahmad went to Multán and rested for a while at Parahin, a place south of Sháhkot, which was the home of his mother's ancestors, Rihan Játs by caste. At Multán an Afghán chief had a daughter to whose hand many of the Sháhkot youths aspired, but none were deemed

* The *Panjabi Dicty.* gives Bhangús (*sic*) as 'an original tribe (M.).'

† The form Pirhain is said to be in use in Sahâranpur. The word *pariah* is also said to mean drummer and is possibly connected with Bharái.—Crooke; *Things Indian.*

worthy. One day, however, the Afghán invited Sayyid Ahmad to a feast and begged him to accept his daughter in marriage. This offer the saint accepted, and the *sihra* below, which was composed on this occasion, is still sung with great reverence. The *mirási*, however, neglected to attend the wedding punctually, and when he did appear, rejected the saint's present of a piece of blue cloth, 1¼ yards in length, at the instigation of the Jáṭs and Paṭháns, saying it was of no use to him. Hearing this the Sayyid gave it to Shaikh Buddha, a Jáṭ who had been brought up with him, saying: "This is a *bindi* (badge), tie it round your head, and beat a drum. We need no *mirási*, and when you are in any difficulty remember me in these words:—*Daimji Rabdia sawária, bohar Káli Kakki-wália*—Help me in time of trouble, thou owner of Káli Kakki! You and your descendants have come under our protection, *panáh*, and you shall be called *panáhi*." This term became corrupted into Parahin in time. Thus the account contradicts itself, as the name is said to be derived from Parahin, a place.

The term Bharáí itself is usually derived from *chauki bharná*, lit. 'to keep a vigil,' in which are sung praises of the Sakhi. But another and less simple account says that owing to his marriage Sayyid Ahmad incurred the enmity of the Jáṭs and Patháns of Sháhkoṭ and left that place for Afghánistán, accompanied by Bibi Bai, Ráná Mián, and his younger brother. Twenty-five miles from Dera Ghází Khán they halted. No water was to be found, so the Sayyid mounted his mare Káli Kakki and at every step she took water came up. His pursuers, however, were close at hand, and when they overtook him the Sakhi was slain, and buried where he fell. The spot is known as Nigáhá and still abounds in springs.

Years after Isá, a merchant of Bokhára, and a devotee of Sakhi Sarwar, was voyaging in the Indian Ocean when a storm arose. Isá invoked the saint's aid and saved the ship. On landing he journeyed to Multán where he learnt that the saint had been killed. On reaching Nigáhá he found no traces of his tomb, but no fire could be kindled on the spot, and in the morning as they loaded the camels their legs broke. Sakhi Sarwar descended from the hill on his mare, holding a spear in his hand, and warned the merchant that he had desecrated his tomb and must rebuild it at a cost of 1¼ *lakhs*. He was then to bring a blind man, a leper, and an eunuch* from Bokhára and entrust its supervision to them. One day when the blind man stumbled near the tomb he saved himself by clutching at some *kahi* grass whereupon his sight was restored and his descendants are still known as the Kahi. The eunuch was also cured and his descendants are called Shaikh. The leper too recovered, and his descendants, the Kalang, are still found in Nigáhá. To commemorate their cures all three beat a drum, and Sakhi Sarwar appeared to them, saying: "He who is my follower will ever beat the drum and remain *barahi*,† 'sound,' nor will he ever lack anything." Hence the pilgrims to Nigáhá became known as Bharáís.

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* For eunuchs as attendants at shrines see Burton's *Pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca*, Vol. I, p. 371.

† *Cf. Bhara* in the phrase *raho hara bhara*, 'remain green and prosperous or fruitful.' P. Dy., p. 430.

Strictly speaking the Bharáís do not form a caste, but an occupational group or spiritual brotherhood which comprises men of many castes, Dogar, Habri, Ráwat, Ḍúm, Rájput, Mochi, Gujar, Tarkhán and last, but not least, Jáṭ. They belong to the Muhammadan religion, but in marriage they follow the Hindu customs. Thus a Jáṭ Bharáí may only marry a Jáṭ woman, and in Kángṛa, it is said, she too must be a Bharáí. In Ambála, however, a Bharáí may marry any Jáṭni, and in Kapúrthalá it is said that, being Muhammadans, marriage within the *got* is permitted, and that Rájput Bharáís may take wives from Jáṭ Bharáís. There appears indeed to be no absolute or even general rule, but the tendency apparently is for the Bharáís recruited from any one caste to form a separate caste of Bharáís, marrying only in that caste, *e.g.*, in Ludhiána the Jáṭ Bharáí only marries a Bharáí Jáṭni, and the *gots* avoided are the same as among the Jáṭs. The Jáṭ Bharáís are numerous. They claim descent from one Gárba Jáṭ, a Hindu attendant at Sakhi Sarwar's shrine, who was in a dream bidden by the saint to embrace Islám. On conversion he was called Shaikh Gárba. The Jáṭ Bharáís have several *gots*:—Dhillon, Deo, Rewal Garewál, Mán, Randháwa, Jham, Karhi and Badecha.

Marriage Dower.—The amount of *mehr*, given according to Muhammadan Law to the wife by the husband, never exceeds Rs. 32-6; while the minimum dowry given to the bride by her father consists of Rs. 21 in cash and 5 copper vessels.

Insignia.—The Bharáí's insignia are a drum (*dhol*), beaten with a curiously-shaped stick, like a short crook; a wallet (*khallar*) hung round the neck by a string. The stick and *khallar* are peculiar to the Bharáís. The standard of the Pirhais is a fringe (*jagádhri*) of tassels on a long pole. These fringes are presented by women as thank-offerings for the birth of sons and at weddings. They are supposed to be tied round the forehead of the saint as they would be tied on a bridegroom's forehead.

Food.—It is said that in many places Bharáís eat only goat's flesh, and that leprosy would afflict him who ate any other kind of flesh. But this restriction is certainly not universal. Beef is avoided, because, it is said, the Bharáís have many Hindu votaries.

Bhaṛál, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bhaṛánch, a small Jáṭ clan in Jínd who have the same Sidh as the Kale (*q. v.*).

Bharat, a tribe, which gives daughters to the Jálaps, found in Jhelum.

Bhar Bhonchi, a class of Jogís who charm away scorpion stings.

Bhaṛbhúnjas—*Bháṛbhúnja*, lit. one who roasts grain in an oven—form an occupational caste comprising only 4 *gots*, *viz.*:—

1.	Jádubansi	..	(an Ahír *got*).
2.	Bhatnágar	...	(two Káyath *gots*).
3.	Saksaini		
4.	Básdeo* ...	...	(a Brahman *got*).

* Básdeo, father of Krishna, appears to have been worshipped by the Ahírs also.

As the *gots* are so few, only one *got* is avoided in marriage, but the caste is said to be strictly endogamous in Patiála, and outsiders are never admitted into the caste.

By religion Bhaṛbhúnjas are both Hindus and Muhammadans. Like other Hindus the former invoke Sadá Shiva when commencing work, as the shop is regarded as his *ṭhará* (platform). Subhán, another *deota*, is also worshipped at weddings, sherbet and some copper pice being offered him, and cooked food distributed in his name.

A Bhaṛbhúnja wife may not wear glass bangles or blue clothes or a nose-ring (*laung*).

Bhaṛbhúnjas only make *barís* at weddings; and only eat food cooked by Brahmans. They wear the *janeo*, but permit *karewa*, the husband's brother's claims being recognised. They preserve an old system of local *pancháyats*, with hereditary *chaudhrís*, in which all caste disputes are settled. At weddings, etc., the *chaudhri* gives the *lág* and receives 1½ shares in the *bhájí*. Bhaṛbhúnjas mostly pursue their creed and calling, but some take to service. In appearance they are dark and under-sized.

In the Nábha State the Bhaṛbhúnjas have two occupational groups, the Dhánkuta or "rice-huskers" (from *dhán*, rice, and *kutná*) and the Malláhs or boatmen. These two groups do not intermarry, or drink together, but they smoke from the same *huqah* with a different mouth-piece. The Malláhs use a large spoon, the Dhánkutás a sharp crooked instrument, in parching gram. Both groups are found in the Báwal Nizámat of this State. In the Phúl and Amloh Nizámats the Káyasths, a sub-group of the former, claim origin from that caste, and it is said :— *Paṛhgiya jo Káyastha, warná bhatti jhokan lá'iq* : 'He who acquires knowledge is a Káyastha, otherwise he is only fit to parch grain.' Hence many Káyasths have joined the Bhaṛbhúnja caste. In Báwal the Bhaṛbhúnja *gots* are named from the place of origin, *e.g.*, Mandauria, from Mandaur in Álwar, and Chhátagia from Chhátag. Elsewhere their *gots* are Jádú-bansi, Chandar-bansi, (claiming Rájput origin) Bhatnágar and Chandan Katar, and of these the Bhatnágar again suggests Káyasth affinities. The caste is endogamous, and four *gots* are avoided in marriage, but widow marriage is said to be only allowed in Báwal. Jáṭs, Gújars and Ahírs take water from a Bhaṛbhúnjá's hands, but Bániás, Khatrís and Brahmans will only take fresh water brought by him, not from one of his vessels. The *gurus* of the Bhaṛbhúnjas are always Brahmans and perform the *phera*. Their women wear no nose-ring, its use having been prohibited by a *sati* in each group. The Bhaṛbhúnjas of Báwal affect the cult of Bhairoṇ, to whom the Malláhs of Agra used to marry their daughters. Tradition says that the god once saved a boat from sinking and thenceforward the family married one of their girls to the god and left her at his shrine where she survived for less than a year. But now only a doll of dough is formally married to the god. Other Bhaṛbhúnjas also reverence Bhairoṇ, and their *guru* is Subhán Sáhib, whose shrine is in a town to the east. He is worshipped on the *bhái dúj* day in Kátik.

The Bhaṛbhúnjas of Phúl and Amloh have a peculiar form of betrothal contract. The bride's father goes to the bridegroom's and gives him 4 Mansúri pice, and the latter gives him twice as much in

return. This is called *paisa batáná* or exchange of presents, and the contract is then said to be irrevocable. If any one violates it without reasonable cause he is excommunicated by the *chaudhrís*, but may be re-admitted on payment of a fine which is spent for the benefit of the brotherhood. All the Bhaṛbhúnjas, except those of Báwal, wear the *janeo*. If a traveller or a wedding party of Bhaṛbhúnjas halts in any village the Bhaṛbhúnjas there are bound to entertain the whole party, otherwise they are excommunicated.*

The Bhaṛbhúnja in Delhi claim to be Jaiswál Rájputs, and have three *gots*, Jaiswál (the highest), Kheṛwá and Tájúpuria, which all intermarry and smoke and eat together. Each village has a *chaudhri* and of two *chaudhrís* one is called *chaukṛát*. The *chaudhrí* can only act with the advice of the *pancháyat*. Each *chaukṛát* has what is called the 'half *pagri*' and each *chaudhri* the 'full *pagṛi*.' The *chaudhrí* has jurisdiction over petty disputes within the caste. Fines ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 100 are levied and the smaller sums spent on feast, while larger fines are expended on such public objects as guest-houses. Each *chaudhri* and *chaukṛát* gets double *bháji* at weddings.

Bharech, (Barech more correctly), one of the branches of the Paṭháns. From it was descended the family of the Nawábs of Jhajjar which was called Bahádurwati after the name of Bahádur Khán, one of its members. The State of Bahádargarh (Dádri) also belonged to this family.

Bhareṛa, a term said to mean silver-smith, in the Simla Hills. The Bhareṛas intermarry with the Lohárs.

Bhargava Dhúsar, Dhúṇsar, a sub-division of the Gauṛ Brahmans, now mainly employed in trade or as clerks. They give themselves the following pedigree :—

BRAHMA.
|
Bhrigu × Paloma   Rájá Sarjaiti, a Kshatriya.
| |
Chiman *rishi* × Sukanya.
|
Pramata *rishi* × Ghartachi.   Aurab   Rájá Gadh, a Kshatriya.
| | |
Ruru × Parmadabra.   Rachik × Satwati   Rájá Parsainjat.
| | |
Sonak.   Jamdagnya × Ránuka.
|
Parasuráma.

All the descendants of Bhrigu and Chiman were called Chimanbansi Bhargavas, and as Chiman the *rishi* used to perform his devotions at the hill of Arahak, near Rewárí in Gurgaon, which is now called Dhosi, those of his descendants who settled in that locality became known as Dhúsars. Chiman *rishi* has an ancient temple on this hill and a new one was built in recent years. Adjoining these temples is a tank, the Chandrakúp. The Dhúsars have the following seven groups or *gotras* :—

* Popular legend distorts this descent in a curious way. It says that once Chaman, a Brahman of Nárnaul, took as his mistress a woman of menial caste, who bore him 7 sons and as many daughters. When asked to marry them he bade them appear on an *amáwas* with a cow and made each touch its different parts : so one touched its tail (*púchal*) and founded the Puchalar *gotra* ; another its horns (*sing*) and founded the Singlas *gotra*, and soon. Each *gotra* has five *parwaras*, except the Káshib which has three or occasionally seven. The Káshibs are thus known as *triparwaras* or *saptparwaras* and the other *gotras* as *panchparwaras*.

Number.	Name of the Rishi after whom the *gotra* was named.	Real *gotra.*	Current *gotra.*	*Parwars.*	Other *parwars.*
1	Batus ...	Bátasus, Bats	Báchehalas..	Bhargava, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab, Jamdagan.	...
2	Batsi ...	Bátsus ...	Báchehalas	Bhargo, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab Bansi.	Bachhal, Argan, Batasth.
3	Bidas ...	Bidsus ...	Bandlas ...	Bhargo, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab, Baind.	...
4	Kaunsi ...	Kilsus, Giritismad.	Gaglash ...	Bhargo, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab, Jamdagan.	Kans, Aurab, Jamad, Ganpat.
5	Kangain Pagarhismad, Gargal.	Gangayans, Garmagus Kuts.	Kuchlas ...	Bhargo, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab, Jamdagan.	Gargil, Dhist, Mand, Chiwan, Vaisham, Mapusát.
6	Goshtain entitled Gala.	Goshtains entitled Galas.	Golus entitled Galus, Golash.	Bhargo, Chiwan, Apanwan Aurab, Jamdagan.	Bhargo, Chiwan, Jamad, Ganpat.
7	Kashab ...	Kashipoh...	Kashib ...	Bhargo, Sait, Habia Sadtasya.	Kaghab, Rats, Bhargo, Chiwan Apanwan, Aurab, Jamad, Ganpat.

The Dhúsars affect the Yajúr Veda, the Madyandani *sakha* and the Katyani *sutraj* and invariably wear the sacred thread. Only the Brahma form of marriage is tolerated among them and in the choice of a bride the *gotra* and worshippers of the same *kul-devi* (family goddess) are avoided. Widows never remarry.

The Bhargava Dhúsars claim to have given a long list of *parohits* and ministers to Hindu kings, from Chanda Bhargava who officiated at the *sarp yag* or serpent sacrifice originated by Rájá Jamaijaya to Hemu Shah, the Baqqál of Rewári, who revolted against Akbar, as the following table shows :—

BHARGAVA PAROHITS AND MINISTERS TO HINDU KINGS.

Name of *parohit* and minister.	King.	Yudhisterian era.	Samvat Bikram.	Christian era.
Sanapat Bhargava ...	Sayanak ...	1429		
Mahipat Bhargava ...	to	to		
Siravidat Bhargava and their descendants.	Suraj Sain ...	1800		
Jag Narain Bhargava and his descendants	Birshah to Padhmal ...	1800 to 2251		
Samdat Bhargava and his descendants ...	Murar Singh to Jit Mal ...	2319 to 2503		
Jal Narain Bhargava and his descendants ...	Pal Singh to Bhagwant Kohi ...	2532 to ... 3097		
Sundarpál Bhargava ...	Rája Bir Bikramajit ...	... 3110		
Indarpál Bhargava and his descendants ...	Samandarpál Jogi to Bikrampál ..	......	135 to 355	298 A. D.
Jaideva Bhargava and his descendants ...	Tilok Chand to Kuar Sain ...	......	367 to 574	310 to 517
Indroman Bhargava and his descendants ...	Hari Sain to Jaipál ...	.....	579 to 983	522 to 926
Sheo Narain Bhargava and his descendants ...	Kaurpál to Pirthwi Raj (Rai Pithora) ...	......	1000 to 1199	943 to 1141

BHARHI, a tribe which claims descent from Gauṛ Bráhmans, and observes the same ceremonies as they do, but at a wedding performs seven *pheras* instead of four. Work as sculptors, etc. (Found in Gurgáon).

BHAROÍ, fem. BHAROJÁ, s. m. one who attends travellers at a *bharo.*

BHARTH, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

BHARTH, a Rájput sept found in Gujrát, descended from their eponym.

BHARWÁL, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BHARWÁNA, (1) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery; (2) a clan of the Siáls, descended from Bhairo.

BHAṚYÁR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHÁṬ, see under Bhaṭṭ.

BHAṬE, an Aráiṇ and Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHÁTI, see Báhti.

BHATÍ, a Jáṭ, Aráiṇ, Gújar and Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amṛitsar, also a Jáṭ and Rájput clan found in Multán.

BHÁTI, a tribe of Hindu Rájputs, chiefly interesting as being the ancestors of the BHAṬṬÍ Rájputs and the SIDHÚ Barár Jáṭs, as the following table shows:—

BHÁTI, BROTHER OF SUNRIJA.

- Jaisal.
  - Hindu Bháṭís.
- Dusál.
  - Junhár or Jáunra.
    - Batera.
      - Sidhu Barár Jáṭs.
    - Achal
      - Barsi.
        - Bhaṭṭí Rájputs.
      - Rájpal.
        - Waṭṭú Rájputs.

[Fagan—Hissar Gazetteer, pp. 124, 127--129.]

BHÁṬIA.—A caste originally from the country round Delhi but more recently from Bhaṭner and the Rájputána desert, and claiming to be Rájputs of Yádubansi race, one branch of which became rulers of Jaisalmir while the other took to commercial pursuits. The name would seem to show that they were Bháṭis (Bhaṭṭi in the Punjáb); but be that as it may, their Rájput origin seems to be unquestioned. They are numerous in Sind and Guzerat where they appear to form the leading mercantile element, and to hold the place which the Aroṛás occupy higher up the Indus. They have spread into the Punjáb along the lower valleys of the Indus and Sutlej, and up the whole length of the Chenáb as high as its debouchure into the plains, being indeed most numerous in Siálkoṭ and Gujrát. In these Provinces however they occupy an inferior position, both in a social and in a mercantile sense. They stand distinctly below the Khatri and perhaps below the Aroṛa, and are for the most part engaged in petty shop-keeping, though the Bháṭias of Dera Isma'íl Khán are described as belonging to a 'widely spread and enterprising mercantile community.' They are often supposed to be Khatrís, are very strict Hindus—far more so than the other trading classes of the Western Punjáb—eschewing meat and liquor. They do not practise widow-marriage.

The Bháṭia caste has 84* sections, called *mukhs*, divided into two groups thus—

Group I.—Bári—

Sections.	Status		Sections.
1. Babla	*Dháighar.*	*Chárghar.*	7. Gandhi.
2. Dhagga			8. Chachra.
3. Anda			9. Chabak.
4. Baláha			10. Kandal.
5. Jáwa			11. Ghanghal.
6. Soni			12. Kore.

Both Baláha and Jáwa claim to be *chárghar*. All the above sections are of Bárághar status. It is hardly necessary to explain that *ḍháighar* may not give daughters to any but *ḍháighar*, though they may take from *chárghar* and so on. A breach of this rule involves degradation and hence the same section may be both *ḍháighar* and *chárghar*.

Group II.—Bunjábi, which comprises the remaining sections† such as Baila, Choták, Dholia and Naida.

There are no territorial groups, but the orthodox idea among the old men is that daughters should be given to the Western Bháṭiás of Sháhpur, Jhelum and Dera Isma'íl Khán as they are of superior status to those in Gujrát, while the Eastern Bháṭiás of Siálkoṭ and Gujránwála are considered inferior and wives are taken from them.

It should, however, be noted that in Baháwalpur these groups appear to be unknown, but of the sections given in the margin the Sijwála is the highest and the Rilla the lowest. The Bháṭiás have a proverb '*dhan di wadi ai*' or 'wealth is greatness.' In Baháwalpur, they live in large rectangular *hawelis*, each comprising 30 or 40 houses.

Sijwála.	Babla.
Gandhi.	Wanjak.
Chachra { Sip. / An-Sip.	Ra-rakha.
	Challhar.
Wadoja.	Rilla.
Dhagga.	Waṭṭu.

1. Rai Gájaria, from
2. Rao Haria, from Rai Hari Singh, a *bhagat.*
3. Rao Sapat, from Sáptá, a village of Márwár, the home of Bímá, a Bháṭí. The Bhátís of Sáptá were great devotees of Deví and as such held in great respect.
4. Rao Paral-sauria, 'the sept of the five heroes,' Jasaji, Ráwalji, Nawal Singh, Jodhráj and Bír Singh who fell bravely fighting in Jaisalmír. Bahádar Singh belonged to this *nakh*. —All the above *nakhs* affect Deví.
5. Rai Rámayá. Agai-ráj, brother of Rám Chandar was a great *bhagat* who was ever repeating Rám's name.
6. Rai Padamsi, from Padamsi Bhátí who fell bravely fighting in battle. He had a son Udhe Rai.
7. Rai Paleja, from Paleja a village, the home of Parma Bhátí, in Márwár.
8. Rai Ved (Waid), from Man Singh, son of Megh Ráj Bhátí who was skilled in *waidak* (physic): all the Bhátís who joined him became Rai by sept.
9. Rai Surya, from Sura Bhátí who fell in battle.
10. Rai Ditya, from Dúta a village, the home of Arjan Bhátí, a *bhagat* of Deví.
11. Rai Gokal Gándí, from Gokal Gándí of Multán under whom served Nawal, son of Ráwal Bhátí. Ráwal fell in battle.
12. Rai Gádá, from Gádá Bhátí, a *bhagat* of Hanumán.
13. Rai Nae Gándí, from Megh Ráj, son of Jodh Ráj. Megh Ráj opened a shop at Baháwalpur, and was known as Niya Gándí.

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* An 85th is also named below.

† There is also a lower group called Gand, the offspring of Bháṭiás married to Aroṛa women or of widow remarriages. The Pushkarna Brahman is their *parohit*.

14. Rai Midia, from Medi a village, the home of Kumbha Bhátí, who fell in battle. He had a son Oga, who was a servant of Bahádar Ali, Nawáb.
15. Rai Chhachia, from *chhe* (six). Six families joined Desa Bhátí.
16. Rai Babllá, from Babllá, son of Jodhá Bhátí, of Nigú village.
17. Rai Panchál, from Panchálpuri, the home of Rai Bhím.
18. Rai Gulgula, from Gulgula Bhátí who was killed in battle. He had a son Mán Singh.
19. Rai Subra, from Subra, the name of a *baithak** of Bhátís.
20. Rai Nágrá, from Nágrá, a village in Márwár.
21. Rai Saráki, from Nawal Saráki, the name of those who sided with Nawal Singh† in a dispute about some custom which the Qází decided in his favour.
22. Rai Soni, from Son a village, whose spokesman was Ratan Rai Bhátí.
23. Rai Sopla, from Bhopat Singh Bhátí.
24. Rai Jiá, from Jiá Bhátí who displayed great courage in the army.
25. Rai Mogia, from Mogia Bhátí who fell fighting.
26. Rai Dhadha, from Dhadhalu, a village of the Thatí country.
27. Rai Riká, from Riká Bhátí, who fell fighting. He had a son Gassa.
28. Rai Jidhan, from Jidhan Bhátí, who was a great cultivator.
29. Rai Kothia, from Kothiar, a village.
30. Rai Kotha, from Kothapur, a village.
31. Rai Dhawan, from Dhawan Rai, who was famed for his generosity. He had a son Meghá.
32. Rai Devla, from a famous Deval Bhátí, who lived in the village of Gánth.
33. Rai Jiá, from Jiá Chádak, a cultivator, who lived in the Márwár Thatí.
34. Rai Baura, from Baura, a village in the Thatí.
35. Rai Dhage, from Dhaga Bhátí, who fell bravely in battle.
36. Rai Kandhya, from Shuja Bhátí, who though his forehead was split in the Jaisalmír war, yet his trunk fought on for a long while.
37. Rai Ráthia, from Ráthia Bhátí, of Ratnár, a village in the Thatí of Márwár. He was famous for his hospitality.
38. Rai Kajriá, from Kajaryá, a village towards Multán where Mán Singh *mukhia* lived. He had seven sons, all called *mukhias*.
39. Rai Sijwálá, who were proficient in archery.
40. Rai Jabálá, from Jabálá, a village in Sindh.
41. Rai Malan, from Malan, a family of Gogla village, whose members knew antidotes to poisons.
42. Rai Dhaba, from Dhaba *mukhia* of Rori village, who raised camels there.
43. Rai Dhíran, from Dhíran Bhátí, who fell in battle. He had a son Udhe Rai.
44. Rai Bhagta, from Bhagtánand Bhátí, who showed great valour in the Jaisalmír war.
45. Rai Birá, from Birá Bhátí, who showed great valour in battle. He was a *bhagat* of Deví.
46. Rai Thulá, from Thulá, a village of the Thatí.
47. Rai Sodhayá, from Sodhá, a caste, Singh Mal Bhátí having married the daughter of a Sodhí Rájput.
48. Rai Búrá, from Búra Bhátí of Bakhar village.
49. Rai Múchhá, from Arjan Bhátí, who was nicknamed Arjan Muchha, as he had long moustaches. He was a *bhagat* of Jasra Deví, and wore the 5 *kes*.
50. Rai Tamboli, from Nanda and Niga, *tambolis* (betelnut-sellers). They were *bhagats* of Shiva.
51. Rai Thákar.
52. Rai Bisnaw, from Bisanwant Bhátí, who was a man of great good furtune. He had 4 sons. All the members of this family specially worshipped Rám Chandr and in one year 107 sons used to be born to it.
53. Rai Bhudria, from Bhudar, a Bháti.
54. Rai Indhar, from Indhar, a branch of the Bhátís.
55. Rai Dhadhál, from Dhadhála village, the home of Rámá Bhátí
56. Rai Beg Chandr, from Begá and Chandá, Bhátís, who were customs collectors.
57. Rai Bipal, from Bipal, the residence of Kunbha and Káná, Bhátís.
58. Rai Pothá, from the brothers Pothá, Parmá and Nágá, Bhátís.
59. Rai Premla, from Prema and Parma, Bhátí Rájputs of Rásá village.
60. Rai Púrdhagá, from Puradh, a *yag*, performed by Káná and Kumbha, Bhátís, who were followers of Gurú Nának.
61. Rai Madhrá, from Madhrá Bhátí, a servant of a Khán at Multán, who gave much in alms.
62. Rai Pharás Gándí, from Pharás, the name of Jítá Mal, Bhátí, who had transactions with Maujúd Khán in Multán. He had perfumes, oil and *attar*.
63. Rai Puri Gándí, from Pare, a Bhátí, performer of Raipul.
64. Rai Jujar Gándí from Jujar village, the residence of Ajít Singh and Ránphá, Bhátís, who sold perfumes.
65. Rai Panwár, from Panwár, a branch of the Bhátí.
66. Rai Premá Súj, from Prema and Sújá, the sons of Gondha, Bhátí.
67. Rai Rájá, from Rájá, a village in Márwár.

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* A room or building where male visitors are received.

† Not apparently the Nawal Singh of No. 11. This Nawal Singh was in the employ of one Qutb Khán.

68. Rai Parjia, from Parja, a caste. Rásan, son of Bhím Singh, Bhátí, in a fight with robbers killed 100 of them, while on his side only two of his 5 sons and 6 Bhátís fell.
69. Rai Kupwár, from Kapúrá, a Bhátí, who attained a great age.
70. Rai Dhádar, from Dhádar, a village in the Punjáb.
71. Rai Kartaryá, from Kartaryá, the family name of one Káná Bhátí.
72. Rai Gogla.
73. Rai Kukar, from Kukar, a village in the Punjáb.
74. Rai Multáni, from Multán where Jodú Rai, a Bhátí clothier and his family lived.
75. Rai Chamújá, from Chamújá, a village.
76. Rai Dhiyá, from Dhiyá, a village.
77. Rai Karan Gotá, from Karna, Bhátí, who was called Karna after his *gotar*. Two of them, Múl Ráj and Megh Ráj, served with distinction under the Nawáb of Bahāwalpur.
78. Rai Nisát, from *sat* (juice) because Samún and Ramún extracted juice from wheat and made *halwá* of it.
79. Rai Udesí, from Udhe Rai, the elder son of Parma. Bhátí. He had a bitter feud with his younger brother.
80. Rai Budhíyá, Bhoj Ráj, Bhátí, did Bádh Pal's work, had camels and hired them.
81. Rai Balái, from Baláya-kar, a village in the Punjáb which was the home of Bhán, son of Bhoj Ráj.
82. Rai Pawar, from Pawri village, the home of Premán and Parmán.
83. Rai Kíná, from Kíná (enmity). The family of Músá destroyed their enemy.
84. Rai Káziá, from Kází. Ir Mal, Bhátí, who worked as a clerk under a *kází* of Baháwalpur.
85. Rai Mota, from Moti, daughter of Nárú Mal Sohāná, a resident of Multán.

Bhaṭiani, a donkey owner in Dera Ghází Khán, who also bakes bread while his womenfolk act as midwives. Said to be connected with the Kabárs and Kumhárs.

Bháṭí-dár, one on whom land is bestowed as *bhátí, i.e.*, a rent-free grant of land given to a Brahman or *jágír* by a ruler.

Bhaṭí Wád, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Siálkoṭ which claims Solar Rájput descent and originated in Ajudhia whence its eponym migrated to Amritsar, where it is also found as a Jáṭ (agricultural) clan.

Bháṭrá.—Like the Maniár, Banjára and others the Bháṭrá is a pedlar. He claims Brahman origin, and his traditions say that one Mádho Mal, a Brahman *rishi*, a singer and a poet, once loved and wedded Kám Kundala, a dancing girl. From this pair are descended the Mádhwás or Bháṭrás.* The latter word appears to be a diminutive of the Sanskrit *bhaṭṭa*, a bard. However this may be, a curious legend accounts for the Bháṭrás' location in the Punjáb and their conversion to Sikhism. Mádho was born and died in Ceylon,† but in the reign of Bábar, Gurú Nának visited that island, and there made a disciple of Changa Bháṭrá, a descendant of Mádho. The Adi Granth records that 20 *maunds* of salt a day were required for Changa's numerous followers, many of whom were converted to Sikhism and followed Gurú Nának back to India.

The Mádhwás, however, did not at first settle in the Punjáb. Originally they were to be found chiefly in the Dadra Des, along the banks of the Ganges in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces, where many of them are *banjáras* or pedlars by trade, some hawking cheap ornaments for women, others so-called Vedic medicines.‡ Thence they migrated into Hoshiárpur and Siálkoṭ, but

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* This tradition is said to be preserved in the Mahábhárata and Singhásan Batísi. In a *parwána* of Mahárája Ranjít Singh of 7th Asauj, 1866 Sambat, and now in the possession of a Bháṭra of Dháriwál, the Mádhwás were exempted from the grazing tax.

† A Sikh temple, known as Dera Bábá, was built in Ceylon to the Gurú's memory at the Mádhwás' original home.

‡ Gullible patients are made to sign bonds for Rs. 50 or so, as the Bháṭrá's fee if they recover.

they are now to be found in the great towns and places of pilgrimage all over India. In Hoshiárpur the Bháṭṛás are virtually all Sikhs (though children under 12 have their heads shaved) and here they pose as magicians, foretelling the future by gazing into a cup of oil. Thence they mainly frequent the Kángṛa District. In Siálkoṭ a moiety are true Sikhs, observing all the Sikh customs, and often posing as *gurús*, Akális or Nihangs when on their wanderings.* They prey on the credulity of the people by astrology. The other moiety are *jatadháris*, but smoke, and generally assume the characteristic garb of the Udásís, pretending to be emissaries of certain temples and collecting subscriptions for them. After the Diwálí the Bháṭṛás set out on their tours, returning at the commencement of the rainy season. They travel in gangs generally of half-a-dozen or so, and the Sikhs are occasionally accompanied by their wives and daughters, for whose marriages they collect subscriptions. Various forms of swindling are practised by them and they earn large sums which they promptly squander on drink and gambling. Besides hawking small hardware for sale they pierce children's noses and ears for rings,† like the Ramáiya of the eastern districts.

The Bháṭṛás' claim to Brahminical origin is borne out by the fact that they wear the *janeo* and *tilak*, and even at eclipses receive certain offerings, while standing in water, from each and every caste. They also practise palmistry (*rekha*). Other castes call them *hararpopo* or Thags, and the higher Brahman groups disown them. Probably they are a branch of the Ḍakauts.

The Bháṭṛás have 22 *gots*, of which 13 are found in Siálkoṭ, *viz.* :—

Bhains.	Gamí.	Kasba.	Lohi.
Bhattí.	Gojra.	Lande.	Ráthor.
Bhotíwál.	Kag.	Lar.	Rod.
Digwá.			

Bhaṭṭ, fem. Bhaṭṭen, Bhaṭṭní, Bháṭní, Bhaṭání: dim. Bhaṭetá: fem. Bhaṭeṭi, the son or daughter of a Bhaṭṭ: also, contemptuously, any one of that caste. The Panjábi form is Bhaṭṭ, but it is very commonly pronounced Bháṭ, especially in the Hills.

The organisation of the Hindu Bháṭs almost baffles description, so fluid are its intricacies.

In Hissár are found two sub-castes, Brahm and a few Ráj. The former are clients of the Mahájans‡, performing certain functions for them at weddings, &c.§ ; they wear the *janeo*, avoid widow marriage, and only eat food cooked by a Gauṛ Brahman ||, while the Ráj are landholders and cultivators, receiving dues at Jáṭ weddings.

The Brahm, Brahma or Brahmí Bháṭs are very widely spread, and always appear to stand higher than the other sub-castes or groups, which vary from place to place. Thus in Rohtak the other groups are

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* Recently, however, some of them have taken to disguising themselves as Bairági *sádhús*. Others, of Daska, make an indelible mark on their necks and call themselves Hosaini Brahmans, collecting alms from Muhammadans.

† See p. 268 of Punjab Manufactures for the implements used.

‡ And also of the Brahmans in Rohtak.

§ They sing *kabits* in public when the bridegroom first sets out for his father-in-law's house, receiving a rupee as their fee on this occasion and also at the *káj* of an old man.

|| Or Aggarwál Mahájans in Rohtak.

three in number, *viz.*, Jaggá or Tappawár,* Cháran†, and a fourth class, to which belonged Udá Bháṭ.‡ The Jaggás comprise the Bharia, Roria, Shakkarwálá, Solanki and other *gots*.

In Gurgáon on the other hand the Bháṭ or Rai, as he is called, is described as a Mírásí, and is divided into four classes§ :—

I { 1. Brahm Rai, Bháṭs of the Brahmans.
 2. Bero (Baro) Rai, of the Rájputs.

II { 3. Ráj Rai, who eat flesh and drink liquor.
 4. Jagá, or genealogists : of whom I is superior to II.||

The Brahm group then extends right across the south of the Punjab into Multán, Dera Ghází Khán, Dera Isma'íl, Míánwálí and even Bannú ; the group below them being called Kátímár.¶

On the other hand in Multán the Brahm Bháṭs are said to be divided into four classes :—

Chandí Dás.	Mahal.
Jangá Bhambá.	Sutrak.

This group is also called Vateshar and regards itself as Bahrí or superior, while the Bunjáhís, who are not recognised as Brahm Bháṭs, comprise the following *gots* :—

Agan-hotrí.**	Lakhnaurí.	Dehi Palsihar.
Chandan.	Manjhor.	Shenor.
Dharor.	Palsihar.	Sipal.
Ghanghar.**	Pali Palsihar.	Sugerlu.
Gurú Daṭ.		

The real grouping in Multán however appears to be into four functional groups, *viz.* :—

1. Brahm, eulogists and genealogists.

2. Vartishar, who live upon dues payable at weddings and funerals for their services. At weddings they summon the brotherhood, and so on. At deaths they notify its members, and also procure certain

* Jaggi, so called because they rise early and seated on their patron's roof recite his genealogy. Tappawár is not explained.

† Cháran, a wanderer, pilgrim : singer, dancer : Platts, *sub voce.*

‡ But another account says the Bháṭs include the following classes :—Brahm (the only one found in Rohtak), Jaggá, Ráj and Cháran, (already mentioned), together with the *Moná* and Garara.

§ Apparently sub-castes : if not, I and II each form a sub-caste. But it is also said that the *mírásís* of the Rájputs are calledRáná or Ucharn Bháṭs, the Ránás being story-tellers and eulogists, as well as genealogists. And yet another account divides the Bháṭs into four classes :—(1) Rai Bháṭ, or 'meistersingers,' (2) Ránás "heralds" who used to act as envoys, as well as encourage the fighting men by their singing of legends, (3) Kathaks or musicians, and (4) Jagás or genealogists and story-tellers.

The following *kabit* from Gurgáon describes the superiority of the Rai Bháṭs :—

Hamín That, Hamín Bhaṭṭ, Hamín Bhaunra, Hamín Bhágí,
Hamín bír Betál, Hamín jangal ke jogí,
Kapṛá pharen máng karar bándh mandar aren,
Betál kahen Bikram suno dev dán kírat karen.

|| The Bháṭ *gots* are :—Bimblán, Bhardwáj, Chand Bardai, Chandián, Kaliá, Mirchal, Sair, Tind and Sodhián.

¶ But according to an account from Multán the groups are four, *viz.* :—Brahm, Varteshwar, Chandísar and Kutichar, each with functions of its own.

** These two *gots* are by some classed as Brahm, in other words some of their members are of Brahm status, others only of Bunjáhí rank.

articles for the corpse. At funerals their females take part in the *siápá* (mourning), being paid annas 2 per day. At a girl's wedding they get Re. 1-8, but at a boy's only Re. 1, the sum which they also get at a funeral. Their perquisite on other occasions is called *vel badhái.*

3. The Chandísar live in the villages and live by begging. The Kátímárs who used to be numerous in Multán, are an off-shoot of this branch.

4. The Kutichar are vagrant beggars.

Accounts from Míánwálí, in which District the Bháṭs are very few in number, give a threefold division of the caste, as follows :—

I { i. Brahmi. / ii. Khoslá.	II { ii. Kátímár or Sheni Khel. / iii. Baddú.

I performs ceremonies : II does not, though at weddings the Kátímár sing songs of congratulation. The Baddú is virtually an out-caste.*

A second account points to the fact that the Bháṭs derive their origin from the Pushkarná Brahmans as well as from the Sársut, and says the Pushkarná Bháṭ are equal in status to the Sársut,† though the status of the sections varies, and a family whose widows marry outside the brotherhood is looked down upon.

Lastly a third account gives the old functional groups : the Sút who sing songs and recite chronicles 'in the afternoon'‡ ; the Mágadh, who keep pedigrees of kings, and recount their deeds : the Windíján, who teach princes ; and the Bháṭ or Jagak§ who sang songs in the early morning hours to awaken the king. Yet this same account divides the Bháṭs into Brahms and Kátímárs.

In Multán, tahsíl Shujábád, only the Brahm and Kátímár groups are known. The former comprises 7 *gots* : Chandí Dás, Mahel, Sutrak, Changar, Palsa, Chandaria, and Channan, all of which are said to be Sársut *gots* and intermarry. The Kátímárs, also said to be Sársuts, form a distinct sub-caste. They have, as a rule, no clients, and live by blackmail, but in Shujábád itself they receive fixed dues (from one to four annas a head at weddings). They still compose *kabits* which the Brahm Bháṭs do not.

In the accounts from Karnál, Patiálá and Kapúrthalá‖ allusion is

* The Baddú takes alms from Muhammadans, which other Bháts will not do. No other will eat with him, yet he wears the *janeo.* His corpse is not burnt like a Hindú's, but is cast into a stream. It is to be regretted that no further particulars of this interesting group are given.

† It is said that the *gots* are :—

SÁRSUT	Chandí Dás, Gandhor, Harar Rai, Hatiára, *Kátímár* ?, Thor, etc.	PUSHKARNÁ	Panian, Josi, Asur, Ghangar.

‡ Just as the Jaggá have a stated time for their recitations : see above.

§ Not to be confused with the Jájik, who in Dera Ghází Khán is a sewer of shrouds : see *infra.*

‖ In Kapúrthalá to the Sút is assigned the duty of reciting verses from the Puráns : and to the Mágadh that of eulogising the Surajbans, Chandrbans, etc., while to the Vandijan is allotted the recitation of chronicles, and eulogising Deo, *rikhi*, *pitar* and *Hari ki nondan*, whence they are designated Kabishars or bards. The latter also announce betrothals, set forth the dowry at weddings, and so on.

made to an older and apparently extinct organisation of the Bháṭ caste into three main groups, *viz.*:—

1. Sút, reciters of myths.
2. Mágadhs, chroniclers.
3. Vandís, or Vandijan, who acted as advisers to Rájás and as poets laureate.

The Vandís alone are found in Patiálá where they are known as Brahmá Bháṭs or Brahmá Rais. They wear the *janeo* and retain their Brahminical *gotras* such as Konsal (in Kapúrthalá), Bhardwáj, etc.

In their internal grouping the Brahm Bháṭs imitate the Khatri organisation, having two groups as follows:—

I.—Bárí, or the 12 gots.

1. Gun ḍeo.	4. Lakhan Sain.	7. Bhárámal.	10. Phág.
2. Kataṛia.	5. Dhúṛ.	8. Táhú.	11. Chandí dás.
3. Paṇgan.	6. Bisbel or -wel.	9. Kalian.	12. Dhíran.

and of these numbers 1—6 form a Ḍháíghar group, which avoids only one *got* in marriage, (as indeed does the whole Bári group, apparently) whereas the Bunjáhís avoid four. This latter group includes the following *gots*:—

Bhuládia.	Manohia.	Súṛián.	Tuhánia, etc.
Malaunia.	Saroha.	Tetia.	

On the other hand in Sháhpur the Bháṭ are divided into Bunjáhís and Khokhars, the latter suggesting the Khokharain group of the Khatrís, thus:—

	Section.	*Gotra.*
I.—Bunjáhís.	Ayúpotrí.	Bhárdwáj.
	Dheṛru.	„
	Jandídás.	Koshal.
	Máhal.	„
	Rai Pál.	„
II.—Khokhars.	Sigaṛre.	Kushab.
	Nadhipotre.	Bhárdwáj.
	Apat.	Bálash.
	Jain.	Vashist.

Of these the Jain section will intermarry with any other, but from the above notes it is abundantly clear that the Bháṭs are simply an offshoot of the Brahmans, being differentiated from them by function. And to explain their origin various legends have been invented. One is that when Janmeja celebrated a sacrifice he summoned the Gauṛ Brahmans and tricked one of them into accepting an offering of a diamond by concealing it in some *pán*. This Brahman became a Bháṭ. Another, to whom Janmeja offered a gift, refused it and became a Taggá. Another is that Shiva was celebrating the marriage of his son, and giving alms to Jogís, Jangams, Saniásís and Suthrás, who received them with a good grace. Thereupon the god asked if any would constrain him to give alms, and a drop of sweat falling from his brows to the ground the first Bháṭ sprang from

it, with a *katár* in his hands, and uttered a *kabit* which runs:—"O goddess Káliká, give the Bhát a *katár* whose sight will cause a close-fisted man (*shúm*) to flee. Let the Bhát cleave him from head to foot with his *katár.*" Shiva replied:—"O Betal Rai, Bhát, I would have given you the kingdom of the whole world had you not appeared thus. Now I grant you great influence and all will be terrified at your voice, but you will get what you may." This *kabit,* obtained from a Bhát, would make all the Bháts professional extortioners. A third tradition is that Brahmá offered gifts to Brahmans, but they all refused it, until one of their sisters' sons accepted it and thus became a Bhát.

Two legends from the Simla hills also describe the origin of the Bháts. The first explains how they acquired the power of reading men's thoughts. Under Rájá Bhoj,* it says, lived Kálí Dás, a famous Bhát who held that a man could say anything he wished in poetry, and so Kálí, the goddess, pleased with his devotion, conferred on him the power of thought-reading. The other legend goes further back, and describes how Rájá Jaswant† had a wise counsellor in a woman Khankálí. Once when he was holding his court at Srínagar in Garhwál the Rájá of Márwár, Jagdeo, came to see him and found him and Khankáli in council. The lady veiled her face, explaining that as a man had come to that cowardly court she could not show her face before him. This reply naturally annoyed Jaswant who declared he would give her 10 times as much as Jagdeo would bestow. Khankálí then went to Jagdeo's tent; but as he was at his devotions his Rání gave her a dish full of gold coins and gems which Khankálí refused to accept, as she could take no alms from a woman. When the Rájá came she presented him with a rupee, as a *nazr,* and said she was the wife of a Bhát and had come to demand *dán* (charity), which one of Rájput blood could not refuse. He bade her ask a favour, and she demanded his head, which the Rájá at once cut off, and she carried it in a dish to Rájá Jaswant. Tauntingly Jaswant asked what she had got from Jagdeo, who had fled from his own kingdom and sought a refuge with himself. In reply Khankáli showed him the head and demanded those of himself and his 9 sons in fulfilment of his vow, threatening him with the ruin of his kingdom if he refused. The king's sons, his queen, and he himself, however, all declined to sacrifice their lives in fulfilment of the Rájá's rash promise.

Khankálí then returned to Jagdeo's tent. She had forbidden his queen to burn his body till she returned, and when she found the Rání lamenting over his corpse she restored it to life and promised him the empire of all India. This he soon achieved. In the first encounter Jaswant was overthrown and Jagdeo seized his kingdom. Gradually he subdued all the petty chiefs in India, compelling them to pay 6 annas in the rupee as tribute. From Khankálí and Káli Dás the Bhát chain descends.

In Sirmúr the Bháts are by origin Brahmans,‡ but having adopted *karewa* they lost status and are now by occupation genealogists. Many, too, are cultivators and trans-Giri marry with Kanets. The

* *Cf.* Legends II, p. 183.
† See Legends of the Punjáb III, pp. 242, 252.
‡ There is a Wateshar or Bateshar group among the Brahmans also.

Bháṭs of Náhan retain Brahman customs, but those of the interior have adopted those of the Kanets. With the Kanets the Bháṭs furnish the Dewás or priests to the temples. Trans-Giri there is a sub-division of the Bháṭs called Deti, but the rest of the Bháṭs do not intermarry with them and they are inferior to the other groups.

THE MUHAMMADAN BHÁṬS.

The Muhammadan Bháṭs are even fewer in numbers than the Hindu, and far less elaborately organised. In Hissár they date their conversion to Álamgír's reign, and still continue to minister to Mahájans and other Hindus as well as to Mughals and Pírzádas, but Shaikhs only fee them at a daughter's wedding; as do also oilmen and weavers who give them 8 annas. But they get fees on the birth of a son. In Rohtak they have only three sections, Bijhán, Síl Sahá and Gur Deva, of whom the latter recite genealogies and compose songs.

Their patrons are Muhammadan Rájputs and Hindu Mahájans, and they receive—

Ceremony.	Function.	Fee.
Girl's betrothal ...	The Bháṭ women sing songs and chant *kabits.*	8 Mansúrí *takas.*
Boy's „ ...	The Bháṭ women sing songs and also the brotherhood.	Re. 1 or as. 8 with *takas.*
Girl's „ ...	Women sing *bandháwa*	8 *takas* for each.
Birth of a son ...	Sing congratulatory songs	Re. 1.

At weddings when the dower arrives the Bháṭs read out the list of articles and recite the following *kabit*:—

Zar kisí sone gola kindrí murassa motí kanchan chhahbharí hai,
Kimkháb atlas báwalá jhurm lát mehndi motí sut pás dharí hai.
Bhúkan rátub hírá panná jaṛáo jaṛat gird men chhuháre sab nár kahin khaṛí hai.
Sundar sohág bhág bharí jaisi khilli phul jhaṛi hai.

In Sháhpur the Muhammadan Bháṭs are divided thus:—

	Section.	*Gotra.*
I.	Chúrál.	Koshal.
	Panj.	„
	Samít.	
	Gudrál.	

II. Kaprál, which is said to be purely endogamous and not to marry with any other Bháṭ under pain of excommunication. The other four sections marry *inter se*.

THE BHÁṬ'S FUNCTIONS.

The functions of the Bháṭ differ in different parts of these Provinces. In the south-eastern districts he is not entrusted with any religious functions at all. Thus in Rohtak the Brahm Bháṭs merely get annas 4 to 8 on the bridegroom's departure at a wedding; and the guests at a rich man's funeral are invited through a Bháṭ, who receives Re. 1 in cash, and a turban when the *pagrí* is tied round the heir's head. A Bháṭ also summons the kinsmen to witness an excommuni-

cation or a re-admission into caste.* As we go westward, however, the Bháṭ's functions become more definite, assuming at times almost a priestly colour, while his perquisites are correspondingly larger and more certain. Thus in Kapúrthalá the Brahm Bháṭ sings congratulatory songs at a betrothal, at the *saia chitthi*, at a *chhotá tiká*, or marking of the bridegroom's forehead, the *milni*,† or meeting of the bride and bridegroom, at the *lawán* or turins, the *mittha bháṭ* and the *chirkani*, receiving a fee of annas 2 or so, together with other rails.

After a death the Bháṭ remains for 13 days in the deceased's house and helps to procure what is required; at a *shánt* he gets a rupee; and at a *súch* he gets a similar fee with certain clothes:—

	Ceremony.	Function.	Fee.
Marriages.	(1) Marriage procession ...	Sing *Manglachár kabits*	1 or 2 annas.
	(2) *Pilra*	Ditto	1 anna.
	(3) Dowry	Proclaim publicly the presents given as the dowry.	4 annas.
	(4) *Warisui*	Carry baskets (*chhábás*) of dried fruits, etc., to the bridegroom's father's house, and chant congratulations to the pair.	
Funerals.	(1) Procession to the funeral pyre.	(*i*) Sew the *kafan*‡ ... ... (*ii*) Buy what is necessary for the deceased's relatives. (*iii*) Sing in the procession.	2½ annas.
	(2) *Siápá* for 1st four days ...	A Bhátní leads the mourning of the women of the brotherhood.	8 annas or a rupee.
	(3) *Daháya*	On the tenth day the Bháṭní assembles the women in the house of the deceased's heirs.	2 annas and 2 *sers* of wheat flour.
	(4) On the 13th day ...	A Bháṭ assembles the male members of the brotherhood, and the deceased's heir is proclaimed.	1 anna.
	(5) *Dharm shánt*	On the 17th day the *shrádh* is performed.	A meal of cooked food.

In the western districts the Bháṭní fulfils the duties of a professional mourner. Thus in Sháhpur she leads the mourning by the women of the deceased's brotherhood for a fee of Re. 1, and in Dera Ghází Khán she does this for a wage of 2½ annas a day, besides what the relatives may give her.

In Káŋgṛa§ the only relic of the Bháṭ's former functions is the making of *kabits*, and a proverb runs:—*Bháṭ ki bhet kabit, i.e.*, a Bháṭ will always make a present of a *kabit*. Like the *parohit* and the barber

* This account comes from the Sámpla tahsíl of Rohtak. Elsewhere the Bháṭs merely sing congratulatory songs on auspicious occasions for a fee of four double-pice, raised at weddings to Re. 1-4-0.

† They sprinkle the red coloured water on the white garments of the wedding guests.

‡ But in Dera Ghází Khán this is done by the Jájik.

§ This is the account from Hamírpur. In Núrpur tahsíl Bháṭs merely visit the house of a newly married couple and receive a small fee, earning their living by cultivation. In Káŋgṛa tahsil they sometimes at a wedding get a fee called *durbhia*, which varies from 3 pies to 2 annas: they also get one at an investiture with the *janeo*, and at weddings the girl's father gives his Bháṭ annas 2 and some cloth, while the boy's Bháṭ gets Re. 1-4-0, but they perform no rites.

they are looked upon as *lágís*, but are virtually only employed as messengers at weddings, being paid a trifle by the recipient for the message (*neondar*). In the Hill States, however, ten or twenty Bháṭs sometimes collect and recite *kabits*, receiving a sum of money, called *rinj*, which is divided proportionately among them, the Bháṭ of the rájá who gives it getting the lion's share. In former times, it is said, they were compelled to work, but this is not now the case. Elsewhere the Bháṭ is now, speaking generally, a cultivator or a servant to a Mahájan.

The Bháṭs act as *parohits* to the Khatrís, while their own *parohits* and *pádhas* are Sársut Brahmans.

Bhattahár,-hárá, fem.-hárí, Bhattiár,-árá, a person who takes food to labourers in the field.

Bhaṭṭi. The name Bhaṭṭi would appear to be unquestionably connected with Bháṭ, Bhaṭṭ, Bháṭi and Bhaṭiâ, Bhaṭṭ bearing the same relation to Bháṭ as Jaṭṭ to Jáṭ, *kamm* in Punjábí to *kám*, etc. As a tribe the Bhaṭṭis are of some antiquity, numerous and wide-spread. They give their name to the Bhaṭṭiána* and to the Bhaṭṭiora† tracts, as well as to various places, such as Bhatinda, Bhaṭner, Pindi Bhaṭṭián and possibly the Bhaṭṭiát in Chamba. Historically the Bhaṭṭis first appear to be mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-sháhí* of Shams-i-Siráj Afif, and the following notes are culled from the translation of that work in Elliott's *Hist. of India* :—

In the reign of Alá-ud-Dín, Tughlik of Khurásán obtained the district of Dipálpur, of which Abohar was a dependency. To Abohar were attached all the jungles belonging to the Míní (Mína ?) and Bhaṭṭi tribes. Tughlik, anxious to ally his family with the native chiefs, heard that the daughters of Rána Mall Bhaṭṭi were beautiful and accomplished, so he sent the *amaldár* of Abohar to negotiate the alliance of one of them with his brother, Sipahsálár Rajab. In his pride the Rána rejected these overtures, and so Tughlik proceeded to levy the outstanding revenue from the *talwandis* of the Bhaṭṭis with great severity. The Rána's daughter, Bíbí Náíla, hearing of this, urged her own surrender. 'Consider,' she said, 'that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters.' She was accordingly married to Rajab, assumed the name of Bíbí Kadbánú, and became the mother of Firoz Sháh III in 1309 A. D.‡

In 1394 Sárang Khan was sent to Dipálpur to suppress the rebellion of Shaikha Khokhar. There he raised troops and, taking with him Rai Khul Chain Bhaṭṭi and Rai Dáúd Kamál Main (? Mína), he crossed the Sutlej near Tirhárah (Tihára, in Ludhiána).§

In 1389 we read of Rai Kamál-ud-dín Main (? Mína) and Rai Khul Chand Bhaṭṭi whose fiefs lay near Sámána, being sent with Prince Humáyún to raise troops at that fortress.||

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* See the art. Bhaṭṭiána in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.
† In the Chiniot uplands north of the Chenab.
‡ E. H. I. III, pp. 271-2.
§ E. H. I. IV, p. 29.
|| E. H. I. IV, p. 22.

Tímúr found Bhaṭner under the rule of Rao Dál Chain,* a Rájput, and probably a Bhaṭṭi. Curiously enough he is represented as having a brother named Kamál-ud-dín, and in one history Khul Chain is said to have been the Rai of Bhaṭner.†

Again in 1527 we read of Mirza Kámrán's coming from Lahore, with many horses and much wealth taken from the Bhaṭṭis and Khokhars.‡

The legends of the Bhaṭṭis are, however, silent on these events and ascribe the origin of the tribe to Achal through Barsi, who extended his dominions from the south to Bhaṭner, which they held until expelled from it by the Rájá of Bikáner early in the 19th century. Then they spread over Bhaṭṭiána, which comprised the modern tahsil of Sirsa and the northern part of Fatehábád. The tribe is now found principally along the Ghaggar valley as far as Bhaṭner.

Various other traditions are, however, current in different localities and of these the most probable is that which connects the Bhaṭṭis with Jaisalmír. The story current in Hissár is that they were in very early times driven across the Indus, but returned and some 700 years ago dispossessed the Langáh, Joiya and other tribes of the country to the south of the lower Sutlej, and founded Jaisalmír, which State they still hold. Bhaṭṭi, the leader under whom they recrossed the Indus, had two sons Dasal and Jaisal. The former settled in Bhaṭṭiána and from him are descended the Sidhú-Barár Jáṭs, the Waṭṭu being also descendants of his grandson, Rájput. With this tradition may be compared the following detailed account of the Bhaṭṭis of Baháwalpur, in which State they have 15 principal clans :—

i. The Bhaṭṭis, or pure Bhaṭṭis, who are generally landowners or cultivators, though some are weavers and blacksmiths.

ii. Pahor, found throughout the Lamma.

iii. Chús.

iv. Jogi and

v. Jandáni.

These five septs are closely connected, do not give daughters outside the group, and usually intermarry.

vi. Shaikhra.

vii. Chakar-Hulle : a small sept, of recent origin called Chakar-ullah or servants of God.

viii. Lallú.

ix. Bhábhe : a small sept.

x. Katesar : also a small sept, which rears sheep.

xi. Kulyár or Kawalyúr which has an interesting history :—

Kulyár was a son ofRáná Ráj Wadhan, who had four other sons, (1) Utterá, (2) Nún, (3) Kánjún, (4) Határ. The tradition is that the

* The Zafarnáma has Chan, probably for Chand : or Chain may be due to some confusion between Sain and Chand. Tímúr explains that Ráo means 'brave.' (E. H. I. IV, pp. 422-5, 488-90.)

† E. H. I. IV, p. 34.

‡ E. H. I. V, p. 37.

ancestors of Ráj Wadhan lived in ancient times near Ghajní, whence they migrated to Delhi, which after a time they left for Bhaṭner. In the 7th century of the Hijra Ráj Wadhan together with his tribe left Bhaṭner and settled near Chhanb Kulyár (now in the Lodhrán tahsil of Multán), which in those days lay on the southern bank of the Sutlej and formed part of the dominions of Rai Bhuttá, the ruler of a city, the greater part of which was destroyed by the Sutlej flowing over it; but parts of its ruins are still to be seen on the right bank of the Ghára (in tahsil Lodhrán). Ráná Ráj Wadhan had a beautiful daughter whom Rai Bhuttá desired to marry. The request was refused by Kulyár, the eldest son of Ráj Wadhan; and the result was that a sanguinary battle took place in which Rai Bhuttá was slain. The tract of the country thus conquered by the Kulyárs became known as Chhanb Kulyár, which name it still retains. At this time Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál was living in Uch, where Ráná Ráj Wadhan and his sons went to see him and embraced Islám. Ráj Wadhan remained at Uch, Utterá occupied the 'Viáh' (Biás)*, Nún began to live on the Rávi, (and that tribe is now dominant in Shujábád tahsil), Kanjún at the Donári Mari (?), and Kulyár made Chhanb Kulyár his residence. Határ was deprived of his share of the inheritance.†

xii. Daragh.

xiii. Sangrá: with a famous sept called Wági. In the 8th century Hijra the Sangrás migrated from Rájputána and settled in Kathála, then a large town on the Gurang or Hariari, the ruins of which are still to be seen near Tibba Tánwin-wála. Kathála was at that time held by the Joiyas.

xiv. Mahtam: the Muhammadan Mahtams claim to be Bhaṭṭis and say a *mirási* once ironically called their ancestor 'Mahtam,' or chief. They appear to be distinct from the Hindu Mahtams.

xv. Bhet: who claim to have been Bhaṭṭis who accompanied Shaikh Hakim from Delhi, but are said by others to be Dhedhs or Menghwals, whom that saint converted.

xvi. Markand, Bokha, Jhakhkhar, Dhandla, Phanbi, Birár, Dadu, Kapáhi (cotton-workers and reed-cutters), and Káhín, are nine clans descended from the same ancestor and they intermarry. Some are landowners, others tenants, but some are boatmen, and though Bhaṭṭis by origin they are regarded as of low status.

On the south-east border of the Punjab the subject population of Bikáner is largely composed of Bhaṭṭis, and tradition‡ almost always

* The tradition is that in those days the Biás flowed separately to the north of Kahror towards Shujábád.

† The Mittrú Bhatti of Multán say they came from Bikáner.

‡ The Hissár tradition is very different and says that the Bhattis are of the Játu family, and that like the Túnwar Rájputs they trace their origin to remote antiquity. At some distant period, two persons named Bhatti and Sumija are said to have come to this country from Mathra. The latter had no male issue, and his descendants (called Joiya Rájputs) live in Sirsa. After some generations one of the family of the former, named Rusálu, became Rájá—he had two sons, Dusul and Jaisul. The latter became Rájá of Jaisalmír, where his descendants still reign. The former remained in Bhattiána—he had only one son, named Janrá, who had several wives (all of other castes) by whom he had 21 sons, whose

carries us back to the ancient city of Bhaṭner, which lies on the banks of the long since dry Ghaggar, in the territory of that State bordering on Sirsa. But in that tract, which corresponds to the old Bhaṭṭiána, the Bhaṭṭi is no longer a dominant tribe and the term is loosely applied to any Muhammadan Jáṭ or Rájput from the direction of the Sutlej, as a generic term almost synonymous with Ráth or Pachháda.

In the central Punjab, however, and towards the north of it, the Bhaṭṭis, though scattered, hold strong positions. In Amritsar tradition avers that they have a 'long pedigree' beginning with Adam, 10th in descent from whom was Krishna, son of Jad, the son of Jadam. And the present State of Kapúrthalá was held by a Rájá who sought the aid of Lakhanpál and Harpál, sons of the Ráná, Púrab Chand, of Bhaṭner against his foes. Accompanied by Panpál, a third son of the Ráná by a Jáṭ wife, they overran the neighbouring country; but the Rájá refused to give them the share he had agreed to bestow upon them, so they put him to death and partitioned his kingdom, Lakhanpál taking the Bári Doáb, Harpál that of the Bíst Jálandhar and Panpál the modern Ferozepur District. Rai Viru, Lakhanpál's great-grandson, founded Vairowál in Amritsar some 540 years ago and his grand-daughter, a sister of Rai Mitha, was married to Rai Ibrahím of Kapúrthalá, himself a Bhaṭṭi and descended from Harpál. But after a futile attempt to subdue Rai Mitha, Ibrahím forbade intermarriage between the two branches.

Kapúrthalá tradition is, however, quite silent as to Lakhanpál or Harpál, and, according to legends current in that State, Rai Nának Chand is said to have left Bhaṭner and settled in Bhulána, in that State. Three brothers Bhaṭṭi, Manj and Chauhán founded the Rájput tribes so named, which settled in the Punjab only 14 generations ago.

Nevertheless reciprocal marriage is confined to the Bhaṭṭi, Manj Nárú and Khokhar* tribes, which avoid marriage with the Chauhán, Awán, Nipál, Bajoha, Janjua, Punwár, Varyá.

The Khokhars and Nárús are regarded as foreign by race to the other Rájputs, who all trace back their descent to Rájá Salivahan who has a shrine at Siálkoṭ. He is said to have been defeated by Imám Násir.

In Gujrát the Bhaṭṭis trace their first settlements back to Dulla Bhaṭṭi, Rájá of Pindi Bhaṭṭián who was put to death by Akbar. All his family was in Akbar's camp on the Jhelum, where they were kept in durance until released at the intercession of a *faqír* whose shrine is still pointed out at Chhapar on the bank of that river. Dulla's son, Kamál Khán was allowed to settle on the waste lands near Ghamán, still a Bhaṭṭi village, while the rest returned to Pindi Bhaṭṭián.†

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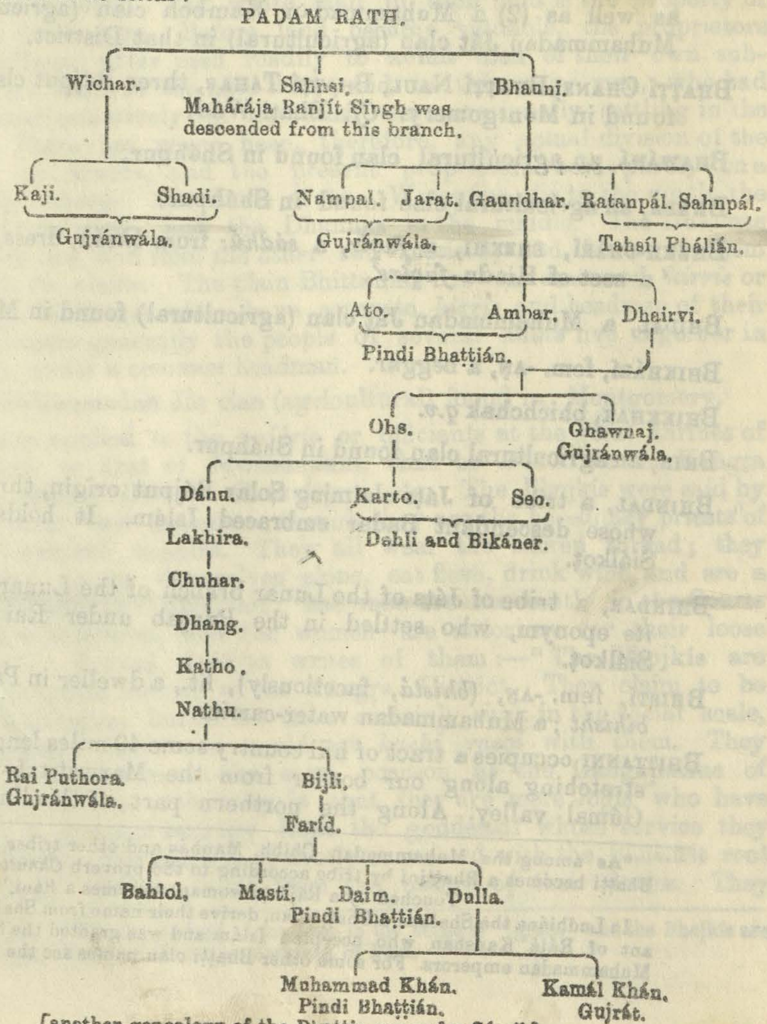
descendants established different tribes, such as the *Lakhiwál*, *Sidhú* and *Barar* Jáṭs. Janrá founded the town of Abohur, naming it after his wife Abho—by this wife he had three sons - *Rájpál*, *Chun* and *Dhum* :—the Waṭṭú Rájputs are descendants of the first—the Mai Rájputs of the second—and the Nawáb of Rania and his family, of the third. Inasmuch as the Bhaṭṭis were more numerous than the rest, the country was called Bhaṭṭiána. The habits, manners and customs of Bhaṭṭi Rájputs are similar to those of the Tunwar Rájputs. Hissar Settlement Report, p. 8, §§ 25, 26.

* The Khokhars (alone) give daughters to Sayyids.

† The tribal *mírási* gives the following pedigree of the tribe, which claims Mahárája Ranjít

The Bhaṭṭi of the Gujránwála Bár, where they are the "natural enemies of the Virk," are descended from one Dhír, who eighteen generations ago left Bhaṭner, and settled in the Núr Mahal jungles as a grazier and freebooter. His grandson went further on to the banks of the Rávi, and his son again moved up into the uplands of Gujránwála. The modern descendants of these men are described as "a muscular and noble-looking race of men, agriculturists more by constraint than by natural inclination, who keep numerous herds of cattle which graze over the pasture lands of the Bár, only plough just sufficient to grow food for their own necessities, and are famous as cattle-lifters and notorious thieves." The Bhaṭṭi of Gujránwála enjoyed considerable political importance in former times, and they still hold 86 villages in that District. In Siálkoṭ the Bhaṭṭi claim descent from Bhoni seventh in descent from their eponymous ancestor Bhaṭṭi, who came to Gujránwála from Bikáner, and thence to Siálkoṭ. None of these Bhaṭṭi of the Bár will give their daughters to the

Singh as one of its scions :—



[another genealogy of the Bhaṭṭis see under Sámil.]

neighbouring Jáṭ tribes, though they will take wives from among them without scruple.* In the Salt-range the Bhaṭṭi seem to hold a very subordinate position as Bhaṭṭi, though it may be that some of the innumerable Rájput tribes of that tract may consider themselves Bhaṭṭi, as well as whatever their local name may be. The Bhaṭṭi of Jhang hold the considerable Bhaṭṭiora tract north of the Chenáb. They came first from Bhaṭner to the right bank of the Jhelum near the Sháhpur border, and thence to Bhaṭṭiora. They are described as "a fine race of men, industrious agriculturists, hardly at all in debt, good horse-breeders, and very fond of sport. They do very little cattle-lifting, but are much addicted to carrying off each other's wives."

The persistence of the traditions which connect the Bhaṭṭís with Bikáner, Jaisalmer and the old fortress of Bhaṭner cannot be disregarded. But for a fuller discussion of their origins see Rájput.

Bhaṭṭí is also (1) a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery, as well as (2) a Muhammadan Kamboh clan (agricultural), and (3) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) in that District.

Bhaṭṭí Chane, Bhaṭṭí Naul, Bhaṭṭí Tahar, three Rájput clans (agricultural) found in Montgomery. *Cf.* Bháṭi Wád.

Bhawáná, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bheda, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bhekh-dhárí, bhekhi, a *faqír*, a *sádhú:* from *bhekh,* dress, disguise, and so 'a sect of Hindu *faqírs*'.

Bhidal, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bhikhárí, fem. -aṇ, a beggar.

Bhikkhak, bhichchak *q.v.*

Bhin, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Bhindal, a tribe of Jáṭs claiming Solar Rájput origin, through its eponym, whose descendant Badar embraced Islám. It holds five villages in Siálkoṭ.

Bhindar, a tribe of Jáṭs of the Lunar branch of the Lunar Rájputs, through its eponym, who settled in the Punjab under Rai Tanar. Found in Siálkoṭ.

Bhistí, fem. -aṇ, (*bhistá,* facetiously), lit., a dweller in Paradise, fr. Pers. *bihisht* ; a Muhammadan water-carrier.

Bhittanni occupies a tract of hill country some 40 miles long by 12 to 16 wide, stretching along our border from the Marwat tahsil of Bannu to the Gúmal valley. Along the northern part of this line, it owns little or

*As among the Muhammadan Chibb, Manhás and other tribes, a Jáṭí who espouses a Bhaṭṭi becomes a Bhaṭṭiní by tribe according to the proverb *Chhutti Rája, te hoí Rání :* 'Touched by a Rájá (a woman) becomes a Rání.'

In Ludhiána the Shaikhs, a Bhaṭṭi clan, derive their name from Shaikh Chháchu, a descendant of Rájá Kanshan who accepted Islám and was granted the State of Hathur by the Muhammadan emperors. For some other Bhaṭṭi clan names see the Appendix.

no land in the plains; to the south it holds a strip of very fertile country extending from the Takwára along the hills as far as Dabbra. It has a few scattered hamlets in the Nasrán country north of the Takwára, and is also found in considerable numbers in the north-east of the Gúmal valley. To the west the hill country of the Bhittannis is hemmed in by that of the Wazírs. The two tribes are generally more or less at feud, though the Bhittannis, till recently, never scrupled to assist Wazír robbers in their incursions into British territory.

The Bhittannis live in small villages, generally hidden away in hollows. Their houses are mud and brushwood hovels of the poorest description, and sometimes they live in caves hollowed out of the rock. One of their principal places is Jandola, on the road leading up the Tánk *zam* to the Wazír country.

The tribe is divided into three sections: Dhanna, Tatta and Wraspún. In the plains the lands of the Bhittannis were originally divided into numerous small divisions, known as *nálás*. Each *nálá*, as a rule, forms a single plot, owned by a number of families generally closely connected by birth. The waste land in each *nálá* is the property of the *nálá* proprietors. Before land became valuable, the proprietors of the different *nálás* used readily to admit men of their own sub-section to a share in the *nálá* lands, and in this way, men, who had before lived exclusively in the hills, were continually settling in the plains. There has never been, therefore, any actual division of the country on shares, and the present proprietors hold purely on a squatting tenure. The lands of the Wraspúns lie to the north, the Tattas to the south, and the Dhannas in the middle. The Dhannas own much less land than the other two sections, and fewer of them reside in the plains. The plain Bhittannis live in scattered *kirris* or villages. The larger *nálás* have separate *kirris* and headmen of their own, but more generally the people of several *nálás* live together in one *kirri*, under a common headman.

Bhojiya, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bhojki, a term applied to the *pujáris* or officiants at the great shrines of Devi, such as that of Jawálamukhi, that at Bhaun in the Kángṛa District, Naina Devi in Hoshiárpur, etc. The Bhojkís were said by Barnes to be "not Bráhmans, though they are the hereditary priests of these celebrated temples. They all wear the sacred thread; they intermarry among themselves alone, eat flesh, drink wine, and are a debauched and profligate set; the men are constantly in the Courts involved in litigation, and the women are notorious for their loose morality." Colonel Jenkins writes of them:—"The Bhojkís are perhaps a unique feature of the Kángṛa District. They claim to be Sársut Bráhmans; but if so, have certainly sunk in the social scale, as no ordinary Bráhmans would eat *kachi rasoi* with them. They appear to occupy much the same position as the Gangaputras of Benares, and the probability is that they are mere Jogís who have obtained a reflected sanctity from the goddesses whose service they have entered. The name is evidently connected with the Sanskrit root *bhoj* to feed,* and is taken from the nature of their duties. They

* The term is probably derived from *bhoj* in the sense of 'grant' and the Bhojkís are probably merely beneficed Bráhman devotees of Devi.

intermarry among themselves and with a class of Jogís called Bodha Pandits. Another account states that the Bhojkís of Bhaun do not give daughters to those of Jawálamukhi or Naina Devi, though up to Sambat 1936 they used to accept brides from the latter, whom they regard as inferiors. The Bhojkís of Bhaun now only intermarry among themselves, excluding their own *got* and the mother's relatives up to the 7th degree. But they also intermarry with the Pandit Bodhas and the Bararas. The former are said to be Bráhmans, but both they and the Bararas take a deceased's shroud, etc., like the Acháraj. The Bhojkís of Chintpurni are Bráhmans and marry with Bráhmans, and will not even smoke with those of Bhaun, etc."

BHOJUÁNÁ, a clan of the Siáls.

BHOLA, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BHOLAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar (same as Bhullar).

BHONAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BHOṆEYE, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

BHOTAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BHOṬAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán (same as Bhuṭṭar).

BHOTO, an ignorant hillman, a simpleton.

BHUCHAṆGÍ, a title given to Akálís : fr. *bhúchang*, a black snake.

BHUKK, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery, Ferozepur, and in Baháwalpur, in which State they call themselves Jáṭs.

BHÚKYÁL, mentioned in the Tabaqát-i-Akbari as a tribe subject to the Gakhars,* but in the Waki'át-i-Jahángírí they are said to be of the same stock and connected with the Gakhars, occupying the country between Rohtás and Hatyá, to which they give their name of Búgiál.†

BHÚLAR.—The Bhúlar, Her, and Mán tribes call themselves *asl* or "original" Jáṭs, and are said to have sprung from the *jaṭ* or "matted hair" of Mahádeo, whose title is Bhola ('simple') Mahádeo. They say that the Málwa was their original home, and are commonly reckoned as two and a half tribes, the Her only counting as a half. But the bards of the Mán, among which tribe several families have risen to political importance, say that the whole of the Mán and Bhúlar and half the Her tribe of Rájputs were the earliest Kshatriya immigrants from Rájputána to the Punjáb. The head-quarters of the Bhúlar appear to be Lahore and Ferozepur, and the confines of the Mánjha and Málwa; but they are returned in small numbers from every division in the Punjáb except Delhi and Ráwalpindi, from almost every District, and from every Native State of the Eastern Plains except Dujána, Loháru, and Pataudi. The tribe is probably not a wholly homogeneous one. In Jínd its Sidh is Kalanjar, whose *samádh* is at Mári, and to it milk is offered on the 14th *badi* of each month; also cloth at a wedding or the birth of a son. In Siálkoṭ its Sidh is Bhora, whose *khángáh* is revered at weddings. In Montgomery the Bhúlar are Hindu and Muhammadan Jáṭs and classed as agricultural.

BHÚN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

* E. H. I. V., p. 278. † *Ibid* VI, p. 309.

BHUṆḌÁ, an aboriginal tribe, a man of that tribe. (P. D. 145).

BHÚT, a tribe found in the Sádiqábád *kárdári* of Baháwalpur where they are landowners and tenants. They are formed from two distinct groups, one a Baloch, the other a Jáṭ sept, the former being few, and the latter numerous. The Bhút Jáṭs are possibly a branch of the Abrahs, with whom they intermarry, but they are also said to be a branch of the Bhaṭṭis.

BHÚTÁR, M., a landowner.

BHUTHA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

BHÚTRÍ, a Jáṭ sept.

BHUTS, a Jáṭ sept.

BHUṬṬA.—The Bhuṭṭa are said by the late Mr. E. O'Brien to have traditions connecting them with Hindustán, and they claim to be descended from Solar Rájputs. But since the rise to opulence and importance of Pírzáda Murád Bakhsh Bhuṭṭa, of Multán, many of them have taken to calling themselves Pírzádas. One account is that they are immigrants from Bhután—a story too obviously suggested by the name. They also often practise other crafts, such as making pottery or weaving, instead of or in addition to agriculture. They are said to have held Uch (in Baháwalpur) before the Sayyids came there. They are chiefly found on the lower Indus, Chenáb and Jhelum, in Sháhpur, Jhang, Multán, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghází Khán. In Jhang most are returned as Rájputs. The Bhuṭṭá shown scattered over the Eastern Plains are perhaps members of the small Bhutna or Bhutra clan of Málwa Jáṭs. See also Butar and Búta. Maclagan describes them as a Jáṭ or Rájput clan found in Multán tahsíl and allied to the Langáhs, etc., Bhuṭṭa, Langáh, Dahar, Shajrá and Naich, being said to be sons of Mahli in the couplet :—

Saghí, jihándí dádí, Sodí jihándi má,
Mahli jái panj putr—Dahr, Bhuṭṭá, Langáh, Naich, Shajrá.

A branch of this clan at Khairpur near Multán is in the transition stage towards becoming Sayyid.

According to the Baháwalpur tradition the Bhuṭṭa are of the same stock as the Bháṭia.* When Dewa Ráwal, sister's son of Rájá Jajja Bhuṭṭá, was building the fort now called Deráwar Jajja in a fit of jealousy stopped its construction ; whereupon his sister who was married to a Bháṭia Rájput thus addressed him :—

Rái Jajja Bhuṭṭa sen wain kí bhain puchhác,
Kaya Bhuṭṭa kaya Bháṭia Kot usáran de.

" His sister besought Rai Jajja, the Bhuṭṭa :
Whether thou art a Bhuṭṭa or a Bháṭia, let the fort be built."

BHUṬṬA, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BIB, a small and humble (agricultural) tribe, holding one or two villages in Abbottábád tahsíl, Hazára district, and possibly connected with the Awáns.

BÍBIZAÍ, a Paṭháṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* The Baháwalpur traditions make the Bháṭia (Jaisalmer family), the Bhuṭṭas, Bhaṭṭis and Waṭṭús all one and the same family.

BIHAṆGGAN, one who has not a fixed abode, a *faqír* who subsists on alms.

BILAI, a low Purbiá caste of syces and grass-cutter. But see also under Chamár.

BILÁITÍ, fem. -AṆ, a foreigner, a European or an Afghán.

BILHÁRÁ, described as a donkey-keeper, the Bilhárá is really a branch of the Mallál or Moháua (boatmen) group, like the Niháya aud Manabhari. In Bahàwalpur they are cultivators as well as boatmen and own several villages on the Chenáb and Indus. They are also found as land-owners in Multán, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghází.

BIMBAR, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BIRAJPÁNÍ, a disreputable sub-sect of the Bám-márgi, *q.v.*

BISHNOI,* PAHLÁD BÁNSÍ, (fr. Vishnu, one of the Hindu Trinity), a sect whose founder Jhámbají lived towards the end of the 15th century. Tradition says that at Piupásar, a village south of Bikáner, in the Jodhpur territory, lived Laut, a Rájput Punwár, who had attained the age of 60 and had no son. One day a neighbour going out to sow his field met Laut, and deeming it a bad omen to meet a childless man, turned back from his purpose. This cut Laut to the quick, and he went out to the jungle and bewailed his childlessness until evening, when a *faqír* appeared to him and told him that in nine months he should have a son, and after showing his miraculous power by drawing milk from a calf, vanished from his sight. At the time named a child miraculously appeared in Laut's house, and was miraculously suckled by his wife Hánsá.† This happened in Sambat 1508 (A.D. 1451). For seven years the boy, who was an incarnation (*autár*) of Vishnu, played with his fellows, and then for 27 years he tended cattle, but all this time he spoke no word. His miraculous powers were shown in various ways, such as producing sweets from nothing for the delectation of his companions, and he became known as Achamba (the Wonder), whence his name of Jhámba, by which he is generally known. After 34 years, a Brahman was sent for to get him to speak and on his confessing his failure Jhámbají again showed his power by lighting a lamp by simply snapping his fingers, and uttered his first word. He then adopted the life of a teacher, and went to reside on a sandhill, some thirty miles south of Bikáner, where after 51 years he died and was buried, instead of being burnt, like an ordinary Hindu.

Another account of Jhámbají says that—

"When a lad of five he used to take his father's herds to water at the well, and had for each head of cattle a peculiar whistle; the cows and bullocks would come one by one to the well, drink and go away. One day a man named Udaji happened to witness this scene, and, struck with astonishment, attempted to follow the boy when he left the well. He was on horseback and the boy on foot, but gallop as fast as he would he could not keep up with the walking pace of the boy. At last, in amazement, he dismounted and threw himself at his feet. The boy at once welcomed him by name, though he then saw him for the first time. The bewildered Udaji exclaimed *Jhámbají* (omni-

* Pronounced Vishnoi in Baháwalpur and Bíkáner.

† According to the Hissár Settlement Report his parents were Lohat and Kesar.

scient), and henceforth the boy was known by this name. On attaining manhood, Jhámbají left his home, and, becoming a *faqír* or religious mendicant, is said to have remained seated upon a sandhill called Samrathal in Bíkáner, for a space of 51 years. In 1485 a fearful famine desolated the country, and Jhámbají gained an enormous number of disciples by providing food for all that would declare their belief in him. He is said to have died on his sandhill, at the good old age of 84, and to have been buried at a spot about a mile distant from it."

A further account says that his body remained suspended for six months in the *pinjra* without decomposing.

The name Bishnoi is of course connected with that of Vishnú, the deity to whom the Bishnois give most prominence in their creed, though sometimes they themselves derive it from the 29 (*bis-nau*) articles of faith inculcated by their founder. In fact it was very difficult in our returns to distinguish the Bishnoi from the Vaishnav who was often entered as a Baishnav or Bishno. The Bishnois sometimes call themselves Prahládbansís or Prahládpanthís,* on the ground that it was tó please Prahlád-bhagat that Vishnu became incarnate in the person of Jhámbají. The legend is that 33 crores of beings were born along with Prahlád and five crores of them were killed by the wicked Hirnákash, and when Vishnu, as the Narsingh *avatár*, saved the life of Prahlád and asked Prahlád to name his dearest wish, the latter requested that Vishnu would effect the salvation (*mukt*) of the remaining 28 crores. To do this required a further incarnation, and Jhámbají was the result.

Tenets of the Bishnois.—Regarding the doctrines of the sect, Sir James Wilson,† from whom I have already quoted, writes:—

"The sayings (*sabd*) of Jhámbají to the number of 120 were written down by his disciples, and have been handed down in a book (*pothi*) written in the Nágri character and in a dialect similar to Bágrí, seemingly a Márwári dialect. The 29 precepts given by him for the guidance of his followers are as follows:—

Tís din sútak—pánch roz ratwanti nárí
Será karo shnán—síl—santokh—suchh pyárí
Pání—bání—ídhní—itná lijyo chhán.
Dayá—dharm hirde dharo—garu batái ján
Chori—nindya—jhúth—barjya bád na kariyo koe
Amal—tamákú—bhang—líl dúr hí tyágo
Mad—más se dekhke dúr hí bhágo.
Amar rakháo thát—bail tani ná báho
Amáshya barat—rúnkh lilo ná gháo.
Hom jap samádh pújá—bash baikunthí páo
Untís dharm ki ákhrí garu batái soe
Páhal doe par chávya jisko nám Bishnoi hoe,

which is thus interpreted:—"For 30 days after child-birth and five after a menstrual discharge a woman must not cook food. Bathe in the morning. Commit not adultery. Be content. Be abstemious and pure. Strain your drinking water. Be careful of your speech. Ex-

* See also under Narsinghie.
† Sirsa Settlement Report, page 136.

amine your fuel in case any living creature be burnt with it. Show pity to living creatures. Keep duty present to your mind as the Teacher bade. Do not speak evil of others. Do not tell lies. Never quarrel. Avoid opium, tobacco, bhang and blue clothing. Flee from spirits and flesh. See that your goats are kept alive (not sold to Musalmáns, who will kill them for food). Do not plough with bullocks. Keep a fast on the day before the new moon. Do not cut green trees. Sacrifice with fire. Say prayers. Meditate. Perform worship and attain Heaven. And the last of the 29 duties prescribed by the Teacher—'Baptize your children, if you would be called a true Bishnoi'."

Some of these precepts are not strictly obeyed; for instance, although ordinarily they allow no blue in their clothing, yet a Bishnoi, if he is a servant of the British Government, is allowed to wear a blue uniform; and Bishnois do use bullocks, though most of their farming is done with camels. They also seem to be unusually quarrelsome (in words) and given to use bad language. But they abstain from tobacco, drugs and spirits, and are noted for their regard for animal life, which is such that not only will they not themselves kill any living creature, but they do their utmost to prevent others from doing so. Consequently their villages are generally swarming with antelope and other animals, and they forbid their Musalmán neighbours to kill them and try to dissuade European sportsmen from interfering with them. They wanted it made a condition of their settlement, that no one should be allowed to shoot on their land, but at the same time they asked that they might be assessed at lower rates than their neighbours on the ground that the antelope being thus left undisturbed do more damage to their crops; but I told them this would lessen the merit (*pun*) of their good actions in protecting the animals, and they must be treated just as the surrounding villages were. They consider it a good deed to scatter grain to pigeons and other birds, and often have a large number of half-tame birds about their villages. The day before the new moon they observe as a Sabbath and fast-day, doing no work in the fields or in the house. They bathe and pray three times a day,—in the morning, afternoon, and in the evening—saying "Bishno, Bishno" instead of the ordinary Hindu "Rám Rám." Their clothing is the same as of other Bágrís, except that their women do not allow the waist to be seen, and are fond of wearing black woollen clothing. They are more particular about ceremonial purity than ordinary Hindus are, and it is a common saying that if a Bishnoi's food is on the first of a string of twenty camels, and a man of another caste touches the last camel of the string, the Bishnoi would consider his food defiled and throw it away."

The ceremony of initiation is as follows:—

"A number of representative Bishnois assemble, and before them a *sádh* or Bishnoi priest, after lighting a sacrificial fire (*hom*) instructs the novice in the duties of the faith. He then takes some water in a new earthen vessel, over which he prays in a set form (*Bishno gáyatri*), stirring it the while with his string of beads (*málá*), and after asking the consent of the assembled Bishnois, he pours the water three times into the hands of the novice, who drinks it off. The novice's scalp

lock (*choti*) is then cut off and his head shaved, for the Bishnois shave the whole head and do not leave a scalp-lock like the Hindus; but they allow the beard to grow, only shaving the chin on the father's death. Infant baptism is also practised, and 30 days after birth the child, whether boy or girl, is baptised by the priest (*sádh*) in much the same way as an adult; only the set form of prayer is different (*garbh-gáyatri*), and the priest pours a few drops of water into the child's mouth, and gives the child's relatives each three handfuls of the consecrated water to drink; at the same time the barber clips off the child's hair. This baptismal ceremony also has the effect of purifying the house which has been made impure by the birth (*sutak*).*

The Bishnois intermarry among themselves only, and by a ceremony of their own in which it seems the circumambulation of the sacred fire, which is the binding ceremony among the Hindus generally, is omitted. They do not revere Brahmans,† but have priests (*sádhs*) of their own, chosen from among the laity. They do not burn their dead, but bury them below the cattle-stall or in a place frequented by cattle, such as a cattle-pen. They observe the Holi in a different way from other Hindus. After sunset on that day they fast till the next forenoon, when, after hearing read the account of how Prahlád was tortured by his infidel father Harnákash for believing in the god Vishnu, until he was delivered by the god himself in his incarnation of the Lion-man, and mourning over Prahlád's sufferings, they light a sacrificial fire and partake of consecrated water, and after distributing unpurified sugar (*guṛ*) in commemoration of Prahlád's delivery from the fire into which he was thrown, they break their fast. Bishnois go on pilgrimage where Jhámbají is buried, south of Bíkáner, where there is a tomb (*maṭ*) over his remains and a temple (*mandir*) with regular attendants (*pújárí*). A festival takes place here every six months, in Asauj and Phágan, when the pilgrims go to the sandhill on which Jhámbají lived, and there light sacrificial fires (*hom*) of *jandi* wood in vessels of stone, and offer a burnt offering of barley, *til*, *ghi* and sugar, at the same time muttering set prayers. They also make presents to the attendants of the temple, and distribute *moth* and other grain for the peacocks and pigeons, which live there in numbers. Should any one have committed an offence, such as having killed an animal, or sold a cow or goat to a Musalmán, or allowed an animal to be killed when he could have prevented it, he is fined by the assembled Bishnois for the good of the temple and the animals kept there. Another place of pilgrimage is a tomb called Chhambola in the Jodhpur country, where a festival is held once a year in Chet. There the pilgrims bathe in the tank and help to deepen it, and sing and play musical instruments and scatter grain to peacocks and pigeons."

The Bishnois look with special attention to the sacred *hom* or sacrifice; it is only the rich who can perform this daily; the poor meet together

* But according to the Hissár Settlement Report, the ceremony of admission to the sect is as follows :—The priests and the people assemble together, repeat the *pahul-mantar* over a cup of water, and give it to the candidate to drink; who thereafter goes round the assembly and bows to all. His head is then shaved after the manner of the founder of the sect. According to his means he has to pay a certain sum of money (Rs. 5 to 500 is the limit), for the purpose of buying gram, which is then sent to the Samrathal sandhill in order to feed pigeons.

† But in Fázilka the Bishnois are said to employ Brahmans for religious as well as secular purposes.

to carry out the rite on the *Amávas* day only. The *gaenas* or *sádhs,** who are their priests and are fed and feed by them like Brahmans, are a hereditary class and do not intermarry with other Bishnois, nor do they take offerings from any but Bishnois. The Bishnois themselves are a real caste and were shown as such in the Census tables; and the returns of the caste are much more to be relied on than those of the sect, for the reason given above, that many Bishnois by sect must have been shown as Vaishnavas, and *vice versâ.* It is said that a member of any of the higher Hindu castes may become a Bishnoi, but as a matter of fact they are almost entirely Jáṭs or Khátís (carpenters) or, less frequently, Rájputs or Bánias, and the Bánia Bishnois are apparently not found in the Punjab, their chief seat being Murádábád, in the United Provinces. The man who becomes a Bishnoi is still bound by his caste restrictions; he no longer calls himself a Jáṭ, but he can marry only Jáṭ Bishnois, or he is no longer a Khátí, and yet cannot marry any one who is not a Khátí; and further than this, the Bishnoi retains the *got* of his original tribe and may not marry within it.† *Karewa* is practised among them, but an elder brother cannot marry a younger brother's widow, though her brother-in-law or father-in-law are entitled, if she do not marry her *dewar*, to a payment called *bhar* from her second husband.

There is not perhaps very much in the teaching of Jhámbají to distinguish him from the orthodox pattern of Hindu saints, and in some points his doctrine, more especially with regard to the preservation of life, is only an intensification of the ordinary VAISHNAVA tenets. But in the omission of the *phera* at marriage, the cutting off of the *chotí* or scalp-lock, the special ceremony of initiation, and the disregard for the Brahmanical priesthood, we find indications of the same spirit as that which moved the other Hindu reformers of the period.

BOCHAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) in Multán.

BODLA.—The Bodlás are a small section of the Waṭṭu Rájputs‡ of the lower and middle Sutlej, who have for some generations enjoyed a character for peculiar sanctity,§ and who now claim Qureshi origin from Abú Bakr Sadíq; and many of them call themselves Qureshis. They still marry Waṭṭu girls, though they give their daughters only to Bodlás. They were till lately a wholly pastoral tribe, and still hold a *jágír*, the proceeds of which they now supplement by cultivation. They came up from Multán through Baháwalpur to Montgomery, where they were described by Purser as "lazy, silly, and conceited." From Montgomery they spread into Sirsa, where they occupied the Bahak *pargana* which they still hold. They are credited with the power of curing disease by exorcism, and especially snake-bite and hydrophobia; they are recognised saints, and can curse with great efficacy. They have no relations with the other Qureshis of the neighbourhood, and

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* According to the Hissár Settlement Report the *sádhs* are priests and the *thapun* are secular clergy, generally elected by the people. Priesthood is not hereditary. In Fázilká it is said that Bishnois never employ a Brahman if a Bháṭ is available. The Bháṭ too is a Bishnoi..

† In Fázilka the Bishnois are said to have 360 divisions: one named Rojá, meaning *nilgai*, but no reverence is paid to that animal by the Rojás. *Cf.* Goráyá.

‡ No Waṭṭu would *claim* affinity with the Bodlás, who are held in great respect in Bíkáner, as *Parmeshwar ro sakko ro sakko, i.e.,* 'Kin of God's kith and kin.' The use of Parmeshwar for Alláh points to a Hindu origin.

§ *Bodla* in Western Punjábi means 'simpleton', and simplicity or lunacy is regarded as a sign of sanctity in the East.

their Waṭṭu origin is hereby open to question, though they may possibly be of Qureshi extraction, but now so completely affiliated to the Waṭṭus by constantly taking brides from that tribe as to be undistinguishable from them. Their power of curing snake-bites is connected with a historical fact. When the Prophet and his companion Abú Bakar left Mecca, they concealed themselves in a cavern, and there the devoted companion, in order to protect his master, tore his turban into rags and closed the holes with the pieces. One hole he stopped with his toe, and it was bitten by a snake. When the Prophet learnt what had occurred he cured it by sucking the wound, and the Sadíqís sometimes seek to prove their descent from the first Caliph by claiming the power of curing snake-bite. There is also said to be a class of wondering *gharishti faqírs* called Bodlá. A Saniási sub-sect also appears to bear this name. Possibly the word is confused with Bhola, 'simple', an epithet of Mahádev. See also QURESHI.

BOHRÁ.—The Bohrá includes two distinct classes: one Brahman money-lenders from Márwár, who have settled in the districts on the Jumna, and acquired a most unenviable notoriety for unscrupulous rapacity. There is a rustic proverb: *Bore ká Rám Rám aisá Jam ka sandesá*: "A Bohrá's 'good morning!' is like a message from the angel of death." These Bohrás appear to accept brides from Bániás, but do not give them daughters.

In the hills any money-lender or shop-keeper is apparently called a *bohrá* (from the same root as *beohár* 'trade'*, and the word is used in the same general sense in the south of Rájputána and in Bombay, taking the place of the 'Bánia' of Hindustán, though in Gúzerat it is specially applied to a class of Shía traders who were converted to Islám about 1300 A. D. [For the Muhammadan Bora see Wilson's *Sects of the Hindus*, p. 170. They are represented in Multán.] In the Punjab all the Bohrás are Hindus. In those Hill States in which Bohras are numerous, Bániás are hardly represented in the returns, and *vice versâ*; and both the Bánia and Bohra are in the hills also known as Mahájan. The Hill Bohrás are said to be exceedingly strict Hindus, and to be admitted to intermarriage with the lower classes of Rájputs, such as Ráthis and Ráwats. In Gurdáspur there is said to be a small class of traders called Bohrás who claim Jáṭ origin, and who are notorious for making money by marrying their daughters, securing the dower, and then running away with both, to begin again *da capo*.

BOJAK, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BOKHIA, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery: also called Bokhe and found as cultivators and camel-breeders in Baháwalpur.

BOLÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BOMÍ, a Rájput sept, according to the Punjabi Dicty., p. 166.

BONAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

BOṆ, BOṆÁ, fem. BONÁÍ, a weaver of the Chamár caste.

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* Beames gives *wohora* as the true form of the word. Wohra is a *got* or section of the Muhammadan Khojas. It is fairly clear that the Bohrás are connected in some way with the Khojás. In Mewár there are Muhammadan B(h)oras as well as Bora Brahmans. The former are united under elected *mulláhs* and are said to be Hassanis by sect: *cf.* Malcolm's *Hist. of Persia* I, p. 395. Their chief colony is at Ujjain. See *Memoir on Central India and Malwa*, by Malcolm, II, pp. 91-92.

Bopahrâe, a Jâṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Boperâi, a Hindu Jâṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Bosan, a Jâṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán, to the south of the Vains. Their ancestor is said to have been a disciple of Baháwal Haqq and to have received from him some of the land granted to him by the ruler of Multán. They came from Haidarábád in Sind and are also found in Baháwalpur as landowners. The Bappis, with whom they intermarry, and Sangis are said to be of the same stock.

Bot, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Boṭar, Buṭṭar, a Jâṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Bozdár, an independent Baloch tribe situated beyond our frontier at the back of the Kasráni territory. They hold from the Sanghar Pass on the north to the Khosa and Khetrán country on the south, and have the Lúni and Músa Khel Paṭháns on their western border. Those found in Dera Ghází Khán live in scattered villages about Rájanpur and among the Lághári tribe, and have no connection with the parent tribe. The Bozdár are hardly of Rind extraction seeing that their pedigree only makes them descendants of a goat-herd who married Báno, widow of Rind's great-grandson, Shau Ali. They are divided into the Duláni, Ladwáni Ghulámáni, a sub-*tuman*, Chakráni, Siháni, Sháhwáni, Jalálaui, Jáfiráni and Rustamáni clans. They are more civilized than most of the trans-frontier tribes and are of all the Baloch the strictest Musalmáns. Unlike all other Baloch they fight with the matchlock rather than with the sword. They are great graziers, and their name is said to be derived from the Persian *buz*, a goat.

Brahman, (Panjábi Bámhaṇ, Báhmaṇ; fem. Bámhaní: dim. masc., Bamhaṇeṭá; fem. Bamhaṇeṭí, a Brahman's son or daughter: *cf.* Bamhaṇaú, Brahmanhood).

The Brahmans in India are divided into two great geographical groups, the Utrahak, who live to the north of the Vindhias, and the Dakshnat, who inhabit peninsular India to the south of that range. The former are further divided into 5 groups, *viz.*—

1. Sáraswat, (modernised Sársut).
2. Kankubj.
3. Gauṛ.
4. Utkal.
5. Maithal.

} Also called, collectively, Gaur.

The southern groups* also number 5 and are: Darawar, Mahárashtrí, Sorashat, or Karnátik, Tailing and Gorjar.† Of these the only representative in the Punjab are the Pushkarná Brahmans, who sprang from the Mahárashtrí group.‡ The mass of the Punjab Brahmans

* Also called, collectively, Darawar, from the saint of that name. Another account says the Darawar comprise the Mahárashtr. Tailing, Gurjar, Dakhshani and Indrik; (Amritsar).

† Lest it be too hastily assumed that Gorjar, Gurjaṛ or Gujar Brahmans have any connection with the Gújars, folk-etymology has suggested that the name is derived from *gujjh*, 'secrecy', because their ancestor had once to conceal his faith.

‡ But unlike the southern Brahmans the Pushkarnás observe *ghunghat* (*i. e.*, their women veil their faces), but they have no *garbhá dhán* (pregnancy rite) and in other respects their customs are dissimilar.

are Sársuts, but Gaur̤s are found in the eastern districts of the Province. But certain groups of Brahmans are neither recognised as Sársut nor as Gaur̤, or have become totally distinct from the Brahman community. Such are the Pushkarnás, Muhiáls, described below, and the BHOJKI, DHAKOCHI, TAGA and TAGU groups.

THE PUSHKARNÁS.

It will be convenient to describe first the Pushkarnás, a comparatively small and unimportant group found only in the south-west of the Punjab. They are divided into two territorial groups, (i) Sindhú, "of the Indus valley," and (ii) Márwárí, of Márwár, or Marechá.

The Pushkarnás claim to be *parohits* of all the 'Bhát̤ Rájputs' who are divided into Bháṭs, Bhaṭṭís and Bháṭiás,* and are described by Ibbetson as more strict in caste matters than the Sársut.

The Pushkarnás are divided into two groups : Sindhú and Marechá, and are said to have 84 *gots* as given below† :—

I.—SINDHÚ—

†1.	Tangsali.	9.	Bújrú.	17.	Hars.	†25.	Nangá.
†2.	Viás.	10.	Maulo.	18.	Chauwatia.	†26.	Kallá.
†3.	Mattur.	†11.	Gandriya.	19.	Muttur.	†27.	Vishá.
†4.	Kapta.	12.	Dháki.	20.	Munda.	†28.	Ratta.
5.	Prohat.	†13.	Mutta.	†21.	Parhihár.	29.	Billá.
6.	Machhar.	14.	Jiwanecha.	†22.	Kaudia.	†30.	Wasu.
†7.	Wattú.	†15.	Lapishia (Lapia).	23.	Keráit.	†31.	Karádá.
8.	Mátmá.	16.	Pania.	†24.	Viásrá.	32.	Chúrá.

II.—MARECHÁ—

1.	Kakreja.	14.	Gotá.	27.	Kopalia.	40.	Rámdev.
2.	Chullar.	15.	Gotma.	28.	Wachhar̤.	41.	Upádhiye.
3.	Acháraj.	16.	Thákar.	†29.	Mastodá.	42.	Achhú.
4.	Heda.	17.	Badal.	30.	Pádoya.	43.	Sheshdhár.
5.	Gajja.	18.	Dodha.	31.	Tojhá.	44.	Vegai.
6.	Kadar.	19.	Kovasthilia	32.	Vejhá.	45.	Vidang.
7.	Keerlá.	20.	Kaulo.	33.	Jhund.	46.	Hethoshiá.
8.	Naula	21.	Jabbar.	34.	Búra.	47.	Somnáth.
9.	Kewlia.	22.	Dhagrá.	35.	Nohor̤a.	48.	Singhá.
10.	Teriwar̤i.	23.	Pedhá.	36.	Mumaṭia.	49.	Godáná.
11.	Sándhu.	24.	Rámá.	37.	Kái.	50.	Khákhar̤.
12.	Godá.	25.	Waheti.	38.	Karmana.	51.	Khanesh.
13.	Godánú.	26.	Mer̤atwal.	39.	Rangá.	52.	Khohárá.

This list is given in a book. In Miánwáli only those marked† are found.

Daughters are generally given in marriage in one and the same family, and if possible to brothers, accordin to a very wide-spread custom.

On the other hand in Bahâwalpur the Marechá are described as pure Pushkarns† and comprise 15 *gots* :—

1.	Acháraj.	6.	Khidana.	11.	Pardhá.
2.	Bhorá.	7.	Kiráru.	12.	Ramde.
3.	Chhanganá.	8.	Kullhá.	13.	Ranga.
4.	Gujjá.	9.	Ludhdhar.	14.	Wiás.
5.	Kabta.	10.	Muchchan.	15.	*Wissa.*

* Incidentally this indicates that the Bhaṭṭís and Bháṭiás have a common origin—both come from the country to the south of the Punjab. There are said to be Bháṭ Rájputs in Jaisalmír.

† It is said that the Pushkarns used to be called Sri-Malis, that they rank below the Sársut, Párikh and Gaur̤ sub-castes, and are (only) regarded as Brahmans because of their skill in astrology. But they are *by origin* possibly Sársuts who made Pushkar or Pokhar, the sacred lake near Ajmer their head-quarters. One section of them is said to have been originally Beldárs or Ods who were raised to Brahminical rank as a reward for excavating the tank and it still worships the pickaxe, but this tradition is not now current in the Punjab.

Next come the Dassá or half-breeds and lastly the Sindhú with 2 *gots*: Mattar and Wattú.*

In Baháwalpur† mention is made of a sub-caste, called Párikh, which I cannot trace elsewhere. It has 6 *gots*‡:—

Bora.	Kathotia.	Parohit.
Joshi.	Pándia.	Tiwári.

It is distinct from the Sáwanis.

THE BRAHMANICAL HIERARCHY IN THE SOUTH-WEST PUNJAB.

Before describing the Sársut Brahmans it will be best to describe the organisation of the Brahmanical heirarchy in the South-West Punjab, where the Sársuts and Pushkarnás overlap, combining to form groups of beneficed and unbeneficed priests which are further attached to the different castes.

The Wateshar.—The Wateshar§ are a group of Brahmans whose *clientèle* is scattered, and who receive fixed dues from their patrons, irrespective of the services rendered to them. If they preside at a religious function they receive fixed fees in addition to their standing dues.

In Miánwálí the Wateshar class comprises the following sections of the Sársut|| and Pushkarná Brahmans :—

1. Dhannanpotra ... { i. Kandiára. ii. Lalrí.

* The Wattú *got* is the lowest of all: *Brahmanon men Wattú, ghoron men tattú*—"The Wattú among Brahmans is what a pony is among horses."

† But towards Bíkáner is a group known as Párik.

‡ The sub-divisions of these sections are variously given thus :—

Bhojipotra is said to include i, ii and iii as in text and { Ambruana, from Amar Náth, Rangíldásí, from "Rangíl Dás," Wajal, from Wajaljí, Tejal from Tejaljí, all four with Rám Nand, Machhbindrají and Bhara Mal, sons of Sidh Bojh, the saint and eponym of the section.

This section also includes the Dand-dambh, the nick-name apparently of some family earnt by curing an ox, as the name implies.

The Samapotra also includes i and ii, as above with { the Kalkadásani, Prayágdási, Prithwi Mal and Shámdási } and all six sub-divisions are patronymic.

The Samapotras are descended from Sidh Saman and perform a special worship on the Rikhipanchami, the 5th of the bright half of Bhádon. They also worship Hingláj deví at births, weddings and on the 3rd of the bright half of Baisákh.

The Bhardwája sub-divisions are { Sidh Bhardwáji. Aroṛ ,, Kánjar ,, Ratan ,,

The Katpál are { Sringi. Sadha.

The Lalṛi are { Takht. Raj. Bakht. Jan.

For the correspondence between these sections and those of the Muhiál Brahmans see *infra*.

§ It has been suggested that Wateshar is derived from *birt*, 'dues.' It is doubtless the same word as Vriteswar, derived from *vritti* or *virat*. and may be translated 'beneficed.' Thus the Wateshar form an *occupational* group and the description given of their sub-divisions is certainly not absolute.

|| Among the Sársut Wateshar the matrimonial relations are complicated. The Sethpál marry with the Bhojípotra and Sámepotra, if such alliances have been actually made in the past. If however they cannot obtain brides from these two sections they try to get them from the Bhardwája or Kathpál. Again the Dhannanpotra only take brides from sections Nos. 2—4, but give none to them. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to learn that the Bhojípotra and Sámepotra sections used till recently to practise female infanticide habitually. Lastly sections Nos. 5—7 are willing to effect exchange betrothals with the Narainis, if no suitable match offers within this group of three sections, which intermarry. The Pushkarná Wateshars also effect exchange betrothals as do the Shahri and Naraini.

2. Bhojípotra ... i. Ráma-Nanda : intermarry with the Bharoge and Maghwáni.
   ii. Machiána " " Wadhwáni.
   iii. Bharojike " " Ráma-Nanda.
3. Sámepotra ... i. Maghwáni " " Ráma-Nanda.
   ii. Wadhwáni " " Machiána.
4. Sethpál.
5. Bhardwája
6. Kaṭhpál
7. Kandiára
8. Lalṛí

(4–8 intermarry.)

Sindhú Pushkarná ...
1. Nangu.
2. Lapiya.
3. Parial.
4. Tanksali.
5. Mattar.
6. Gandhria.
7. Wasu.
8. Wessa.
9. Sohana.

Of the Wateshar class each section is said to minister to certain sections of Aroṛás.*

* For instance the *Káṭhpál* Brahmans minister to—
1. Gorwárá, 2. Dhingṛá, 3. Dang, 4. Madán, 5. Chhábra, 6. Poplí, etc.
The *Lalṛí* minister to—
1. Gera, 2. Luila, etc.
The *Bhardwáj* minister to—
1. Húja, 2. Makheja, 3. Anejá, 4. Tanejá, 5. Sarejá, 6. Farejá, 7. Khandújá, 8. Dhamijá, 9. Sukhíjá, 10. Nakṛá, 11. Chugh, 12. Chhokrá, 13. Bathlá, 14. Nángpál, 15. Maindiratta, 16. Kálrá, 17. Minocha.
The *Bhojpotrá* minister to—
1. Gambhír, 2. Batrá, 3. Cháwla, 4. Khetarpál, 5. Gand, 6. Nárag, 7. Billá, 8. Budhrájá, 9. Rewarí, 10. Chachrá, 11. Busri, 12. Virmáni.
The *Parhihár* minister to—
1. Kherá, 2. Khuráná, 3. Bhugrá, 4. Machhar.
The *Nangú* minister to—
1. Chikkar, 2. Sachdev, 3. Gulati, 4. Hans, 5. Kúrábhatia, 6.
The *Sámepotra* minister to—
1. Kathuriye, 2 Khanijan, 3. Naroole, 4. Babar, 5. Dua, 6. Wasudev, 7. Bhangar, 8. Hans, 9. Ghoghar, 10. Manglani, 11. Piplani, 12. Rihani, 13. Mandianí, 14. Jindwani, 15. Pawe, 16. Salootre, 17. Juneji, 18. Rawal, 19. Kansite Sunare, 20. Lakhbatre, 21. Bhutiani, 22. Jatwaní, 23. Nahdwaní, 24. Rajpotre, 25. Danekhel with eleven others.
The *Lapshiá* minister to—
1. Cháwlá, 2. Kharbandá, 3. Mongiá, 4. Khattar, 5. Kalúcha, 6. Kurṛá.
The *Dhannanpotra* minister to—
1. Dudejá, 2. Chotmurádá, etc.
The *Singopotrá* minister to—
1. Bajáj, etc.
The *Sethpál* minister to Saprá, etc.
All these are sections of the Aroṛás.
The *Dhannanpotra* minister to the Dawra, Bugga, Janji Khel, Danjri, Rohri, Madanpotre, Dhamija, Sanduja, Uṭhṛa and other *gots*.

Sársut—

I.—Bhojípotra, Shámípotra*, Dhannanpotra, Satpál, *Lalṛí**, Singhupotra — intermarry (and take wives from II, III, IV and V, just as II intermarry and take wives from III, IV).

II.—Bhenda.
Bhárdwájí.
Kandiarí.
Kethupotra.
Káthpálí.
Shámjípotra.

*To this section belonged Láljí Gosain.

Of the Sindhu-Pushkarná Wateshar the Nangu minister to the Gurmaliá, Kaura, Gulati, Sachdev, Chikkar, Mungiya and Raon-khela and many other sections of the Aroṛás, and the Sajúlia section of the Bháṭiás. The Lapiya minister to the Kharbanda, Cháwala, Mongiá, Karṛe, Khattar and Kalache *gots,* and the Parial to the Khera, Bugra and Khurana, all sections of the Aroṛás. The Tanksali* minister to the Nangpál, Mutríjá, Dua (Seth Hari); the Mattar minister to the Khurana, all Sateja Aroṛás; the Gandhria to Mahesri Banias; the Wasu to Bháṭiás; the Wesa to Mahesri Banias and the Sohana to Bháṭiás.

The *Ástrí* have fewer patrons than the Wateshar, and the *clientèle* of each is confined to one place, where he resides. If a Wateshar is unable to officiate for a patron an *Ástrí* acts for him, receiving $\frac{2}{5}$ths of the fee, the balance of $\frac{3}{5}$ths being handed over to the Wateshar.

The *Ástrí* sections in Miánwálí are—

1. Ramdeh,† 2. Shason, 3. Bhaglal, 4. Ishwar, and 5. Dahiwál.

The Narainí is an immigrant group, and is thus without patrons, but if the Wateshar and *Ástrí* are illiterate, a literate Narainí is called in to perform any function requiring knowledge. As a rule, however, the Narainí only presents himself when alms are given to all and sundry.

		Patrons.
1.	Bambowal.	
2.	Brahmi.	
3.	Chanana	... Gáreṛí.
4.	Chandan	... Aneja Aroṛás.
5.	Chuni	... Dhupar Aroṛás.
6.	Gaindhar	... Chatkare Aroṛás.
7.	Joshi	... Nakṛa.
8.	Kakrah	... Khurana and Taloja Aroṛás.
9.	Lapshah	... Khathar and Dhol.
10.	Ojha.	
11.	Pandit.	
12.	Pharande.	
13.	*Ramdeh*	... Dhaneja Aroṛás.
14.	Soharan.	
15.	Sutrak.	
16.	Tilhan.	
17.	Wohra	... Manocha Aroṛás.

Only a Brahman may be an *ástrí,* a *parohit* or a *thání.* He may also officiate as an Acháraj, a Bháṭ, a Gosáin or a Ved-pátr, (and so may any other Hindu), but if he does so he must not accept any dues for the rites performed. Only a Brahman can take *sankalpa,* no other Hindu.

III.—Chúní
Channan
Sútrak
Kákre
Ramde
Gaindhar
Bhaglál.
Gangáhar.
Rughanpotra (or Aganhotrí ?).
Nárath.
Sethí.
Máhlá.
(*Lapsha*).

IV.—Jhangan
Tikhá
Mohlá
Kamrie
Jetlí
Bagge
Sant
} Brahmans of Khatrís.

V.—The Mahta Brahmans, whose sections are the Chhibbar, Dat, Mohan, Ved, Bálí and Lau, do not act as *parohits,* but are engaged in agriculture, trade or service. Obviously these are the same as the Muhiáls of the North-West Punjab.

* The Tanksalis are called Jhání and receive certain dues on marriage and Dharm Sand in the Hadd Jaskáni, *i.e.*, in the tract under the rule of the Jaskáni Biloches.

† Minister to the Danekhel section of the Aroṛas.

A Brahman's own religious observances are performed by his daughter's father-in-law, or by some relative of the latter, though he may, in their absence, get them performed by any other Brahman. A sister's son is also employed. This is purely a matter of convenience, the relations of a daughter's husband being entitled to receive gifts, but not those of a son's wife.

The Secular Brahmans.

The Muhiál Brahmans.—This group of secular Brahmans is said to derive its name from *muhin*, a sum of money given by them at weddings to Bháṭs and Jájaks, varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 or Rs. 12. The Muhiáls are also styled Munhâls, and are said to be so called from *muhin*, a sept. But it is also suggested that the name is derived from *mukhia*, 'spokesman,' or 'principal.' By origin the Muhiáls are certainly Sársuts and still take wives from that group in Gujrát, while in Ráwalpindi the five superior sections (Sudhán, Sikhan, Bhaklál, Bhog and Káli) of the Bunjáhi Sársuts used to give daughters to the Bhimwál (Bhibhál) 'Muhiál Sársuts' and occasionally to the other Muhiál sections, though they refused them to the inferior sections of the Bunjáhis: Rawalpindi Gr. 1883-84, p. 51.

Their organisation is on the usual principles and may be thus tabulated:—

Group I.—Bári.

Section.		
1. Chhibbar.	i. Dablijiya. ii. *ám* or common.	Setpál (Sáhanpál).
Datt	... ...	Dhannanpotrá.
Mohan.		
Ved or Baid	... ...	Bhojipotrá.
Báli	... ...	Lálṛi,

Group II.—Bunjáhi.

Lau	... ...	Sámepotrá.
Bibhowál or Bhibhál.		

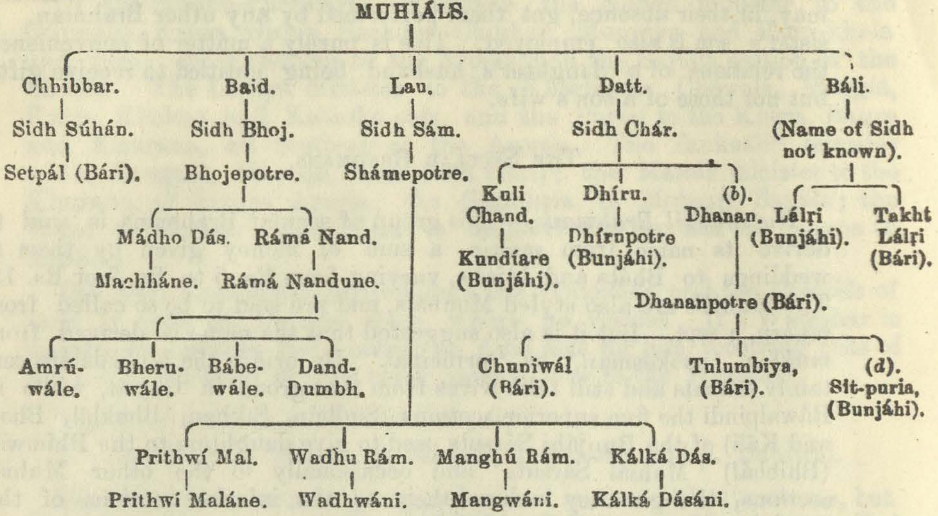
The Bári group either intermarries or takes daughters from the Bunjáhi, but the two sections of the latter (Lau and Bibhowál) can only marry *inter se.**

* The Bháṭs eulogise the Muhiáls in the following verses:—

Datt dátá, Lau mangtá,	'The Datts are generous, and the Lau beggars,
Chhibbar wich Sardár.	The Chhibbars are Sardárs.
Waidán háth katáriyán,	The Baids dagger in hand
Chalde pabán de bhár.	Walk full of pride.
Bibho kháte bimb phal,	The Bibho (Bibhowál) eat *bimb phal* (a fruit)
Mohan Báli chakdár.	Mohan and Báli are *chakdárs.*

There are further sub-divisions, but among the Waid the Samba, among the Datt the Kanjruria, among the Báli the Khará and among the Chhibbar the Barra, are considered superior clans.

The following table illustrates the origin of the Muhiál sections and sub-sections :—



The descendants of the five Sidhs are further sub-divided into *pánchtolias* (who give their daughters not less than 5 *tolas* of gold as dowry) and *tritoliyas* (who give not less than 3). The latter rank below the former.

The origin of the Muhiáls is thus described : In Sambat 200 Vikrami the five Sidhs went to the Naunúthi Hill and there practised asceticism. About that time too the Khatrís of the Aror family (now the Arorás) and the other Khatrís fell out, so the latter separated from the Arorás and became *jajmáns* of the Sidhs. The Muhiáls who did not attach themselves to the Arorás refused to accept alms (*dán*) and are still purely secular. They are found chiefly if not exclusively in Ráwalpindi (where many are Sikhs) ; in Jhelum and Sháhpur as landholders or in service. All Muhiáls may marry girls of Brahman families which are not Muhiál.

A small group of secular Brahmans found at Hariána, in Hoshiárpur is the Kanchan Kawal. They are also called Suraj Duaj (Sun-worshippers). Their ancestor came from Delhi as a *kánúngo* to Hariána, whence they are also called Kánúngos. They can marry in the *nánká's got,* avoiding only the father's *got*. They do not take charity (*dán*), and either take service or engage in trade or cultivation. If any one of them takes alms he is outcasted and they do not intermarry with him.

Other purely lay groups of Brahmans are : the DHAKOCHI of the Dhúnd and Karrál Hills in Hazára, who are also called Mahájans : the TAGAS of Karnál, who are Gaurs by origin and agriculturists by avocation : and the criminal TAGÚS of the same District.

THE SÁRSUT BRAHMANS.

The Sársut is essentially the Brahman of the Punjab, just as the Khatri is distinctively a Punjab caste. The Sársut, as a body, minister to all the Hindu castes, possibly even to those which are unclean and so stand outside the pale of Hinduism. Upon this fact is based the leading

principle of their organization, which is that the status of each section depends on the status of the caste to which it ministers. In accordance with this principle, we may tentatively classify the Sársut thus :—

Sub-group i.—Brahmans of Brahmans, called Shukla.

Sub-group ii.—Brahmans of the Khatrís—

1. Panch-záti.	4. Bunjáhís.	5. Khokharán.*
2. Chhe-záti.	3. Asth-bans.	6. Sarín.

Sub-group iii.—Brahmans of Arorás.

Sub-group iv.—Brahmans of Jáṭs.

Sub-group v.—Brahmans of inferior castes, *e.g.*, the Chamarwá.

Further, each of the sub-groups is divided into grades on the analogy of the Khatri caste system thus—

1. Panchzáti.	3. Bunjáhi.
2. Bári.	4. Inferior *zátis*.

Thus we may take the Shukla† Brahmans to comprise the following *gots* :—

Panchzáti ... { Gallia, Malia, Kapuria, Bhaturia } or { Jetli. Jhingan. Mohla. Kumaria. Trikha. }

The Sársut Brahmans of the Khatrís.—The connection of the Khatri with the Sársut Brahman caste is peculiarly close. One tradition of its origin avers that when Parasu Ráma was exterminating the Kshatriyas a pregnant woman of the caste took refuge with a Sársut. When her child, a son, was born, the Sársut invested him with the *janeo* and taught him the Vedas. Hence the Sársuts are invariably the *parohits* of the Khatrís, and from this incident arose the custom which allows *parohit* and *jajman* to eat together.

The boy married 18 Kshatriya girls and his sons took the names of the various *rishis* and thus founded the *gotras* of the Khatrís, which are the same as those of the Brahmans. This legend explains many points in the organization of the Sársut Brahmans in the Punjab, though it is doubtless entirely mythical, having been intended to account for the close dependence of the Brahmans of the Sársut branch on the Khatri caste.

Group I.—Panjzáti i. At the top of the social tree stand five sections,

1. Mohla.
2. Jetli.
3. Jhingan.
4. Trikha.
5. Kumaria.

} Group Panjzáti or Pachháda.

which are the *parohits* of the Ḍháíghar Khatrís. This group is known as the Panjzáti or 'five sections,' and also as Pachháda or 'western.' If the Brahmans followed the Khatri organization in all its complexity we should expect to find these sections constituting the Ḍháíghar sub-group of a Bári group, and they are, it would seem, called Ḍháíghar-Lahoria, at least in Lahore.

There are also said to be two groups, each of 5 *zátís*, which once formed themselves into endogamous cliques. These were: (*i*) Kalia, Malia, Bhaturia,

* Probably this is correct. The Muhiál having ceased to be Brahmans at all, no longer minister to the Khokharán-Khatrís and so a special group of Khokharán-Brahmans has had to be formed.

† The Shuklas are beggars, who come from the east, from the direction of the United Provinces. They beg only from Brahmans, but are not their *parohits*. They are quite distinct from the Shukal of the Simla Hills.

Kapuria and Baggas, and (*ii*) Jhingan*, Trikha†, Jetli‡, Kumhria§, and Punbu.|| The last-named *got* was, however, replaced by the Mohlas¶, because one of its members was discourteous to his daughter-in-law's people.

The Bári group further, in addition to the Panchzátis, comprises the following 7 *gots*: Paumbu, Gangáhar,** Martha, Sethi Churávaur, Phiranda and Purang.

Group II.—Bunjáhi. This group contains several sub-groups whose relations to one another are obscure, and indeed the subject of controversy. They may be classified, tentatively, as follows:—

Sub-group i.—Asht-bans, with the following eight sections:—

In Amritsar:	*or in Karnál:*	*and in Patiálá.*
1. Sand.	1. Sand.	1. Sand.
2. Shori.	2. Pátak.	2. Suri.
3. Pátak.	3. Joshi Mahrur.	3. Pátak.
4. Mahrur.	4. Joshi Malmai.	4. Joshi Malmai.
5. Joshi.	5. Tiwanj.	5. Joshi Mahrur.
6. Tiwari.	6. Kural.	6. Tiwari.††
7. Kural.	7. Regne.	7. Kural.
8. Bhardwáji.	....	8. Ratn Bhardwáj.

Sub-group ii.—Bára-ghar or Bára-záti (also called Bári):—

1. Sarad.	7. Manan.	In Hazára—Vajra.	Sang.
2. Bhanot.	8. Bhambi.	Vasdeo.	Sudan.
3. Airi.	9. Lakhan Pal.	Paonde.	Majju.
4. Kalie.‡‡	10. Patti.	Bhog.	Sem.
5. Parbhakka.	11. Jalpat.	Ishar.	Dhammi.
6. Nabh.	12. Sabjpal.	Ramdeo.	Tara.

* Jhingan is said to be derived from *jhinga* or *jhanjh*, a bell, because the sound of a bell was heard at its eponym's birth. This *got* is supposed to be only 20 generations old. It has three sub-sections, Gautam, Athu and Nathu. Further, Nathu's descendants are subdivided into the less known sub-divisions of Chamnapati and Kanwlapati. The Jhingans *gotra* is Bhardwáj; their *parvaras* Bhrigu, Bharjan and Bhardwáj, their *shákhá* Madhunjan and the Rig Veda their *veda*. At Dipálpur at the house of an ancestor, Bábá Chhajjil, they hold a fair in Mágh, at which the *chilu*, *jhand*, *janeo* and other rites are performed. Nathu's descendants all wear a *nath* in the nose.

† Trikha's *gotra* is Parashar and it is sub-divided into the Palwarda, Aura and Dwija sub-sections.

‡ The Jetli *gotra* is Vatsa, and its sub-sections are Vialepotra, Chandipotra, and Rúpepotra—all eponymous. The two former are replaced by Hathila and Harnpotra, according to another account. The Mihrotra Khatrís make them offerings on the 12th of the light half of each lunar month.

§ The Kumhria *gotra* is also Vatsa and they too have three sub-sections.

|| Apparently the same as the Paumbu, below.

¶ The Mohlas *gotra* is Somastam, and its sub-sections are Dalwali, Shiv-Nandi and Akáshi.

** Of the Vasisht *gotra*. They have five sub-sections, Veda Vyás, Gangáhar (*sic*), Gosain, Saráph, and Gangawáshi, so-called because they used to lead bands of pilgrims to the Ganges. They were exempt from tolls under former governments. The Saráph (Sarráf) were bankers. The Gosains had many *jajmáns* and the Veda Vyás were learned in the Vedas. The Gangáhars still perform their *jhand* or tonsure rite near the ruins of old Jhang, near which town they possessed a number of wells, each inscribed with their names.

†† Or Tawaria. At marriage they do not let the bride go to her father-in law's house, but send instead a big *gur* cake wrapped in red cloth. If however the *mukláwá* ceremony is performed at the same time as the wedding, they let the bride go also, otherwise they send her afterwards when her *mukláwá* is given.

‡‡ Probably the same as the Bhabakkar, a *got* named after a Rishi. Its members make a boy don the *janeo* (sacred thread) in his 8th year. Clad as a *sádhu* in a *faqír's* dress with the *alfi* or *chola*, the *mirg-chhála* (deer-skin) and *kachkol* (a wallet for collecting alms) he begs from door to door and is then bidden to go to the forest, but his sister brings him back.

The *Zát-wále* :—

Sub-group iii.—Panj-záti ii. About 116 years ago the Brahmans of the five sections below used to give their daughters in marriage to the *Dháíghar-Lahoria* Brahmans :—

(1) Kalie.	(3) Kapurie.	(5) Bagge.
(2) Malie.	(4) Bhaturie.	

When their daughters 'began to be treated harshly in the houses of their fathers-in-law, these Brahmans (*panjzát* or five sections) arranged to contract marriages only among themselves' and ceased to form relationships with the Ḍháíghar-Lahoria.

Sub-group iv.—Chhezát-wálá.—Similarly several other sections of Brahmans gave up giving daughters to the Ḍháíghar-Lahoria Brahmans, such as—

(1) Pandit.	(3) Dhunde.	(5) Dhau Kaji.
(2) Pátak.	(4) Gadhari.	(6) Chhukari.

Sub-group v.—Panchzát-wále iii—

(1) *Chuni.*	(3) Lamb.	(5) Sarballie.
(2) Rabri.	(4) Neule.	

Sub-group vi.—Sat-záti—

(1) Sajre.	(4) Neasi.	(6) Sardal.
(2) Punj.	(5) *Chuni.*	(7) Anni.
(3) Bandu.		

The above four sub-groups are called collectively Zát-wále.

Sub-group vii.—This comprises the remaining Bunjáhi sections.

The Zát-wále stand higher than this last sub-group *vii*, in that they do not accept offerings from, or eat in the houses of, Náís, Kaláls, Kumhárs or Chhímbas, whereas the latter do both. Moreover, the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups claim to be superior in status to the Báris, but some families of these two sub-groups stooped to give daughters to the latter sub-group, and were, therefore, excommunicated by the remaining families of the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups, so that they lost status and formed a new sub-group called Bans-puj. This sub-group now gives daughters to the Asht-bans and Chhe-záti sub-groups, but takes its wives, it is alleged, from the Báris.

Thus the Brahman organization reflects the main outlines of the Khatri scheme, but, though on many points of detail our information is incomplete, it is certain that local conditions modify the organization. For instance in Bahawalpur the Khatrís are few, while the Aroṛás are numerous and influential, so that we find the following scheme :—

Sub-group i.—Five sections, Mohla, Jetli, Jhingran, Tríkha, Kumaria.

Hypergamous sub-group ii.—Five sections, Dhaman-potra, Samapotra, Bhoja-potra, Setpal, Takht-Lalhári ; and

Hypergamous sub-group iii.—Seven sections, Lalhári, Biás, Kandaria, Kaṭhpála, Shangru-potra or Wed, Malakpura, and Bhenda.

Of these three sub-groups, the five sections of the first are Brahmans of the Khatrís generally, not of the Ḍháíghar-Bári Khatrís exclusively, while sub-groups *ii* and *iii* are Brahmans of the Aroṛás in that part of the Punjab.

The rules of marriage.—Like the Khatrís, the Bunjábi Brahmans profess to follow the usual '*four-got*' rule in marriage, but, precisely like the Ḍháíghar Khatrís, the Zát-wále Brahmans avoid only their own section and the mother's relations. At least this appears to be the usual rule, but it would be rash to say it is an invariable one. For example, the Bans-puj are an exception. The Asht-bans obtain wives from them, but if a father has taken a Bans-puj wife, the son may not: he must marry an Asht-bans or lose status. That is to say, the Asht-bans may only stoop to inter-marriage with the Bans-puj in alternate generations.

Similarly the '*four-got*' rule is relaxed in other cases. Thus the Kanchan-Kamal section of Hoshiárpur are also called Suraj Doaj, (Sun-worshippers). Their ancestor came from Delhi as a *qánúngo* at Hariána; hence they are called Qánúngos. These Brahmans can marry in the *nánka got*, avoiding only the father's *got*. They do not take any *dán* (charity) and may either take service or engage in trade or cultivation. If any one of them takes to receiving charity, he is considered an outcast and they do not intermarry with him.

The ages of marriage.—Among the Bunjábi Brahmans the age of betrothal is from 4-8 and that of marriage from 8-12 years in Ráwalpindi. It is, however, impossible to lay down any universal rules, as, generally speaking, the ages of betrothal and marriage depend upon the status of each family within the group, as is the case among the Khatrís.

The revolt against hypergamy.—It will be seen how the lower sub-groups of the KHATRIS have endeavoured to shake off the yoke of the higher in matrimonial matters. A similar revolt against the position of the Ḍháíghar occurred amongst the Sársut Brahmans. About 116 years ago, says the account received from Amritsar, the Lahoria Ḍháíghar used to take daughters from the Panj-zát ii; but owing to the ill-treatment meted out to the girls by the Ḍháíghar, they resolved to discontinue the custom, and the three other groups of the Zát-wále followed suit while the remaining Bunjáhís continued to give wives to the Zát-wále, but no longer received them in return. The result was that the Bunjáhís could not obtain wives and many families died out, so it was resolved by the Bunjáhís that they should for the future break off all connection with the Zát-wále, unless any of the latter should agree to give them daughters in return. This was prior to Sambat 1932 when a second meeting at Amritsar renewed the compact.

It may be worth noting that in both castes the proceedings of these conferences were conducted in a formal manner, written agreements being drawn up, and the families which agreed to the demands put forward being entered in a register from time to time.

The territorial groups.—Like the Khatrís the Brahmans have territorial groups, but these groups do not usually correspond with the territorial groups of the former. For instance, the Brahmans of the Murree Hills are divided into two sub-castes—Paháṛia and Dhakochi, who do not intermarry or eat together. The Dugri Brahmans correspond to the Dugri Khatrís of the Siálkoṭ sub-montane, but they are said, on the one hand, to give daughters to the Sársut, and, on the

other hand, to intermarry with the Batehru group of Brahmans in Kángṛa. Allusions have been already made to the Pachháda and to the Lahoria, terms which seem to be applied exclusively to the five highest sections who serve the Ḍháíghar Khatrís.

THE SÂRSUT BRAHMANS OF THE ARORÁS.

The grouping of the Brahmans of the Aroṛás has already been described in dealing with the Wateshars' system, and they further are said to be thus divided:

Panch-záti ...	Bhojapotra. Shamapotra. Dhannanpotra.	Sitpál. Takht Lalṛi.*
Bári	The Panchzátis, together with the— 6. Puchhrat. 7. Shingupotra. 8. Malakpura. 9. Khetupotra.	10. Bhardwáji. 11. Kaṭhpála.† 12. Kandbiára.

But the most interesting territorial group of the Sársut is that of the Kángṛa Brahmans whose organization shows no traces of the Khatri scheme, but reflects that of the Hindu Rájputs of Kángṛa, and which will, therefore, be described at some length.

THE BRAHMANS OF KÁNGṚA.

The Sársuṭ *des* or jurisdiction extends from the Saraswati river in Kurukshetr to Attock on the Indus and is bounded by Pehowa on the east, by Ratia and Fatehábád in Hissar, by Multán on the south-west, and by Jammu and Nurpur, in Kángṛa, on the north.

Thus the Brahmans of Kángṛa, who are or claim to be Sársut by origin, stand beyond the pale of the Sársut organisation, but they have a very interesting organisation of their own.

We find the following groups:—

i.—Nagarkoṭia.
ii.—Batehru.
iii.—Halbaha, or cultivating.

Group I.—The Nagarkoṭia are the Brahmans of the Kaṭoch, the highest of the Rájputs, and they were divided by Dharm Chand, the Kaṭoch Rájá of Kángṛa, into 13 functional sub-groups, each named fter the duties it performed in his time. These are—

i.—Dichhit, the Gurús of the Kaṭoch, who used to teach the Gáyatri *mantra*.

ii.—Sarotari, said to be from Sanskrit *saro ladh*. Their duty was to pour *ahoti* or offerings of *ghi*, etc., into the *hawan kund* when a *jag* was performed. They had learnt two Vedas.

iii.—Achária, who performed the *jag*.

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* The Lalṛi have five sub-sections:—Lál Lalṛi, Viás Lalṛi, Takht Lalṛi, Ghaniyal Lalṛi and Raj Bakht or Jan.

† By *gotra* Shámundal, the Kaṭhpálas have four sub-sections, Surangu, Sidha, Gilkála and Pathak.

iv.—Upadhyaya, or Upadhi,* or 'readers' of the Vedas at the *jag.*

v.—Awasthi, those who 'stood by' the *kalas* or pitcher at the Munipursh, and who received the pitcher and other articles (of sacrifice).

vi.—Bedbirch, who made the *bedi,* or square demarcated by four sticks in which the *kalas* was placed.

vii.—Nág Pundrik, whose duty it was to write the prescribed inscriptions on the *hawan kund.*

viii.—Panchkarn or secular Brahmans engaged in service on the Rájás. They performed *five* out of the six duties of Brahmans, but not the sixth, which is the receiving of alms.

ix.—Parohits, who were admitted to the seraglio of the Rájá and were his most loyal adherents.

x.—Kashmíri Paṇḍit, literate Brahmans from Kashmír, who are found all over the Punjab.

xi.—Misr,† said to mean 'mixed,' also Kashmíri immigrants, who had preserved their own customs and rites, but had intermarried with the Nagarkoṭia.

xii.—Raina, who helped the rulers by their incantations in time of war. (Said to be from *ran,* battle-field.)

xiii.—Bip (Bipr), now extinct in Kángṛa. These were *parohits* of the Nagarkoṭia and of some of the Batehru.

Of these 13 sub-groups numbers x and xi seem to be territorial rather than functional. One cannot say what their relative rank is or was. The first six are also called the six Achárias and were probably temple priests or menials of inferior status. The Bip probably ranked high, and the Raina, or magic men, were possibly the lowest of all. The Khappari are also said to be found in Káṅgṛa, but, no account from that District alludes to them.

Group II.—Batehru.—There are two sub-groups—

i.—Pakká Batehru.—With 9 sections—

(1) Dind, (2) Dohru, (3) Sintu, (4) Pallialu, (5) Panbar, (6) Rukkhe, (7) Nág-Kharappe, (8) Awasthi-Chetu and (9) Misr-Kathu.

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* But *apadhi* is in Orissa translated 'title.' *Vide* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, I, p. 161. Upadhyaya is, correctly speaking, quite distinct from Upadhi.

† It will be observed that the Misr (section) occurs in both the Batehru sub-groups and among the Nagarkoṭia, so that we have three sub-sections—

(1) Kashmíri-Misr, Nagarkoṭia.
(2) Kathu-Misr, Pakká Batehru.
(3) Mali-Misr, Kachchá Batehru.

Of these the last named are *parohits* of the Kashmíri Pandits, the Kashmíri-Misrs and the Rainas.

The Nág (? section) are also thus found, for we have—

(1) Nág-Pundrik, Nagarkoṭia.
(2) Nág-Kharappa, Pakká Batehru.
(3) Nág-Gosalu, Kachchá Batehru.

It is explained that Kharappa (cobra) and Gosalu (? grass-snake) are nicknames implying contempt, as these sub-sections are of low status. But a comparison with the Brahmans of Orissa suggests a totemistic origin for these sections: V. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* I, p. 161.

The Awasthi too are found in all three groups.

ii.—Kachchá Batehru.—With 13 sections—

(1) Tagnet, (2) Ghabru, (3) Sughe (Parsrámie), (4) Chappal, (5) Chathwan, (6) Awasthi-Thirkanun, (7) Awasthi-Gargajnun, (8) Ghogare, (9) Nág-Gosalu, (10) Mali-Misr, (11) Achàriapathiarj, (12) Paṇḍit Bariswal and (13) Awasthi-Kufarial.

Group III.—Halbaha.—The Halbahas have 29 *gots* or sections :—

(1) Paṇḍit-Marchu, (2) Bhutwan, (3) Khurwal, (4) Gidgidie, (5) Lade, (6) Pahde-Roptu, (7) Pahde-Saroch, (8) Korle, (9) Awasthi-Chakolu, (10) Paṇḍit-Bhangalie, (11) Narchalu, (12) Mahte, (13) Dukwal, (14) Sanhalu, (15) Pahde-Daroch, (16) Pandore, (17) Theuk, (18) Pahde-Kotlerie, (19) Bagheru, (20) Bhanwal, (21) Bashist, (22) Ghutanie, (23) Mindhe-Awasthi, (24) Prohit-Golerie, (25) Prohit-Jaswál, (26) Hasolar, (27) Poi-Pahde, (28) Fanarach and (29) Pharerie.

Of these the first fourteen now intermarry with the Batehru, giving, and, apparently, receiving wives on equal terms.

Hypergamy.—The Nagarkoṭia take brides from both sub-groups of the Batehru, and they have, since Sambat 1911, also taken brides from the Halbaha. The Batehru take wives from all the sections of the Halbaha. When a Halbaha girl marries a Nagarkoṭia, she is seated in the highest place at marriage-feasts by the women of her husband's brotherhood. This ceremony is called *sara-dena* and implies that the Halbaha bride has become of the same social status as the husband's kin. Money is never paid for a bride. Indeed Barnes observed :—

" So far do the Nagarkoṭias carry their scruples to exonerate the bridegroom from all expense, that they refuse to partake of any hospitality at the hands of the son-in-law, and will not even drink water in the village where he resides."

Social relations.—The accounts vary and the customs have, it is explicitly stated, been modified quite recently. The Nagarkoṭia may eat with Batehrus and have even begun to eat *kachhi* from the hands of a Halbaha according to one account. According to another this is not so, and a Nagarkoṭia who has married a Halbaha girl may not eat at all from the hands of his wife until she has borne at least one child, when the prohibition is said to be removed.

The Batehru and Halbaha section names.—These show an extraordinary jumble of Brahminical *gotras* (*e.g.*, Bashist), functional and other names, so that the accuracy of the lists is open to doubt. It appears certain, however, that some of the sections are named from the tribes to whom they minister. Thus, we may assume, the Pahda-Kotleria are Pahdas of the Kotleria Rájputs ; the Parohit-Goleria and Parohit-Jaswál to be *parohits* of the Goleria and Jaswál Rájputs, and so on. This is in accord with the system, which has been found to exist among the Sársut of the plains, whereby the Brahman takes his status from that of the section to which he ministers. But status is also determined by occupation. Like the Gaddis and Ghirths of the Kángṛa and Chamba hills the Brahmans of Kángṛa have numerous *als* with vaguely totemistic * names. Thus among the Nagarkoṭia the

* In Hissár there is a section of Brahmans, called Bhéḍá or sheep. This is interesting, because on the Sutlej, at least in Kullu Saráj, there is a small caste called Bhéḍá, who are hereditary victims in the sacrificial riding of a rope down the cliffs to the river. Other-

Pakká Batehru have the section called Kharappá (or cobra) Nág and the Kachchá Batehru, a section styled Ghoslú (a species of fish or possibly grass-snake) Nág. Pundrik also appears to be a snake section. These snake sections are said to reverence the snake after which they are named and not to kill or injure it.

In addition to these, the Batehru (Pakká and Kachchá) have the following sections:—

(i) Chappal, an insect; no explanation is forthcoming.
(ii) Sugga, a parrot; no explanation is forthcoming.
(iii) Bhángwaria, fr. *bhángar*, a kind of tree.
(iv) Khajúre Dogre: Date-palm Dogra, a section founded by a man who planted a garden of date-palms, and which originated in the Dogra country on the borders of Jammú.
(v) Ghábrú, a rascal; one who earns his living by fair means or foul.

In the Chamba State the Brahmans form an agricultural class, as well as a hierarchy. Those in the capital are employed in the service of the State or engaged in trade, while others are very poor and eke out a living as priests in the temples, or as *purohits* and even as cooks, but they abstain from all manual labour. Strict in caste observances they preserve the ancient Brahmanical *gotras*, but are divided into numerous *als* which form three groups:—

Group I.—*Als*: Baru, Banbaru, Pandit, Sanju, Kashmiri Pandit, Kolue,* Baid, Gautaman, Bugalán, Atán, Madyán,† Kanwán, Bodhrán, Baludran, Bilparu, Mangleru, Lakhyánu, Suhálu, Nunyál, Nonyál, Sunglál, Bharáru, Turnál, Haryán‡, and Purohit.

Group II.—*Als*: Chhunphanán, Thulyán, Dikhchat, Osti, Páde, Bhat, Dogre, Pantu, Kuthla, Ghoretu, Pathania, Myandhiálu, Mangleru, Katochu, Pánde, Dátwán, Dundie, Hamlogu, Bhardiathu, Gharthalu, Hanthalu, Gwáru, Chibar, Baráre, and Datt.

Group III.—*Als*: Acháraj, Gujráti, Gwalhu and Bujhru.

The first group only takes wives from the second, and the first two groups have no caste relations with the third. The Brahmans of Chamba town and Sungal§ disavow all caste connection with the *halbáh* or cultivating Brahmans who are hardly to be distinguished from the general rural population, though many act as priests at the village shrines and as *purohits*. Many Brahmans are in possession of *sásans* or grants of land recorded on copper plates. The hill Brahmans, both men and women, eat meat, in marked contrast to those of the plains. In the Pángi *wizárat* of the Chamba State Brahmans, Rájputs, Thákurs and Ráthis form one caste, without restrictions on food or marriage. In the Rávi valley, especially in Churáh, and to a less degree in Brahmaur also, free marriage relations exist among the high castes, good families excepted. But in recent years there has been a tendency towards greater strictness in the observance of caste rules.‖

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wise traces of totemism are very rare among the Brahmans of the plains, though in the sub-montane district of Ambála two are noted. These are the Píla Bheddi or 'yellow wolves,' so called because one of their ancestors was saved by a she-wolf and so they now worship a wolf at weddings; and Sarinhe, who are said to have once taken refuge under a *sarin* tree and now revere it.

* From Kullú, so called because they came with an idol from that country. They are priests of the Lakshmi Narain, Damodar and Rádha Krishna temples.

† The Kanwán are descendants of the Brahman family from which Rájá Sáhila Varma of Chamba purchased the site of the present capital.

‡ The Haryán are in charge of the Hari Rai temple.

§ The ancient Sumangala, a village now held entirely by Brahmans under a *sásan* grant of the 10th century A.D. They are descended from two immigrants, a Brahmachári and his *chela*, from the Kurukshetra. The two families intermarry and also give daughters to the Brahmans of Chamba town.

‖ See the Chamba State Gazetteer by Dr. James Hutchison, pp. 130—132.

The Brahmans of the low castes.

As we have seen the Brahmans of the higher castes form a series of groups whose status depends on that of their clients. On a similar principle the Brahmans of the castes which are unclean and so outside the pale of Hinduism form distinct sub-castes outside the circle of those who minister to the higher castes.

These sub-castes are—

I.—The Chamarwá.—The Brahmans of the Chanor sub-caste of the Chamárs.

II.—Dhanakwa.—The Brahmans of the Dhánaks or Hindu weavers in Rohtak.

III.—The Brahmans of Chúhṛás.

Each of these three sub-castes appears to be now strictly endogamous, though the Chamarwá are said to have until recently intermarried with Chamárs. However, it seems clear that they do not intermarry with the other Sársut Brahmans if indeed they have any claim to Sársut ancestry. No Chamarwá Brahman may enter a Hindu's house. According to a tale told in Ambála, the origin of the Chamarwá Brahmans was this:—A Brahman, on his way to the Ganges to bathe, met Rám Dás, the famous Chamár *bhagat*. Rám Dás gave him two *cowries* and told him to present them to Gangáji (Ganges), if she held out her hand for them. She did so, and in return gave him two *kangans* (bracelets). The Brahman went back to Rám Dás, who asked him what the goddess had given him, and he, intending to keep one of the two *kangans*, said she had given one only; but when he looked for them they were not on his own body, but in the *kunda* (breeches) of Rám Dás. Rám Dás then gave him the bracelets and warned the Brahman in future to accept gifts only from his descendants, otherwise great misfortune would befall him. Accordingly his descendants only serve Chamárs to this day. The Chamarwá are only *parohits* of the Chamárs, not *gurús*. They must not be confounded with the *masands* who act as their *gurús*, though either a Chamarwá Brahman or a (Chamár) *masand* can preside at a Chamár's wedding. It is said that the Chamarwá is also called a Husaini Brahman.

The Brahmans in the Simla Hills.

North and east of Simla the Brahmans both Gauṛ and Sársut have three groups: Shukal, Krishan and Pujárí or Bhojgí, the two latter equal but inferior to the first. The Shukal are further divided into two occupational groups (i) those who hold *jágírs* granted by chiefs and who receive ample dues and (ii) those who receive little in fees. The former are generally literate and do not cultivate: they observe the rites prescribed by the Shástras. The latter are mainly agriculturists and practise informal as well as formal marriage and even polyandry. The former take wives from the latter, but do not give them. The Shukal group does not intermarry with the other two*.

The Krishan Brahmans are also cultivators and accept almost any alms. They also practise widow remarriage and the *rít* custom. The

* The Shukal are not stated to correspond to the Shukla, or to be Brahmans to Brahmans only.

Pujárís or Bhojgís are temple-priests or *chelas* of a god. They appear to have only recently become a distinct group. Some are merely *pujárís* and accept no alms living by cultivation. These do not intermarry with the Krishan Brahmans. Others accept alms in the name of a deceased person and use the *ghi* with which idols are besmeared in Mágh. They intermarry with the Krishan group.

When Paras Rám* a Gauṛ Brahman overthrew the Rájputs the Sársuts protected those of their women who survived and when the Rájputs regained power they replaced the Gauṛs by Sársuts. Paras Rám had extended his conquests as far as Nirmand in the Saráj tahsíl of Kullú and there he established a colony of Gauṛ Brahmans in 6 villages, still held in *muáfí* by them. These colonists are now spread over Bashahr, Kullú, Saráj and Suket, and they are called Palsrámí or Parasrámí to this day.

Both the Gauṛ and Sársuts are also cross-divided into the Sásaní, or beneficed, and Dharowar groups.† The former are priests or *parohits* of the ruling families, being supported by the rents of their lands and the dues received from their clients. The latter live by cultivation, but do not hold revenue-free grants. Neither group accepts alms given to avert the evil influence of certain planets or offered during an eclipse.‡

THE IMPURE BRAHMANS.

We now come to deal with the groups of Brahmans who exercise degraded or spiritually dangerous functions. In contradistinction to the *uttam* or 'pure' Brahmans discussed above—Brahmans who serve pure castes and fulfil pure functions—we find groups of Brahmans who exercise impure or inauspicious functions. These groups are known by various names, but in some parts of the Punjab, *e.g.*, in Miánwáli, they are divided into two classes, the Madham, Mahá-Brahman or Achárai, and the Kanisht. The Madham form a kind of 'middle' class, performing functions which though unlucky and even unclean, are ritualistic. The Kanisht on the other hand are minor priests, whose rites are largely magical, rather than religious; and they include such groups as the Ved-pátr, Ḍakaut and Sáwani.

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* The tradition begins by asserting that the Gauṛ accompanied the Rájputs from the plains, and that the latter usurped the Gauṛ's power. They then made the Gauṛs their *parohits*, but annexed their principalities. Later Kánkubj and Maithila Brahmans accompanied those Rájputs who escaped from the plains after the Muhammadan invasions and found a refuge in the hills.

† The Dharowar intermarry with the Krishan Brahmans of the Hills, and give daughters to the Sásaní and Shukal groups, but not to the Krishan group.

‡ It must not be imagined that this description exhausts the ramifications of the Hill Brahmans. Thus in Kumbársain we learn that there are Sársut Brahmans, Jhákhṛú by family, descended from Gautama *rishi*, and other families descended from Bhárdwaj *rishi*. These latter came, some from Káshi, others from Sindh, and they intermarry *inter se* or with Bhárdwáj Brahmans settled in Bashahr. They worship Brahma, as well as Vishnu, Mahesh and the 10 incarnations. These Bhárdwáj, who are known as the four Brahman *tols*, will not intermarry with a class of Brahmans called Paochi, because the latter have stooped to widow remarriage. Yet the Paochi is not the lowest group, for below it are the Pujáras, also Sársuts, wearing the *janeo*, and affecting the various hill *deotás*, of whose lands they are mostly hereditary tenants. Pujáras permit the *bedani* form of marriage, and also the *rít* system which is in vogue among the Kanets of the Simla Hills. They can also eat from a Kanet's hands, but Paochi Brahmans will not eat from theirs. The Pujáras are numerous and fairly widespread from Suket to Keonthal and Bashahr, giving their name to one Pujarli village in the last-named State, and to another in Balsan.

THE MAHÁ-BRAHMAN OR ACHÁRAJ.

Mahá-Brahman is usually said to be synonymous with Achâraj, but, strictly speaking, the Mahá-Brahmans appear to be a sub-division of the Garagachâraj* or Achâraj. They are themselves divided into two groups, Garg and Sonana. On the other hand in Kángṛa the Acháraja is said to be one of the two groups of Mahá-Brahmans.

Of these the Díkhat has the following sections :—

1. Josi.
2. Kanḍáṛí.
3. Sonámi.
4. Sútrak.
5. Tamnáyat.

The Mahá-Brahmans are endogamous. They give alms in the name of the dead after death to Saniásís, or occasionally to a daughter's father-in-law. The Brahmans do not receive anything in return for performance of marriage ceremonies.

In Kángṛa they (and the Sáwanís) are said to have the Bárí and Bunjáhi groups, and this is also the case in Míánwálí. In Kángṛa the Acháraj *gots* are—

Asíl. Bádas. Parásar. Sándal.

A noteworthy offshoot of the Acháraj are the Paṛ-achárај†, or Mahá-acháraj as they are called in Amritsar,‡ who accept those gifts from the Acháraj which the Acháraj themselves take from other Hindús after death.

The function of the Mahá-Brahman or Acháraj is to accept the offerings made after a death in the name of the deceased. Originally the term *achárya* meant simply a guide or teacher in matters spiritual,§ and the process whereby it has come to denote a great sub-caste of 'sin-eating' Brahmans is obscure. As a body the Achâryas trace their origin to the 5 Gauṛs and the 5 Daráwars, asserting that those who accepted offerings made within 13 days|| of a death were excommunicated by the other Brahmans and formed a sub-caste. As the only occasion on which an Achárya visits a house is at or after a death his advent is naturally inauspicious, and his touch is pollution. After he has quitted the house water is scattered on the floor to avert 'the burning presence of death,' and, in Kángṛa and Multán, villagers throw charcoal, etc., after him. In the Simla hills the Mahá-acháraj occupies a special position. He is the *parohit* of the king, chief or wealthy people and represents the dead man and as his substitute is fed sumptuously for a whole year by the kin. In some places he even takes food from the hand of the corpse on the pyre, but this custom is dying out and it now suffices to bribe the Mahá-acháraj to eat to his utmost capacity, the idea being that the more he eats the better it will

* Garagjí was a saint who composed the work on astrology called the *Garag* Sangtá, which s said to be rare.

† In Kángṛa the Paṛ-acháraj are called Ojha and are Agam by *got*. In Kullú they are known as Bháṭ-achárya.

‡ In Amritsar and Míánwálí the Mahá-achárya make the death-gifts to their daughters or sons-in-law: in Kángṛa Saniásís take these gifts in certain cases. In Siálkot the Acháraj make them to Saniásís, or their own daughters, *i.e.*, the Mahá-acháraj appears to be unknown.

§ Especially one who invests the student with the sacrificial thread and instructs him in the Vedas, in the law of sacrifice, etc.; Platts, *Hindustáni Dicty.*

|| Or, in Kángṛa, for 11 days from Brahmans, 13 from Kshaṭrias, 16 from Vaisyas and 31 from Sudras, *i.e.*, during the period of impurity after a death.

be for the soul.* Ordinary people, however, only feed an Acháraj for 13 days after a death, but Brahmans also receive food for the dead occasionally after that period.

The Achárаj, however, also officiates as a Wateshar in death observances.

THE ḌAKAUT BRAHMANS.

The Ḍakaut or Ḍak-putra derives his name from Ḍaka,† a Brahman who founded the caste. Once on his way to the Ganges, Bhadlí, a Kumhární,‡ persuaded him to bathe instead in a pond, professing that she could get him bathed there in the Ganges. As soon as he touched the water he found himself by her enchantment in the river, so he made her his wife. Here we have an obvious allegory.

A Ḍakaut of Miánwálí gives another version of this legend :—

Ḍak was the son of Ved Viyás, the author of the Puránas, and was chosen in a *Swáyambar* as her husband by Bhandlí. Bhandlí was the daughter of the Rájá of Kashmír, who celebrated her *Swáyambar* with the condition that she should wed the man who answered her questions. Ḍak did so and married her. The *Granth Bhandlí* in Punjábi gives all Bhandlí's questions and Ḍak's answers in verses of which the following are examples :—

Háṛ andherí ashṭami ode chand badloṇ chháyá
Chári pakhí tarmalí ganjar basní áyá,
Poochho, paṛho Panḍato vácho Ved, Poṛán
Ek hí to pání khoo meṇ ek hí to parí nashán
Nohárí to chánḍní sunre kant same ká bháo
Na barsí na goh harí na Poorab, Pachham váo
Bald bleva kharch kar dharn na jhalí ghás.

A rough translation reads :

'What would happen if the moon be covered by a cloud on the eighth dark night of the moon in the month of Asáṛh? All the four signs forebode the fall of rain.

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* The Brahman who ate from a dead man's hand was a Kashmíri. In by-gone days when a *rájá* or wealthy man died his direct passage to Heaven was secured by the following rite. His corpse was laid out on the ground and between it and the pyre, which was built not far off, was made a hearth on which *khír* (rice in milk) was cooked. This was placed in a skull, which was put in the dead man's hand, and thence the Brahman was induced to eat the *khír* by a fee of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 30,000, or the grant of a village. He thus became a Khapparí (fr. *khopri* or *khapri*, a skull). and he and his children after him were out-castes. Supernatural powers were attributed to them, and as they also pursued usury, they rapidly grew rich. After two or three generations, however, the Khappari's family could be re-admitted into caste on payment of a fine, and so on. A plate or *lota* is said to have been substituted for the skull. In Mandi State a Brahman, who must be good-looking, is fed and dressed for a year like the deceased Rájá. At the expiration of the year he is turned out of the State, and goes to Hardwár. He must never look back on the journey, and is never allowed to return to the State, which pays him a pension.

† In Miánwálí the Dakauntri (*sic*) are said to be Súds by caste and descendants of Dak Bandlí, who composed a *granth* on astrology called the *Bandlí Granth.* In Rohtak the Daks are said to be descended from Sahdeo *rishi*, a dacoit (whence their name) who composed the Sahdeo Bhádlí (Bhádlí, his wife, was a sweeper woman). In this work natural phenomena are interpreted to forecast the future ; *e.g., Sukkar wálí bádlí rahí sanishchar, cháe kahe Sahdeo : ' sun Bádlí bin barse nahín jáe.'* i.e., " If clouds appear on Friday and stay till Saturday, they will not pass away without rain." In these verses Sahdeo usually addresses Bhádlí.

‡ In Gurgaon too Sahdeo is said to have met a sweeper woman who told him that the auspicious moment had passed and bade him dive in a tank. He did so, and brought up first a gold bracelet and then an iron one. Thinking her an expert he married her.

Ask the *pandits* to study the effects of this rainfall in the Vedas or Puránas.

The results are that there will be no water left anywhere save a little in wells and in other low places (meaning that this inauspicious rainfall will be followed by a scarcity of rain).

If it does not rain and the wind does not blow for 9 months what will be the result?

The land will have no verdure and it is better to leave it with bag and baggage.'

Púrab uṭhe badlí, pachham chale wá,
Ḍak kahe sun Bhandlí manji andar pá.

'If a cloud appear from the east and the wind blow from the west; Ḍak would ask Bhandlí to take her cot inside.'

Titar khanbhí badlí ran malái khá.
O wase, O ujre khálí koí na já.

'A cloud like partridge feathers, and a woman given to eating cream; the one will rain and the other bring ruin, without a doubt.'

Another story is that when Rám Chandar invaded Ceylon, both he and his enemy Rawana were under Saturn's sinister influence, and before he crossed the strait which he had bridged Rám Chandar desired to give alms. But neither the Brahmans nor the Mahá-Brahmans nor the Biás, would accept them, and in answer to his prayer Brahma created a doll of grass, sprinkled *sar jiwan* amrit* over it by cutting Párbati's little finger, and thus endowed it with life. Shivji and Durga bestowed on him veracity, the *janeo* and the *tilak,* and Brahma bade him receive the alms offered to Ráhú and Ketu, and to Saturn—whence he was also called Saníchari.

The Ḍakaut, however, bears yet other names. As he knows a little astrology and can divine the evil influence of the planets, he is sometimes styled Jotgí; in Rúpar he is called Pánda, and round Sirhind and Máler Kotla Dhaonsí†. One group is called Arpopo‡ because it is skilled in palmistry§.

From Siálkoṭ comes a still more curious legend: Váráh Mihr, a great astrologer from the Deccan, came in the course of his wanderings to a Gújar village. While discoursing to the people his period of *yoga* ended, and he confessed that had he been at home that day his wife would have conceived and borne a son of marvellous intelligence. His

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* Whence the name Dakaut *dahká-put.* In Gurgaon *ḍak* is said to mean 'wanderer.' In this District the Dak is said to be no true Brahman, but a singularly astute cheat whose victims are mainly women. These he instigates to burn 7 *tungas* (thatched roofs?) of a hut on 7 successive Saturdays, in order to secure male issue. Or he sets husband and wife by the ears by declaring that their *burj* or stars do not coincide, and that remedial measures must be taken. Seated among the women he looks at the hand of one and the forehead of another: consults his *patrá* or table, counts on his fingers, and then utters commonplace predictions. He knows hardly any astrology. On Saturday he goes round begging with an idol of Sanishchar, and he accepts a buffalo calf born in Mágh or a foal born in Sáwan, or any black animal.

† See *Punjábi Dicty.*, p. 305.

‡ *Cf.* Harar-popo among the Bhaṭrás, where it is said to equal *ṭhag.* In Karnál the Arar-popo is described as a beggar who may be a Gauṛ Brahman or a Chauhán (Rájput).

§ The Bhojkís are quite distinct from the Dakauts, but owing to similarity of function the Dakauts are sometimes called Bhojkí, *e.g.*, in Jaipur.

hostess asked him to form a temporary union with her daughter-in-law on the condition that her child should belong to him. So Ḍak was born. Years after Ḍak had to be surrendered to his father despite his attachment to his mother's kin, but on the road home he saw that the corn in one field was mixed with stalks of a different kind like those in one close by. His father, however, taught him that those stalks belonged not to the sower but to the owner of the field*; and Ḍak applying the analogy to his own case compelled his father to restore him to his mother's kinsfolk. He founded the Ḍakauts.

None of these variants quite agree with the account of the Ḍakauts given in the *Karnál Gazetteer*, 1890, which runs:—

The Dakauts came from Agroha in the Dakhan. Rájá Jasrat (Dasaratha), father of Rámchandra, had excited the anger of Saturday by worshipping all the other *grahas* but him. Saturday accordingly rained fire on Jasrat's city of Ajudhia. Jasrat wished to propitiate him, but the Brahmans feared to take the offering for dread of the consequences; so Jasrat made from the dirt of his body one Ḍaká Rishí who took the offerings, and was the ancestor of the Ḍakauts by a Sudra woman. The other Brahmans, however, disowned him; so Jasrat consoled him by promising that all Brahmans should in future consult his children. The promise has been fulfilled. The Ḍakauts are pre-eminent as astrologers and soothsayers, and are consulted by every class on all subjects but the dates of weddings and the names of children, on which the Gauṛs advise. They are the scapegoats of the Hindu religion; and their fate is to receive all the unlucky offerings which no other Brahman will take, such as black things and dirty clothes. Especially they take the offerings of Wednesday, Saturday, and Ket. They are so unlucky that no Brahman will accept their offerings, and if they wish to make them, they have to give them to their own sister's sons. No Hindu of any caste will eat any sort of food at their hands, and at weddings they sit with the lower castes; though of course they only eat food cooked by a Brahman. In old days they possessed the power of prophecy up to 10-30 A.M.; but this has now failed them. They and the Gujrátis are always at enmity, because, as they take many of the same offerings, their interests clash.

In Kángṛa a confused variant of this legend makes Ḍak the astrologer's son by a Jáṭ girl, and Bhándlí the daughter of a Rájá, whom Ḍak won in a *swáyambara*, answering all her questions by his art. Their son was Bojrú.

Another variant makes Garg give a miraculous fruit to the daughter of Gautama *rishí*. She eats it and vomits up a boy, who is in consequence called *ḍak* (vomiting).

In the Simla hills two legends regarding the origin of the Ḍakauts are current. According to the first the birth of Saturn,† decreased the Sun's light and power of illumination, so a Brahman propitiated the planet. Saturn was so pleased that he bade the Brahman ask a boon and agreed to become his pupil. He also proclaimed his intention of persecuting mankind unless placated by constant worship and devotion

* The theory of paternity in Hindu Law is based upon a closely similar idea.

† Hindu mythology avers that the Sun lost a sixteenth of his power on the birth of Saturn, his son.

His evil influence was to last for 7½ years, but he assured the Brahman that he should be kept in comfort provided he and his descendants worshipped the god. The Ḍakauts are his descendants.

The other story is that the Brahman fell under Saturn's evil influence. He was instructing a king's daughter, and in the room was a wooden peacock which swallowed its pearl necklace. The Brahman was suspected of its theft and kept in custody for 2½ days when, Saturn's influence ceasing, the necklace was disgorged by the bird and his innocence proved. When he reproached the god Saturn coolly told him that he was lucky in getting off with 2½ days instead of the full term of 7½ years of ill-luck.

In the Kángṛa hills the Ḍakaut is usually called Bojrú*. Bojrú means thought-reader and in olden times the Bojrús practised black magic, not astrology. Now-a-days they practise palmistry.

In Kángṛa the Bojrú or Ḍakaut groups are said to be 36 in number; of these the following are found in that District :—

In Pálampur tahsíl—

1. Subáchh.	3. Báchh.	5. Pánus ? Tánus.
2. Parásar.	4. Gol.	6. Nágás.

In Kángṛa tahsíl—

Shakartárí	... Machh *got.*	Mallian	... ...
Bawalia	... Nágás *got.*	Bhuchal	... Nágás *got.*

In Hamírpur tahsil—

Shakartárí.	Gauṛ.
Lalian.	Gora.

The Ḍakauts in Míánwálí are said to be Vasisht by *gotra.*

In the Punjab the Bojrús are called Teli-rájás, because they rub their bodies with oil, wear clothes soaked in oil and make a *tíká* of vermilion on their foreheads. They mostly beg from women, and carry about with them an image of Jawálámukhí who lives, they say, in Kángṛa, and declares her acceptance of an offering by burning one half of it with her fiery tongue. Women are induced to give rings and clothes to the idol in return for *dhúp* and *sandhúr* sanctified by the goddess' touch. Small-pox is cured by applying the *sandhúr* to the patient or burning the *dhúp* before him. The Telí-rájás also tell fortunes by the *samudrik.*

The Ḍakauts have 36 *gots* or *sásans* like the Gauṛs including the following :—

Agarwál.	Gosí, Ghosí.	Paria, Peria.
Chhalondia.	Jol.	Rai.
Dhakari.	Káyastha.	Rawal { Shankartáh.
Gadhigoria.	Kant.	Rawal { Kesríwál.
Gangora.	alia n.	
Ginia.	Mahar.	Vaid.
Goṛ, Gauṛ, from Gauṛ in Bengal.	Malpian.	Satwál.
	Pagoshia.	

In Jínd five *gots* are found, *viz.*, Raike, (which stands highest of all), Pagoshia, Lalan, Paṛyá and Gorya. All these intermarry.

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* And the name *ḍakaut* is said to be derived from *ḍak*, a small drum, which the Bojrús beat on Saturdays when begging; but it is also said that Ḍak was the son of Garg *rishí* by a Kumhární. They also beat a small drum over one's head to drive away evil.

Of the 36 *sásans* 30 are found in Nábhá (where they are called Jotgís) and the other 6 form the sub-caste called the Purbia or Eastern Ḍakauts who are of inferior status.* These two sub-castes eat and drink together, but do not intermarry. Betrothals are negotiated by Mirásís, not by Náís. In marriage 4 *gots* are avoided,† and *karewa* is allowed. None of the 5 pure Brahman groups certainly, or any other Brahman, it is said, will eat with the Ḍakaut or smoke with them: nor will Báníás do so.

These Ḍakauts take offerings (*dán*) and alms (*pún*). They accept *chháyá dáns*, as well as those made to Saníchar (Saturn), Ketú and Ráhú. They also beg on Saturdays, receiving oil and coppers from Hindús. When begging they carry an iron image of Saturn. These *dáns* are supposed to be *karúr*‡ (hard, inauspicious) and to bring evil influences on the recipients, whence the proverb:

Kál Bágar se upje, burá Brahman se hoe.
'Famine comes from the Bágar, and evil is done by the Brahman.'

In Rohtak they live by palmistry and by begging, especially on a Saturday on which day they beg for oil,§ soap, coppers, a goat, he-buffalo, camel, horse, black grain, or other mean gifts. Some of them make a *pherí* or 'turn,' by going through a fixed number of lanes and repeating a fixed number of sentences at each door at a certain hour—usually early in the day. Besides gifts of oil made before bathing on a Saturday, Ḍakauts take gifts of iron, oil, salt, sweets, clothes, etc., weighed against persons who are under the influence of Saturn.

The Ḍakauts observe all the Brahmanical ceremonies, and have Brahmans of their own. On the birth of a son they perform the ordinary Brahmanical rites, the *nám-karan, chaul karan, anna-prásna, chúra-karan*, and *upnayan karan*. Their betrothal, wedding and general rites are also like those of other Brahmans.

The Ḍakauts study astrology in the *Bhadri Chhand* and other Hindi *chhands*, sometimes also from Sanskrit works.

The Sáwani or Sanwni Brahmans.

Another term equivalent to Ḍakaut or Vedwá is Sáwaní, a Brahman who in Gurgaon interprets natural phenomena or the voices of birds and animals to forecast the future. The Sáwanís appear to come from

* Because it is said they eat flesh and drink liquor, which the Jotgís eschew. But the real reason would appear to be that they will accept certain offerings which a pure Brahman would not take, such as those made to avert the influence of Ráhú and Ketú.
The Dakauts have also the Brahmanical *gotras*, Bhardwáj, Bashist, etc., (Nábhá).

† Only one *sásan* is avoided according to the Nábhá account.

‡ Dakauts, however, do not accept offerings made on the dead. These go to the Acháraj or Mahá-Brahman.

§ In Ferozepore they beg for oil of rapeseed in small quantities almost as of right, singing:—

Tel támbe ká mel, *Chhanichhar manáwe,* *Sadá sukh páwe.*	"Oil and copper go together, he who therewith worships Saturn will be for ever happy."

Well-to-do Hindús pour a little oil into a vessel, enough to reflect their face in, and give it to the Dakaut. This ensures them long life.

Lucknow, but the name is known as far west as Dera Ismáil Khán and Bahâwalpur.*

THE VED-PÁTR BRAHMANS.

It is not easy to say definitely what the Ved-pátr is. The word itself would certainly appear to mean "vessel of the Vedas," and those of the Ved-pátr who study the Vedas and expound them to disciples are styled Ved-páṭhis.† Others, it is said, merely perform the *sapindi* and *piṇḍ-chhedan karm* on the 12th day after a death, but these rites are usually performed by an Acháraj.

In Gurgaon the Ved-pátrs accept alms at eclipses and are also known as Gujrátís, and this is the case in Siálkoṭ too, but in Amritsar the Ved-pátr ranks below the Gujrátís and traces his descent from Ved Datt, the son of the Gujrátí Sahdeo by a Sudra woman. The Ved-pátr is also called Vedwá, and the Ḍakauts are an inferior branch of the Vedwás, being descendants of Ḍak who married Patlí a Mlechh woman. The Vedwás take *chháyá-pátr*‡ and other forbidden gifts, such as cocks and goats; but the Ḍakaut is on an even lower plane for he accepts buffaloes, male or female, horses, etc., while standing in water.

In Bannú the Gujrátí is said to be also known as Ved-pátr, which again is equivalent to Ḍak, or in Kashmír and the hills to Bojrú; in Peshâwar and Kohâṭ to *Panḍit* or Madho; in Dera Ismáil Khán to Sáwaní; and in Lahore, etc., to Ḍakaut. Ḍak, a Brahman, is said to have married Bhadlí, a courtezan, and from them are descended the Ḍaks, whose *gotra* is Kaplash, their *gots* being—

In Bannu ...	Bakhar. Dagwa. Tahir. Patiwál. Rathor.	In Dera Ismáil Khán ...	Bakar. Vedpál. Brahmi, etc.

The Ḍakauts accept unlucky offerings, such as *satana* (7 kinds of grain mixed), oil, iron, goats, buffaloes and *chháyá-pátr* on Saturdays and eclipses. They also practise palmistry according to the *Samudrak Shástras*, and swindle women, whom they frighten by means of charms

* In Miánwálí the Sáwanís are said to live by astrology and magic, divining evil influences by means of two iron pegs in a cup, in some obscure way, after the manner of the Jogís and Muhammadan Dorás. In Bahâwalpur they are described as wandering out-castes, descended from a Brahman by a sweeper woman. Khatrís, Aroṛás and other Brahmans will not associate with them and they accept black gifts at eclipses, etc.

† See Platts, p. 1208. Platts does not give Ved-pátr, but both in Gurgaon and Rohtak *pátr* is declared to mean "vessel."

‡ The Vedwá takes alms on Saturdays, Sundays and Tuesdays, also when the sun passes into Ráhú and Ketú, as well as to avert their influence at any other time.

Offerings to Brahmans are divided into *bar* or *graha*, for the days of the week, and the two *grahin* for Ráhú and Ket, the two demons who cause eclipses by attacking the sun and moon. These two are parts of a demon (*rákshasa*), who, when sitting at dinner with the gods and demons drank of the nectar of the gods instead of the wine of the demons. The sun and moon told of him, and Bhagwán cut him into two parts, of which Ráhú, including the stomach and therefore the nectar, is the more worthy. When any body wishes to offer to Brahmans from illness or other cause, he consults a Brahman who casts his horoscope and directs which offering of the seven *grahas* should be made. The *grahins* are more commonly offered during an eclipse, that to Ráhú being given at the beginning and that to Ket at the end of the transit. The Gauṛ Brahmans will not take any black offerings, such as a buffalo or goat, iron, sesame (*til*) or *urd*, black blankets or clothes, salt, etc., nor oil, second hand clothes, green clothes; nor *satnája*, which is seven grains mixed, with a piece of iron in them; these belonging to the *grahs* whose offerings are forbidden to them. An exception, however, is made in favour of a black cow.

written on paper in invisible ink. These practices are, however, said to be confined to Ḍakauts from Kángṛa.

THE DASAURIA BRAHMANS.

The Saurias or Dasaurias* practise exorcism in the following way :—Four or more are called in and they apply fumes to the patient's nostrils, while he sits on his feet, reciting meanwhile charms like this: *Le bulare mere bhalna, ae apni laher sambhál,* "Jump up, my sturdy one, come in your ecstasy." What with the heat and the strong scent the patient perspires freely, and this operation is repeated twice a day until his senses return. The exorcisers get Rs. 5 or 10 as their fee. The patient is fed on almonds and *chúri.*† The solemnity of the rite is sometimes enhanced by performing it on a burning ground.‡

A few Saurias are found in Rohtak where they work wonders with charms. They can thrust a sword through a man without hurting him, and bring sickness on an enemy. In Gurgaon§ by collecting a dead man's bones they magically obtain full control over his ghost, and to defeat them one of the bones should always be hidden. In Siálkoṭ they are exorcisers, but also haunt burning-grounds.

THE GUJRÁTÍ OR BIÁS BRAHMANS.

The Gujrátí is a territorial group, which immigrated from Guzerát. Gujráti Brahmans also bear the following professional titles :—

1. Biás, meaning *updeshak* or preacher.
2. Joshi, for *Jotashi*, astrologer.
3. Pándáji,=*Paṇḍita.*
4. Mahta or chief.
5. Ráwal or itinerant *sádhú*.‖
6. Tarwári, or one who has performed a *karma kánd* of ten *sanskárs*, directed others to perform them and himself acted as a priest at those rites.
7. Jánji, or family priest, who used to act as a go-between at betrothals, as the Náis now do.

The Gujrátí Brahmans also have 4 main groups which rank in the following order :—

Sub-caste I. { 1. Vadanágar.¶ 2. Nágar or Visalnagars.**
3. Andich or Paháṛí.
4. Báraṛia or Srimáli.

Of these groups the Vadanágar are the *púj* (family priests) of the Nágars, whose daughters they take in marriage and with whom they eat both *kachchí* and *pakki*. The Nágars, however, cannot take Vadanágar girls in marriage. Both these first two groups avoid any intercourse with the two last. The Báraṛias are the Biás of the *nichi-sharan* or lower grade; because Báraṛ married a girl of his own family.

The relations of the Gujrátí to other Brahmans are curiously contradictory at first sight, but perfectly logical in reality. Owing to their strictness in religious observances, and their purity in food and

* The practices here ascribed to the Saurias are also said to be characteristic of a Sársut sub-caste, called Channan.

† Wheaten bread kneaded with *ghi*.

‡ But in Miánwálí a group of the Sársuts called Channan performs this.

§ The form in Gurgaon is Sevṛa and in Amritsar apparently Sarorei.

‖ These occupations are not now followed, necessarily, by those who bear these titles.

¶ The Vadanágar are said to take their name from Vadanagri, a town east of Pattan.

** From Visal town, but see the text.

dress they rank as the highest* of all the Brahman groups, and confer the *ashírbád* or benediction on the Gauṛ and the Sársut. In spite of this they are all looked down upon for taking the *chhayá*† (shadow), *grahan*‡ (eclipse) and *tula dán*§ (offerings): that is to say, they are despised for taking upon themselves the sins of the community.

In marriage two *gotras* are usually avoided, but sometimes only one is excluded. Exchange marriages are very common. At a wedding the bridegroom wears a *sihrá* or chaplet only, and not a crown (*maur*). The pair are dressed like Shiva and Párbatí in silk.||

At weddings the Nágars worship Shiva the destroyer, and at funerals Vishnu the nourisher, a curiously perverse reversal of the ordinary rule. Shiva is their *isht-dewa*. They observe the ten *karms* of Shiva, and are guided by the *Parvami-mánsá* or *Jaimni-sutra*.

The Gujrátí *gotras* are:—

Gargas.	Itri.	Páráśar.
Gautam.	Káshiva.	Sángras.

The Gujrátí are said to have no *gots*.

The Husaini Brahmans.

The Husaini Brahmans are Hindus, wear the *janeo* and mark the *tilak* on their foreheads, but they beg from Muhammadans and not from Hindús, and narrate the story of Hazrat Imám Husain, whence they are called Husaini. They say they were originally Bháṭ Brahmans, and have some of their *gots*:—Gappe, Bhákar, Lande, Gáre, Dargopal, Ratí, Chat Chút, Rabat, Bháradwáji, Dángmár, and many more. They marry in their own caste, avoiding 4 *gots* in marriage. They cannot

* They do not eat *kachchi* or *pakki* cooked by Gauṛ or Sársut Brahmans: nor any Hindu caste; but they may take sweet stuff cooked in milk by people of such pure Hindu castes as the Gauṛ and Sársut Brahmans, and the Bánias. The Gujráti or Biás Brahmans, who came from Guzeṛát are in some respects the highest class of all Brahmans; they are always fed first; and they bless a Gauṛ when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary bread from his hands. They are fed on the 12th day after death, and the Gauṛs will not eat on the 13th day, if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious offerings. To them appertain especially the Ráhu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil sesame, goats, or green or dirty clothes; but will take old clothes if washed, buffaloes, and *satnája*. They also take a special offering to Ráhú made by a sick person, who puts gold in *ghi*, looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gujráti, or who weighs himself against *satnája* and makes an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on to the top of a house (often no difficult feat in a village), or a foal dropped in the month of Sáwan or buffalo calf in Mágh are given to the Gujráti as being unlucky. No Gauṛ would take them. Every harvest the Gujráti takes a small allowance (*seorhi*) of grain from the threshing floor, just as does the Gauṛ.

† The *chháyá-dán* is so called because in sickness the giver looks at his reflection in some *ghí* poured into a bronze cup (*katorí*). If he is unable to see his face in the *ghi* he will die. The *dán* itself comprises the cup, with the *panj-ratan*.

Other *dáns* are; the Ráhú and Ketú *dáns*, which consist of black cloth, flowers, etc., like the Saníchar *dán* they are offered to Ráhu, Ketú and Saníchar in sickness, or at weddings. The *máhá-dán* or "great gift," consisting of land or elephants, and made at death. The *rog-bharni-bidhi dán* of black cloth is made to avert disease (*rog*).

‡ The *grahn-dán* comprises gold, silver placed in a cocoanut, and ornaments. It must be given by the offerer standing in the water of the tank at Thánesar. Grain, clothes or cows may be given at home.

§ The *tulá-dán* is an offering equal to one's weight in grain or coin. It is made by wealthy people on their birthday.

|| Other Hindús are, it is said, dressed like Krishna and Rádha. The *sihra* is a bridal chaplet, the *maur* or *mukat* is a paper crown, worn by the bridegroom. Krishna as a wearer of the latter is called Muktdhárí. Shiva or Mahádeva had no *maur*, even at his wedding, whereas Krishna always wears the *mukat*. This is interesting, but it leaves the use of the crown at weddings unexplained.

marry with Bhát Brahmans, but take water from their hands and *vice versá*. They are ignorant of their own religion and do not worship in *mandars*, but their *janeos* are made by Brahmans; and auspicious times for weddings, etc., are fixed by them. They have the same customs as other Hindús, and believe in their pantheon. Their own tradition is that Yazid's troops on their return, after cutting off Imám Husain's head, stopped in Ráhab, their ancestor's home at Báthowál in the Siálkot District, and placed the head in his house. In the morning, finding the head to be that of the Prophet, he kept it, and gave the soldiers his own son's head instead, but they discovered that it was not the same as the one they had brought. So Ráhab cut off all his seven sons' heads in succession and gave them to the soldiers. Since then Husainis beg from Muhammadans.

THE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMANS.

The Brahman, even the Husaini, is almost always a Hindu, but a few have become Sikhs. Conversion, however, does not appear to have created any new divisions in the caste, though it has had a disruptive influence in the following case:—The Pátak section of the Sársut Brahmans has two sub-divisions, Machhí-khání and Khír-khání. The former are *parohits* of the third Gurú of the Sikhs (Gurú Amar Dás), who was a Baishnav (abstainer from meat and drink). The second Gurú (Angad) used to eat meat and fish. In order to follow the second Gurú's habit and yet maintain his Baishnav-ship, the third Gurú gave a fish at the *bhaddan* (head-shaving) ceremony of his son to his *parohit*, and so his descendants are called Machhí-khánás (fish-eaters) to this day. And the descendants of the third Gurú at a son's *bhaddan* at their temple at Gondwál in Amritsar give a fish, made of gram-flour and boiled in oil, to their *parohit* (a descendant of the original Machhí-khání) instead of a live one. The ceremony, however, no longer called *bhaddan*—since shaving the head is prohibited among the Sikhs—and in its stead, the custom is to make the boy wear his hair long like a Sikh's, whereas before that the boys' hair was cut and plaited like a girl's.

Brahm-charí,* a religious student; a Brahman from the time of his investiture with the Brahmanical thread until he becomes a house-holder; one who studies the *Vedas* under a spiritual teacher; an ascetic, a class of Hindu Sádhus.

Brok-pa, 'highlander,' a term applied to the Shín element in Báltistán: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Ch. IV.

Búbak, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán and in Baháwalpur.

Buch, a Ját or Rájput clan found in Multán tahsíl, where they were settled by Sháhzáda Murád Bakhsh, governor of Multán, under Sháh Jahán.

Budh, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Budheke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Budhwál, a clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

Budlí, Budní, the people, now extinct or absorbed, which held the country from Nangrahár to the Indus prior to the Afghán immigrations. They were divided into several tribes and are described by the Akhúnd Darweza as Káfirs, but he does not refer to them as Buddhists.

* *Barmh* or *Barahm*, is corrupted from the Sanskrit word *Brahma*.

BUGHTI, BUGTI, also called Zarkanni, an organized BALOCH *tuman* which occupies the angle between the frontiers of the Punjab and Upper Sindh. Its clans are the Raheja, Nothâni,* Masori, Kalphúr, Phong or Mondráni and Shambáni or Kíazai. The last, which is an almost independent section, separates the main tribe from our border; while the Marri lie still further west. The Bugti are made up of various elements, chiefly Rind, but claim descent from Gyándár, son of Mír Chákur, whose son Raheja gave his name to one of its septs, though the name has an Indian sound. The *Nothâni* clan has supernatural powers (see p. 46, *supra*) and the Shambáni form a sub-*tuman*, which is sometimes considered distinct from the Bugti. This *tuman* has its head-quarters at Syáháf, formerly Marrao or Dera Bíbrak (fr. *bivaragh*, a chief), also called Bugtí Dera.

BÚHAṚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar: also in the Baháwalpur, Bíkáner and Jaisalmer States, and in Sindh, as well as scattered over Multán and Muzaffargarh. They are labourers, tenants and camel-breeders in the South-West Punjab and intermarry with the Dahás, Palyárs and Parhárs, all branches of the Punwár stock.

BUK, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BUKHÁRÍ, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar: see Sayyid.

BUKNERA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

BULEdhi (Buledi, Bulethi, Burdi), an organized BALOCH *tuman* in Dera Ghází Khán, also found near the Indus in Upper Sindh, in the tract called Burdika, and in the Kachhi territory of Kalát.

BÚNÁ, BÚNIYA: see Chamár.

BURÁ, a small Jáṭ clan, found in Jind. The *samádh* of its *jathera* is at Kallu Kotli in Paṭiála, and it is worshipped at weddings.

BUṚÁNÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

BURAṚAS.—The Buraṛas, originally named Hojali, are claimed by some as a Samma sept, but others say they are a separate tribe. Their tradition is that they are descended from a Rája of Girnár near Junágaḍh, who migrated to Sindh and was converted to Islám. The saint who converted him gave him a *bur* (Ar. for "cloak,") whence their name. They have three septs:—

(*i*) Bhojri or Bhojri-patras, found in Baháwalpur and Bíkáner, and the highest in status, (*ii*) Sathia, and (*iii*) Jokhia.

BÚRISH: see Yashkun.

BURRA, a Jáṭ tribe, found in Dera Gházi Khán and Baháwalpur. The title of Jám is prefixed to their names and it is probably of Sindhi origin.

BUTÁ, a Jáṭ tribe, apparently confined to Hoshiárpur. Possibly the same as the Bhutta of the Western Plains or the Buṭṭar of the Sikh tract.

BUTARÁ, fr. *but*, a stone. A caste of stone-cutters, found in the Kángra hills, who used to be employed on the forts and temples of that tract. Barnes described them as idle and dissipated.

BUṬṬAR, a small Jáṭ tribe found chiefly on the Upper Sutlej said to be descended from a Súrajbansi Rájput who came from the Lakki jungle and settled first in Gujránwála. Also found as a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural) in Montgomery.

BUZURG, a title meaning 'saint,' acquired for instance by the Akhúnd of Swát in addition to that of Akhúnd.

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* With two clans Zemakani or Durragh and Pherozání.

Bugti Baloch, also called Zarkanni, an organised Baloch tumen which occupies the angle between the frontiers of the Panjab and Upper Sindh. Its clans are the Raheja, Nothani, Masori, Kalphar, Phong or Mondrani and Shambani or Kalpar. The last, which is almost independent section, separates the Bugti from the border; while the Masori lie still further west. The Bugti are made up of various elements, chiefly Rind, but many descent from Gorshani and of Mir Chakar, whose son Bibrak gave his name to one of its septs, though the name Bugti is found. The Nothani clan has supernatural powers (see p. 46, Vol. I) and the Shambani form a sub-tumen which is sometimes considered distinct from the Bugti. The tumen has its head-quarters at Syahaf, formerly known as Dera Bibrak (fr. Bibrak, a chief), also called Bugti Dera.

[illegible]khan, a Jat clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar: also in the Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and in Sindh, as well as spread over Jhelum and Muzaffargarh. They are sub-septs, traders and camel breeders in the south-west Panjab and in company with the Hans, Jatoi and Pathans, all branches of the Punwar stock.

[illegible], a Muslim clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

[illegible], a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar: see Sayyid.

[illegible], a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

[illegible] Bhatti, an organised Baloch tumen in Dera Ghazi Khan, also found near the Indus in Upper Sindh, in the tract called Bugtika, and in the Kachhi territory of Kalat.

[illegible], Bandhra, see Bhandari.

[illegible], a small Jat clan found in Jind. The sanctity of its jathera is so great that it is worshipped at weddings.

[illegible], a Jat clan (agricultural) found in Shahpur.

[illegible]—The Bhuttas, originally named Bhatti, are claimed by some as a Baloch sept, but others say they are a separate tribe. Their tradition is that they are descended from a Rajput Gorshani who migrated to Sindh and was converted to Islam. The saint who converted him gave him a new (Ar. for "cloak"), whence their name. They have seven septs—

(i) Bhutta or Bhutta-pathas, found in Bahawalpur and Bikaner, and the highest in status, (ii) Sathia, and (iii) Jokhia.

[illegible]: see Yaqubin.

[illegible], a Jat tribe, found in Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur. The title of Jam is prefixed to their names and their pedigree of Sindh origin, are in Marri, apparently confined to Hoshiarpur. Possibly the same as the Buta of the Western Plains or the Burras of the Sikh tract.

[illegible], fr. but, a stone. A caste of stone-cutters, found in the Kangra Hills, who used to be employed on the forts and temples of that tract. Barnes described them as idle and dissolute.

[illegible], a small Jat tribe found chiefly on the Upper Satlej, said to be descended from a Sanghaoi Rajput who came from the Lakhi jungle and settled first in Gujranwala. Also found as a Hindu Jat clan (agricultural) in Montgomery.

C

NOTE.—Owing to the confusion between Ch and Chh—which is not confined to writings in English—and that between J and Ch, which is frequent in Urdu writing, the articles under this letter are not all warranted to be correctly placed.

CHABELDÁS(Í), -PANTHI; a petty sect, founded by an Aroṛa disciple of Shámjí, named Chabeldás, whose shrine is at Makhowál Kalán in the Sanghar tahsil of Dera Ghází Khán. Its tenets differ little from those of Shámjí's followers. *See* Shámdásí.

CHÁCHAṚ, an agricultural clan, found in Sháhpur and Multán, classed as Jáṭ in the latter District. In Baháwalpur the Cháchaṛs claim Mughal origin and they produce tables tracing their descent from Timúr whom they connect with Abbás, cousin of Husain, son of Ali. But tradition says that the Suraṛ, Subhágo, Sílṛo and Cháchaṛ tribes were once slaves of Rája Bungá Rái, *rája* of Amrkoṭ, and that Jám Jhakhaṛ redeemed them, and there is a saying :

Suraṛ, Subhágo, Sílṛo, chauthi Cháchaṛiá,
Anda há Jám Jhakhaṛe há báhnán Bunga Ra.

" Suraṛ, Subhágo (or Subhágá), Sílṛo (or Sílṛá), (these three) and a fourth tribe, the Cháchaṛ were the slaves of Bungá Rái ; it was Jám Jhakhaṛ who brought them," (effecting their emancipation from Bungá Rái).

The Cháchaṛs have several septs :—Raj-de, the highest in status ; Rahmáni, whose ancestors were *khalífas* of Ghaus Bahá-ud-Dín Zakariya : hence they are also called Shaikh-Rahmáni, and some sanctity still attaches to the sept ; Nárang, Jugána, Jhunjha, Chhutta, Gureja, Rukaṇa, Kalra, Mudda, Dúwáni, Dohija, Gabráni, Múría, Kharyani and Zakriáni or followers of Ghaus Bahá-ud-Dín Zakariya.

The whole tribe, however, are followers of that saint and never become disciples of any but his descendants. Cháchaṛ is also an Aráíṇ clan in the Punjab. *Cf.* Chachhar.

CHACHHAR, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHADÁNA, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHAḌḌHÁ, (?) a sept of Khatrís and of Jáṭs.

CHADDRAR, the correct form of Chhádhar (*q. v.*).

CHADDÚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

CHADHAR, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur, Multán and Montgomery (Muhammadan). It is classed as Jáṭ in the two latter districts. Doubtless the same as the Chhádhar (*q. v.*).

CHAḌWÍ, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHÁHAK, a doubtful synonym of Cháhng.

CHAHANG, *see* Cháhng.

CHÁHAṚ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Cháhal, or more correctly **Cháhil.**—One of the largest Jáṭ tribes in the Punjáb. They are found in greatest numbers in Paṭiála, but are very numerous in Ambála and Ludhiána, Amritsar, and Gurdáspur, and extend all along under the hills as far west as Gujránwála and Siálkoṭ. It is said that Rájá Agarsen Súrajbansi had four sons, Cháhil, Chhína, Chíma, and Sáhi, and that the four Jáṭ tribes who bear these names are sprung from them: (yet they intermarry). Their original home was Málwa, whence they migrated to the Punjáb. According to another story their ancestor was a Túnwar Rájput called Rájá Rikh, who came from the Deccan and settled at Kahlur. His son Bírsi married a Jáṭ woman, settled at Matti in the Málwa about the time of Akbar, and founded the tribe.

In Amritsar the Cháhil say that Cháhal was a son of Rájá Khang, who once saw some fairies bathing in a tank. He seized their clothes and only restored them on condition that one of them became his bride. One Ichhrán was given him, on condition that he never abused her, and she bore him a son, but one day he spoke harshly to her and she disappeared.* But to this day no Cháhil ever abuses his daughter! Settled first at Koṭ Gadána near Delhi, the Cháhil migrated to Pakhi Cháhilán near Ambála and there founded Bala Joga or Jogarla in the Málwa.

The Cháhil affect Jogi Pír, originally Joga, son of Rajpál, who is said to have been killed, after fighting with the Mughals even when he had been decapitated. Jogi Pír is their *chhara* (*? jaṭhera*), and a fair is held in his honour on the 4th *naurátra* in Asauj. In Jínd the Cháhil claim descent from Bala, a Chauhán Rájput who took a Jáṭ wife, and so lost caste, but he acquired influence by accepting offerings made to Gúga, and Cháhils, whatsoever their caste, still take these offerings.† In Jínd the Cháhil worship Khera Bhúmia.

They are probably, says Mr. Fagan, Bágris, originally settled in Bíkáner.

Chahal, a Hindu and Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Cháhng, Cháng, a minor agricultural caste, found in the western portion of the lower ranges of Kángṛa and Hoshiárpur. In the Dasúya tahsíl of the latter district they own some villages, but are generally tenants. The term appears to be a purely local synonym of Báhti or Ghirth. The Cháng is quiet and inoffensive, diligent and a good cultivator, like the Saini of the plains.

Cháik, a sept of Brahmans, hereditary priests of Keonthal.

Chaina, a small tribe, classed as Jáṭ, in Dera Ghází Khán.

Chák, (1) a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar, (2) a sept of Jáṭs to which Ránjha is sometimes said to have belonged.‡

Cháki, Chakání, the Multáni equivalent for Teli or oilman.

* Through an opening in the roof—and so the Cháhil do not make openings in their roofs to this day. They also avoid wearing red clothes; and, till recently, at any rate, did not use baked bricks in their houses—a relic of the time when they were nomads, probably.

† In Jínd tahsil it is indeed said that the *pujáris* of Gúga are generally called *cháhil*: in Sangrúr they are known as *bhagats*. In Paṭiála Cháhil is said to have been born of a hill fairy: and Baland Jogi Pír is worshipped as their *jaṭhera*.

‡ Panjábi Dicty., p. 179.

Chakarke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Chakora, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chakrálawí, *fr.* Chakrála a village in Miánwálí: a new sect, which rejects more than half the Qurán, founded by one Ghulám Nabi of Chakrála, whose followers call themselves *Ahl-i-Qurán, i.e.*, believers in the Qurán only. It rejects all the other traditions of the Prophet. Its founder has now changed his name to Abdulláh as he objected to being called *ghulám* (servant) of the Prophet. He believes that the Qurán is the only book which lays down what is required of a true Muslim and that the other subsidiary books and sayings of Muhammad are of no account. He has accordingly devised a new form of prayer which is distinct from that prescribed by the Prophet.

His followers are numerous in the Sháhbáz Khel and Yáru Khel villages of the Miánwáli tahsil, as well as in Dera Ismaíl Khán and Lahore. A monthly journal called the *Isháat-ul-Qurán* used to be published by Shaikh Chittu, a leading adherent of the sect in Lahore. As the sect did not thrive at Lahore its founder has now settled in Dera Ismaíl Khán.

Chámal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chamain, a tribe of Gujars, claiming descent from a Tunwar Rájput by a Gujar mother. They came from Delhi and are very old inhabitants of the Karnál District, having possibly been expelled from Delhi by Sher Sháh. Chamain is probably only a local appellation.

Chamár, Chamiár, fem. Chamárí, -iárí.

The Chamár is the tanner and leather-worker of North-Western India,* and in the western parts of the Punjáb he is called Mochi whenever he is, as he generally is, a Musalmán, the caste being one and the same. The name Chamár is derived from the Sanskrit *charmakára* or "worker in hides." But in the east of the Punjáb he is far more than a leather-worker. He is the general coolie and field labourer of the villages; and a Chamár, if asked his caste by an Englishman at any rate, will answer "Coolie" as often as "Chamár."† They do all the *begár*, or such work as cutting grass, carrying wood and bundles, acting as watchmen, and the like; and they plaster the houses with mud when they need it. They take the hides of all dead cattle and the flesh of all cloven-footed animals, that of such as do not divide the hoof going to Chúhṛás. They make and mend shoes, thongs for the cart, and whips and other leather work; and above all they do an immense deal of hard work in the fields, each family supplying each cultivating association with the continuous labour of a certain number of hands. All this they do as village menials, receiving fixed customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce of the fields. In the east and south-east of the Punjáb the village Chamárs also do a great deal of weaving, which however is paid for separately. The Chamárs stand far above the Chúhṛás in social

* Sherring has a long disquisition on the Chamár caste, which appears to be much more extensive and to include much more varied tribes in Hindustán than in the Punjáb.

† Why is a Chamár always addressed with "Oh Chamár ke" instead of "Oh Chamár," as any other caste would be?

position, and some of their tribes are almost accepted as Hindus.* They are generally dark in colour, and are almost certainly of aboriginal origin, though here again their numbers have perhaps been swollen by members of other and higher castes who have fallen or been degraded. The people say:

Kariá Brahman, got Chamár
In ke sáth na utrie pár.

"Do not cross the ferry with a black Bráhman or a fair Chamár," one being as unusual as the other. Their women are celebrated for beauty, and loss of caste is often attributed to too great partiality for a Chamári.

The traditional origin of the Chamárs is that Chanu (or Chanwe) and Banu were two brothers: the former removed a cow's carcase with his own hands and so Banu† out-casted him.‡ In Kapúrthala, however, another version is current, and according to this Gát told his brother Met to remove a carcase and then declined to associate with him for doing so, and the Mirási who witnessed the incident, took Gát's part. From Mat are descended the Chamárs.

Synonyms.—It is difficult to say what are the real synonyms of Chamár. The term Chúhṛá-Chamár is often used to denote the group formed by the two castes, just as Mochi-Juláhá is used, but it does not imply that the two castes are identical. Just as the Muhammadan Chamár is styled Mochi so the Sikh Chamár is called Rámdásia (*qq. v.*). In Sirsa a Chamár is called Meghwál as a compliment, but opprobiously he is styled Dheḍ§ or Dheṛh, a term applied to any 'low fellow'. The 'Meghwál' claim descent from Megh-rikh who was created by Narain.

Groups.—The Chamárs are divided into several sub-castes. In the Eastern Punjáb there appear to be at least five true sub-castes which do not intermarry. These are in order of precedence :—

i. Chándor, said in Delhi to trace its origin from Benares, possibly from some association with Kabír. It is the principal sub-caste in Hissár, including Sirsa, and its members do not tan, leaving that to the Chamrangs and Khatíks, and working only in prepared leather. See also under Meghwál.

ii. Raidási or Rabdási, named after Rai Dás Bhagat, himself a Chamár, a contemporary of Kabír, and like him a disciple of Rámánand. It is the prevalent sub-caste in Karnál and its neighbourhood.

iii. Jaṭia, found in greatest numbers about the neighbourhood of Delhi and Gurgáon. They work in horse and camel hides, which are an abomination to the Chándar, probably as having the foot uncloven; and are perhaps named from the word *jaṭ*

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* The Chamárs will eat food prepared by any tribe except the Khákrob (Chúhṛa), Kanjar, Sánsi and Naṭ. Smoking is only allowed among themselves and they will not eat or drink from a Dhobi, a Dúm or a Nilgar (indigo dyer). [Karnál].

† Banu or Banwe here would appear to be the eponym of the Bánia caste, which is said to still worship an *ár* and a *rambi* at weddings.

‡ A Dúm witnessed the occurrence, and so to this day no Chamár will eat or drink from a Dúm or Mirási's hands.

§ The Dheḷ appears to be a separate caste in the Central Provinces, though closely allied with the Chamár. The Dheḍ is also a large tribe in Kachh and Sindh, also called Bhambi.

a camel-grazier. On the other hand, they are said to obtain the services of Gauṛ Bráhmans, which would put them above all other Chamárs, who have to be content with the minisatrtions of the outcast Chamárwa Brahman.

iv. Chambár, the prevalent sub-caste further west about Jullundur and Ludhiána.

v. Golia, lowest of all the sub-castes, indeed Golia is the name of a section of many menial castes in the Eastern Punjáb, and in almost all cases carries with it an inferior standing in the caste.

Further west, in Nábha, the sub-castes are, however, said to be four in number, *viz.* :—

1. Búna (Búnia).
2. Chamár.
3. Chamárwa, } who touch unclean things.
4. Chanbar (*sic*) }

The Búna appears in Ludhiána as the Búnia, a Sikh Chamár, who having taken to weaving ranks higher than the workers in leather. The Rahtia* is also said to be a *Sikh* Chamár who has taken to weaving, but many Rahtias are Muhammadans.

Territorially the Chamárs in Paṭiála are divided into two groups which do not intermarry and thus form sub-castes. These are the Bágrí, or immigrants from the Bágaṛ, found in the south-east of the State, and the Desi.

Among the Desi in Paṭiála two occupational groups are found, *viz.*, the Chamárs who make shoes, and the Bonas, the latter sub-caste being weavers of blankets by occupation and Sikhs by religion.

The Jínd account divides the Chamárs into 5 sub-castes, *viz.*, Rámdási, Jatiá, Chámaṛ (*sic*), Páthí and Raigar, but it is not clear whether these are occupational or territorial or sectarian groups. The Nábha account says they are divided into 4 groups, *viz.*, Cháṇwar, Jatiá, Bahmnia (?) and Chímaṛ (*sic*). The Cháṇwar are again divided into two sub-castes (?), Cháṇwar proper, who are Sultánís by religion and workers in leather; and the Bonas (or blanket-weavers) who are Sikhs of Gurú Govind Singh. The Bonas are not found in the south-east. The Jatiás (descendants of Jatti, wife of Rámdás) are found only in the south-east and are regarded as inferiors by the Cháṇwars, who do not drink or smoke with them. A curious story is told of the origin of the Jatiás, connecting the name with *jhanṭ* (pubes). No Cháṇwar Chamár would give the Jatias' forefather a girl to wife, so he married a Chúhṛa's daughter, but the *pheras* were not completed when a dispute arose, so the Chúhṛas and Jatiás performed half the *pheras* outside and the rest inside the house until recently. The Jatia tan horse and camel hide, while the Cháṇwars of Báwal only tan the skins of kine, which the Jatiás refuse to touch.

* In Sirsa the word seems to be applied to the members of any low caste, such as Chamár or Chúhṛa. Mr. Wilson, however, had never heard the word used. In Paṭiála it is said to be applied to a Sikh Chamár.

The Bahmnia also claim descent from a wife of Rámdás, and wear the *janeo* and thus assert their superiority over other Chamárs, but they are not found in Nábha.

The Bilái is apparently the village messenger of the Delhi division. He is at least as often a Chúhṛa as a Chamár, and ought perhaps to be classed with the former. But there is a Chamár clan of that name who work chiefly as grooms.

The Dusádh is a Púrbi tribe of Chamárs, and has apparently come into the Punjáb with the troops, being returned only in Delhi, Lahore, and Ambála.

Of the above groups it is clear that some are true sub-castes based on occupation, while others like the Búna are merely occupational groups which may or may not intermarry with other groups. This differentiation of the groups by occupation is most fully developed in the eastern and sub-montane tracts, where the Chamárs form an exceedingly large proportion of the population and are the field-labourers of the villages. But in the central districts their place in this respect is taken by the Chúhṛa. In the west, too, the leather-worker, like all other occupational castes, is much less numerous than in the east. The weaver class, on the other hand, is naturally least numerous in the eastern Districts, where much of the weaving is done by the leather-working castes. And, when the Chamár sticks to leather-working in the eastern Districts, he is apparently dubbed Chamrang or Dabgar, just as in the Punjáb proper a Chamár who has adopted Islám, and given up working in cow-hide becomes a Mussalmán Khatík tanner.

The *gots* or sections of the Chamárs are very numerous, and some of them are large. They include the Chauhán and Bhaṭṭí *gots** (numerous in the central and eastern Districts, especially Ambála) and

Badhan.	Ghameri.	Mahmi.
Bains.	Hír.	Phúndwál.
Batoi.	Jál.	Sindhú.
Bháti.	Kathána.	

Of these eleven *gots* all but the Kathána are found in the Jullundur division.

The Chamárs are by religion Hindus or Sikhs.

Owing to the fact that the famous *bhagat* Rámdás was a Chamár by caste, many Chamárs are Rámdásias† by sect, and of this sect again some are also Sikhs.

Rámdás was a descendant of Chanu. His mother, Kalsia, was childless, but one day a *faqír* came to her and she gave him flour, in return for which he promised her a son. On his return his *gurú* cross-questioned him, as he was unable to pronounce the name 'Parmeshwar,' and learning of his promise declared that, as no son had been bestowed on Kalsia in her destiny, the *faqír* himself must be born to her. So he

* The two most numerous *gots* among the Mochis also. They may of course have adopted these *got* names from the Rájputs, as Bains and Sindhú may have been borrowed from the Jáṭs.

† The Rámdásia also claim descent from Rámdás. The Rámdásia (Sikhs) take the *pahul* from Chamárs and drink *amrit* at their hands. The Mazhabi take them from the sweepers' hands. (Kapurthala).

was reborn as Rámdás, who is called Raidás in Báwal. As his mother was a Chamári he refused her breasts, until his *gurú* bade him suck. One day when placed by his mother at a spot where Ráma Nand used to pass, he was touched by that teacher's sandals, and when he cried out was told by him to be silent and repeat 'Rám Rám.' Thus was supernatural power bestowed upon him.

Contrary to the Chamárs' customs Rámdás wore a *janeo,* sounded a conch, and worshipped idols. The Brahmans appealed to the magistrate, whereupon Rámdás cast the idols into a tank, but they returned to him, whereas the Brahmans failed in a similar test. Again, cutting his neck open Rámdás exhibited 4 *janeos*, of gold, silver, copper and thread, typical of the 4 *yugas.* Thenceforth he was known as a famous *bhagat.**

Chamár women wear no nose-ring, but among the Búnas it is worn by married women, not by widows. The Chárimars of Báwal do not wear gold nose-rings, and all the Chamárs of that locality avoid clothes dyed in saffron, and the use of gold. They also use beestings only after offering it to the gods on the *amáwas.*

Chamarwá Brahman, the Brahman of the Chamárs : *see* Brahman. Also a sub-caste of the Chamárs in Nábha (*see* Chamár).

Chambiál, a Rájput sept (Hindu) of the first grade—deriving its name from Chamba State : *cf.* Mandiál, Jaswál, Paṭhánia, etc.

Chamer, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chamang, the caste or class which in Kanáwar works in leather, corresponding to the Chamár of the plains.

Chamkanni, or Pára Chamkanni, a small tribe of Ghoria Khel Paṭháns, found in Kurram.

Chamrang, (a synonym of Chamár, chiefly returned from Paṭiála and Siálkoṭ), the term *chamrang* is probably a purely occupational term. The *chamrang* does not stain or dye leather, but only tans it: *fr. rangná* (which as applied to leáther means to 'tan'). The *chamrang* moreover only tans ox and buffalo hides, and does not work in the leather which he tans. By caste he is probably always a Chamár. In Delhi the term appears to be practically a synonym for Khatík (*q. v.*), but the Khatík is, strictly speaking, a carrier, not a tanner, and a Muhammadan, while the *chamrang* is a Hindu. In Gujrát also the *chamrang* is identical with the Khatík.

Chamye, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chanál, or probably Channál, from Cháṇḍála, whom all Sanskrit authorities represent as begotten by a Súdrá on a Brahman. His occupation is carrying out corpses, executing criminals, and other abject offices for the public service.† The menial class of Kángṛa and Mandi, corresponding to the Dági in Kullú and the Koli in the Simla Hills,

* In Jínd the Rámdásias are the dominant group and form a sub-caste, which has 9 *gots* :—

Berwál.	Máhi.	Siddhu.
Chauhán.	Sanyár.	Linh-már.
Gorú.	Laria.	Lokra.

† Colebrooke, *Essays*, 274.

the Chanáls in Kángṛa appear to be inferior to the Kolis of that District, and some of them at least will not touch dead cattle, or mix on equal terms with those who do. On the other hand, in Kullú Saráj some of the Chanáls rank below Kolis. Dági-Chanál is a very common term for the caste: and in Kullú it appears to include the Nar. Yet a Chanál of Mandi State will not intermarry with a Dági of Kullú. The Chanál is also found in Chamba, where the proverb goes: *Chanál jeṭhā, Ráthí kaneṭha,* 'The low caste is the elder and the Ráthí the younger brother,' doubtless pointing to a tradition that the Chanál represents an earlier or aboriginal race. See the articles on Dági and Koli.

Chanan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chánanyí, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chaṉbal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chaṉḍál,-ní, an outcast, one of lowcaste. Punjábi Dicty., p. 187. *See* Chanál.

Chandar, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Siálkoṭ. *Cf.* Chaṇḍaṛh.

Chaṇḍaṛh, a Jáṭ sept, found west of the Rávi: Punjábí Dicty., p. 187. Doubtless = Chádhar or Chhadhar, (*q. v.*)

Chandarsevi, syn. Parbhú Káyasth: one of the two classes of Káyasthas (*q. v.*)—found in the Deccan.

Chaṉḍbar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amṛitsar.

Chandel. One of the 36 royal (Rájput) races, and fully described in Elliott's *Races of the N.-W. Provinces.* It is not impossible that they are the same stock as the Chaṇḍál, outcasts where subjects, Rájputs where dominant. They are returned chiefly from the Simla Hill State of Biláspur. Rájput tradition in Karnál avers that the Chandel once held Kaithal and Sámána, but were driven towards the Siwáliks by the Mandhárs. It would be interesting to know how this lowest of all the Rájput races finds a place among the Simla States, and whether the ruling family of Biláspur is Chandel.

Chander, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Chándia, (1) a Baloch tribe: *see* Baloch: (2) Cháṇdia, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chandia, a sept of Rájputs, found in Kahlúr and descended from Gambhír Chand, younger son of Pahar Chand, 24th Rájá of that State.

Chandla, a Rájput sept, of the second grade, said to be found in Hoshiárpur. Probably = Chandel(*a*), *q. v.*

Chandrar, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery. Doubtless = Chhádhar.

Chandu, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur and in Multán. In the latter District it is classed as Jáṭ.

Chandur,-war, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Amritsar.

Chandyí, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHÁNG, *see* Chahng.

CHÁNGALÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHAṆGGAṚ, fem. -í, -iání, ní (Chhaṇggaṛ in Multáni). The Chaṇggaṛs are outcasts of probably aboriginal descent, who are most numerous in Gujrát, Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepur, and Farídkoṭ, but especially in Siálkoṭ and they say that their ancestors came from the Jammu hills. They are originally a vagrant tribe who wander about in search of work; but in the neighbourhood of large cities they are settled in colonies. They will do almost any sort of work, but are largely employed in agriculture, particularly as reapers; while their women are very generally employed in sifting and cleaning grain for grain-dealers. They are all Musalmáns and marry by *nikáh*, and say that they were converted by Shams Tabríz of Multán, who bade their ancestor, a Hindu Rájput, support himself by honest labour and husk the wild *sawánk* in the jungles because it was good (*changa*). Their clans are said to be Phúlan, Chauhán, Manhás, and Sarohe.* Their women still wear petticoats and not drawers; but these are blue, not red. They are exceedingly industrious, and not at all given to crime. They have a dialect of their own regarding which, and indeed regarding the tribe generally, the late Dr. Leitner published some interesting information. He says that they call themselves not Chaṇggaṛ but Chúbna, and plausibly suggests that Chaṇggaṛ is derived from *chhánna* to sift. It has been suggested that Chaṇggaṛ is another form of Zingari; but Dr. Leitner does not support the suggestion.

CHANGRI, a sept of Kanets which holds Pheta and half Dharuth *parganas* in Kuthár.

CHANÍ, a Dogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHANKAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHANN, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

CHANNAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Lodhrán tahsíl, Multán District. They are said to be connected with the Jhakkars and other tribes in the couplet:—

Jhakkar, Channar, Kanjun, Nun teatera,
Hin Ráne Shaitán de panje bujh bhará.

All these five clans assume the title of Rána. In Baháwalpur they are also called Channun-di and are found chiefly in the *kárdáris* of Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur East, as cultivators, and in the Rohi, as landowners and cattle-breeders. Their septs are: Admani, Rám, Wísal, Bhojar, and Bharpál, said by some of the tribe to be descended from Pír Channar, but the more general belief is that the Pír never married and that the Channars are descended from his seven brothers, sons of Rai Sandhíla. The Channars are, however, believed to be an offshoot of the Mahrs.

Channar Pír.—Four miles from Derawar, on a hillock, is the tomb of Pír Channar, or Chanan Pír, son of Rai Sandhíla. Sayyid Jalál visited the city of the Rai, now in ruins some three miles off, and asked if there was any Muhammadan in the city, male or female. He was told that there was none and he then asked if any woman was pregnant. The Rai said his wife was, and the Sayyid then ordered him to employ a Muhammadan midwife for the child would be a saint. When the child was born the Rai

* Or, in Kapúrthalá Bhullar, Bhatti, Chauhán, Túr and Khokhar.

exposed him on the hillock, but a cradle of *santal* wood descended from heaven for the child. Seeing this Rai Sandhíla endeavoured to take the child out of the cradle, but failed, as, whenever he approached, the cradle rose in the air. When the child grew up, he accepted Makhdúm Jahánián as his Pír, and as he was brought up in poverty so his tomb is especially efficacious for the rearing of children. The Channar tribe is descended from the seven brothers of the Pír. Both Hindus and Muhammadans frequent the shrine, *rot* or thick bread and meat being eaten by both as brethren. Hindus are not polluted by contact with Muhammadans at the shrine.

Channozaí, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Chanon, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chanwál, returned as a Rájput sept in Hoshiárpur.

Chánwan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chapparband, Chhapríband. *See* Chuhṛá.

Cháran. *Cf.* Bhát.

Charan-Dásí, a modern offshoot of the Bairágis, for an account of which see pages 37-38 above.

Charhoyá, Chaṛhoá,* (the fem. in Multáni is said to be *chhirohi*, P. Dicty., pp. 195, 226).

The Chaṛhoá is the Dhobi and Chhímba of the Multán division and the Derajáṭ and not unseldom carries on the handicrafts of the Lílári and Rangrez also. In his capacity of washerman he is, like the Dhobi, a recognised village menial, receiving customary dues in exchange for which he washes the clothes of the villagers. He is also found in Baháwalpur, in Gujrát (where he is described as a dyer in reds), and in Pesháwar. See *Dhobi*.

Chasti, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chatera, in M. *chatrera, see* Chitera.

Chatrath, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Montgomery, in the latter District they are both Hindu and Muhammadan.

Chatta, see next.

Chattha.—A Jáṭ tribe apparently confined to Gujránwála, in which district they hold 81 villages. They claim to be descended from Chatta, a grandson of Prithi Rai, the Chauhán King of Dehli, and brother of the ancestor of the Chíma. In the 10th generation from Chatta or, as otherwise stated, some 500 years ago, Dahru came from Sambhal in Morádábád, where the bards of the Karnál Chauháns still live, to the banks of the Chenáb and married among the Jáṭ tribes of Gujránwála. They were converted to Islám about 1600 A. D. They rose to considerable political importance under the Sikhs; and the history of their leading family is told by Sir Lepel Griffin at pages 402 *ff* of his *Punjab Chiefs*.

Chattarsáz, an umbrella-maker: probably to be included among the Tarkháns.

Chatyál, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chaudhriál, a faction or party which is opposed to the Zamíndár (also called Chaudhri) party in the Chakwál tahsil of Jhelum. Broadly speaking

* *Cf.* the Balochi *jarsodha*, clothes-washer.

the Chaudhriáls are the representatives of the old *talúqdárs*, whereas the Zamíndárs represent the new men put in during Sikh rule. The former is the more numerous and powerful, but the latter is more united. Marriages between members of these factions are much more rare than marriages between members of different tribes. These factions have ramifications which extend into Pind Dádan Khán tahsil, across the Sháhpur Salt Range and down into the Sháhpur plains. For a full account see the *Jhelum Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 126-8.

CHAUDRI—(*i*) A tribe found in Baháwalpur. They have four main septs, Janjáni, Jasráni, Samdáni, and Dhadáni. They say that their original name was Salúki,(?) Saljuki. (*ii*) a faction: *i. q.* Zamíndár: *see* Chaudhriál.

CHAUGHATTA, (1) a Mughal clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar; (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHAUHÁN, a great Rájput tribe, one of the Agnikulas, and also one of the 36 (royal) ruling races. Tod calls them the most valiant of the whole Rájput race, and to them belonged Pirthi Ráj, the last Hindu ruler of Hindustán. Before the seat of their power was moved to Delhi, Ajmer* and Sámbhar in Jaipur seem to have been their home. After their ejectment from Delhi they are said to have crossed the Jumna to Sámbhal in Murádábád, and there still dwell the genealogists and bards of the Chauhán of the Nardak† of Karnál and Ambála in which Districts they have retained their dominant position more than elsewhere in the Punjáb.

The Chauháns in Ambála claim to belong to the Bachas *got* and to be of Surajbansi descent. In this District they hold 169 villages, and their traditions give them the following pedigree and history:—

Rájá Nának Rao, took Sambhal in Murádábád.

Ralla-kúnd.

Rána Harra ‡; in the 5th generation founded Pundri and Habrí, c. 988 A. D.

Augha, ancestor of the Adhoa Rájputs. — **Rantha.§**

Rantha.§ — **Subh Mal.**

* The Ambála traditions mention Alal-kundor-puri as their seat before Ajmer was founded. They also add that Ráná Har Rai founded Júndla in the Pánipat tahsíl: thence the Chauhán spread northwards. In Karnál their *chaudhriáts* are Gumthala, Rao Sambhli, Habri and, chief of all, Júndla.

† For the Chauhán migrations and their conquest of the Pundírs see the article on Rájputs.

‡ Rána Harra also had four illegitimate sons, by a Roṛni, a Gújarí, a Jáṭni and a Hujámní respectively. The latter's son, Kawal Ráj, founded a *bára*, or group of 12 villages, of Rájputs: the Jáṭní's son, Bhadhi, was the ancestor of the Mudhul Jáṭs who hold two *báras*, one in Kalsora in Thánesar, the other in Sahâranpur. But the Karnál tradition is different. It assigns to Ráná Harrai two Rájput wives and five of inferior status, *viz*., a Roṛni, whose descendants form the Dopla *got* of the Roṛs, a Jáṭní, a Gújarí, a Jogin and a Nain. The descendants of the two latter are the Rájputs of Mustafábád *pargana* in Jagádhri tahsil, while the Jáṭní's and Gújarí's progeny appear to have settled east of the Jumna.

§ Rantha or Rántá was the son of Ráná Har Rai's old age and his step-brothers disputed his legitimacy. So he appealed to the king of Delhi and his mother said that she had fed the Ráná on *dolah*, a fish supposed to possess aphrodisiac qualities. The king declared that Rántá's sweat would smell of the fish if he were legitimate. He fulfilled the test and was declared legitimate.

Rantha's descendants drove the Koli Rájputs across the Tangri, where they may still be found. Tilok Chand, son of Subh Mal, his descendant, retained 84 out of the 169 Chauhán villages—the *chaurási*; while Subh Mal's second son, Mának Chand, turned Muhammadan and took the *pachási* or 85 remaining. Jagajít, 8th in descent from Tilok Chand, was Gurú Govind Singh's antagonist c. 1700 A. D. In 1756 his grandson, Fateh Chand, with his two sons Bhup Singh and Chuhar Singh, fled from Ahmad Sháh Durráni into Kotáha where 7,000 Chauháns were massacred by the imperial forces under the Rai of Kotáha.

In Hissár the true Chauháns are immigrants and may be divided into two branches, the Nimrána* and Sidhmukh or, as they call themselves, Bárá Thál. The Nimránás who are descendants of Rájá Sangát, a great-grandson of Chahir Deo, brother of Pirthí Ráj, are sub-divided into two clans, Ráth and Bágauta, both of which came from Gurgáon, the former tracing their origin to Játúsána. The name Bágauta would appear to be connected with Bíghota.†

The Bárá Thál had a group of 12 villages near Sidhmukh in Bíkáner, close to a famous shrine of Gúga.

The Sohu and Chotia Pachádas claim Chauhán descent.

The Chauháns own a few villages to the south of Delhi city and have a small colony near Jakhauli in Sonepat tahsil, but in this District they have adopted widow remarriage and are disowned by their fellow Rájputs, but they are the best cultivators of the tribe, and otherwise decent and orderly.

In the central and some western Districts the Chauháns are found classed indifferently as Rájput or Jáṭ, *e. g.*, in Siálkoṭ.‡

In Amritsar they are classed as an agricultural tribe (Rájput, Jáṭ and Gujar), and they are also so classed in Montgomery (Rájput and Jáṭ) and in Sháhpur.

In Baháwalpur the Chauháns have three clans:—Khális; Hamshíra [found mainly in Uch *peshkári*—they claim that Muhammad Husain, their ancestor, was Akbar's foster-brother (*hamshír*), but others say they are Hashmíras not Hamshíras]; and Khichchi, who claim to be descended from Khichchi Khán, ruler of Ajmer 700 years ago, and say their ancestor founded Shergaḍh in Montgomery. Few in number they are confined to the *kárdári* of Khairpur East, where they are carpenters and *khatíks* by trade, though in Multán they are well-to-do landowners.

Numerous Jáṭ and other tribes comprise Chauhán sections or have sections which claim Chauhán descent, indeed it would be difficult to name a large caste in the Punjáb which has not a Chauhán section, *e.g.* *see* Chamár. The Kíchi and Varaich are also numerous Chauhán clans in the Punjáb. For the general history of the Chauháns and their organisation see Rájput.

Cháuḷa, Cháwala: lit. a preparation of rice: a section of the Aroṛas.

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*Nímrána is a small state, a feudatory of Alwar, and ruled by a Chauhán family.

† Eliot mentions four tracts as held by the Alanot Chauháns, *viz.*, Ráth, Bíghota, Dhundhoti and Chandwár. Of these, Ráth, the largest, lies mostly in Alwar, but it includes Nárnaul, now in Patiála territory. Bíghota lies north of Ráth, and Dhundhoti between Bíghota and Hariána.

‡ Punjab Customary Law, XIV, p. 2.

CHAWÁS, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

CHAWEKÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

CHECHÍ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHELA, (*i*) a disciple; (*ii*) a sept of the Siáls, *q. v.*; (*iii*) a fem. diminutive form (*chelṛi*) is used in the sense of 'witch' or 'malignant female spirit.'

CHEMIYA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHENJÍ, (*i*) a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar, (*ii*) a sept of the Gil Jáṭs, apparently confined to Hoshiárpur.

CHET-RÁMÍ.—The name of a sect founded by one Chet Rám, an Aroṛa of Buchhoke, which is still the central sanctuary of the sect, though its monastic headquarters are outside the Taxali Gate at Lahore. Chet Rám became a disciple of Mahbúb Sháh, a Jaláli *faqír*, of the Chishtia sect. After his death Chet Rám slept upon his tomb and there had a vision of Christ which is described in a Panjábi poem, partly composed by him, partly by his successors or followers. On his death in 1894 Chet Rám was cremated and his ashes drunk in water by his enthusiastic disciples. Before dying he had designated the site of a future Chet-rámí town to be called Isápuri or 'Jesus' town,' and there his bones and those of Mahbúb Sháh are to find their eventual resting-place. Regarding the creed of the sect Dr. H. D. Griswold writes:*—"The Chet-rámí sect holds a double doctrine of the Trinity. There is the Christian Trinity consisting of Jesus, the son of Mary, the Holy Spirit, and God, which is found in the Chet-rámí creed. There is also what might be called a Hindu Trinity consisting of Alláh, Parmeshwar, and Khudá. Alláh is the Creator, Parmeshwar, the Preserver, and Khudá, the Destroyer. This idea is, of course, based upon the Hindu doctrine of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer, respectively. The three potencies of the universe, namely Alláh, Parmeshwar, and Khudá have their counterpart in the human body, which, from this point of view, is a kind of microcosmos. There is a generative part corresponding to Alláh, a nourishing part (the breast) corresponding to Parmeshwar, and a destroying part (the head) corresponding to Khudá." The Chet-rámís frequently carry a long rod surmounted by a cross, on which is inscribed their confession of faith. Some form of baptism also appears to be practised, but they distinguish between the external and internal rite, and are said to have four kinds of outward baptism, with water, earth, air and fire. Earth-baptism is used when a lay member tears off his clothes, casts dust upon his head and becomes a Chet-rámí monk, to mark his renunciation of the world. The monks are the clergy of the sect, the theory being that 40 persons are always to subsist on alms and preach the doctrines of Chet Rám. These 40 are called *chelas* and are addicted to intoxicating drugs. The sect is probably not very numerous, and it is said to be persecuted by both Hindus and Muhammadans, though, when a *chela* begs of a Hindu he does so in the name of Rám, and when from a Muhammadan in the name of Alláh and Muhammad. All castes, even the lowest are recruited, but caste distinctions are at least so far observed that

* In an exhaustive *Paper read at the Mussoorie Conference*, 1904, which the curious reader may consult for further details and parallels.

each caste of converts eats separately. Three *melas* are held annually at Buchhoke, one on Poh 1st (January) in memory of Mahbúb Sháh's death, another on Jeth 29th (May—June) to commemorate that of Chet Rám, and the third on Sáwan 18th (July—August) in memory of one Malang Sháh, of whom nothing appears to be known except that he was a friend of Mahbúb Sháh.

CHHABALA, see Chhabíhwále.

CHHABÍHWÁLE, a term applied to the Khatrí devotees of Shámjí. His Gandia Ját devotees are called Rang Rangita and his Chándia Baloch worshippers are styled Chhabala—both, though still Muhammadans, presenting offerings to his descendants. (For an account of the Hindu revival in the south-west Punjab under Bairági influences, by the Gosains Shámji and his successor Lálji, see Census Rep., 1891, pp. 127-9.

CHHÁBRÍ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHHÁDHAR. Found along the whole length of the Chenáb and Rávi valleys, but far most numerous in Jhang, where they for the most part regard themselves as Rájputs, the Chhádhars claim to be descended from Rájá Tur, Túnwar. They say that they left their home in Rájputána in the time of Muhammad of Ghor, and settled in Baháwalpur, where they were converted by Sher Sháh of Uch. Thence they came to Jhang, where they founded an important colony and spread in smaller numbers up the Chenáb and Rávi. Steedman describes them as good agriculturists, and less given to cattle-theft than their neighbours. Mr. E. D. Maclagan spells the name Chaddrar, which is undoubtedly the correct form, and writes:—

"The Chaddrars are Túnwárs. Their chief tribes in the Sandal Bár are the Rajokes, Kamokes, Jappas, Lúns, Pajikes, Deokes, Ballankes, Sajokes, etc. The Chaddrars of the Bár are said to have expanded from Dhában, a small *rahna* or encampment south-west of Khuriánwála. The Lúns of Awánwála in the Bár say they have been there for seven generations. At Bajla *rahna* there is a separate class of Lúns or Lúnas called Bála Lúns, who celebrate marriages, wash the dead and so forth, and act more or less as *mullas*".

The following genealogy of the Chaddrars is given by a *mirásí* of the tribe in the Háfizabad tahsíl:—

Pándú.
|
Gárjan.
|
Bhín.
|
Bátísar.
|
Mándlik.
|
Túnwár.
|
Anak.
|
Jodh.
|
Rájá Ravílan,
|
Chaddrar,

The same *mirásí* also gave the following *cháp* or ballad regarding the great deeds of the Chaddrar:—

Datár ugge Mír Braham,	Saith the Mirásí Ibráhím to the generous,
Paṛh lichár sunáeá ne :	He pronounces as follows :—
Túr phir tawána hoeá.	'Túuwár then became strong.
Jis kul Tárá páeá ne ;	From which family Tárá was born ;
Rájá khúb bhalá Ravílan.	Rájá Ravílan was a fine hero.
Jis Dillí Koṭ banáeá ne ;	Who built the fort of Delhi ;
Dillí Koṭ bandhá ne kaisá	He built Delhi Fort so
Jo khutba sachch paṛháeá ne.	That his name of a certainty was sounded in the Khutba.
Dúá jo maidán ditto ne	Secondly, when he had cleared a wide space (empire),
Chaddrar nám dharáeá ne.	He fixed the name of Chaddrar.
Dhare nám te vaddhe agjó.	His name was established and grew from day to day.
Alláh Nabí deháeá ne.	He worshipped God and his Prophet.
Hákim á, hakúmat kití.	A ruler came and ruled.
Mulk sárá kankácá ne.	The whole country called for help.
Chhattí Paintí te Lúnáke	The Chhattís-Paintís and the Lún country,
Damra ghar dhoáeá ne.	Carried rupees to the home of the Chaddrars.
Bannhi hatth Nakodar líjá	With only half a hand the Chaddrars took Nakodar
Diniar des niwáeá ne.	And made the Diniar-des do obeisance.
Peihle já Gagiáne hathí,	First they went to Gagiána (in the Bár) and settled,
Phir Laháur pauhncháeá ne.	Then they reached Lahore.
Kharralá nál pea jál jhagrá,	When they quarrelled with the Kharrals,
Takhto Kharral hatáeá ne.	They stripped the Kharrals of their throne.
Modá de Chiniot leóne.	With a push of the shoulder (*i.e.*, with a certain amount of trouble) they took Chiníoṭ.
Zor changerá láeá ne.	They used more force.
Malik Macche Khán kuttho ne.	They killed Malik Macche Khán.
Ragrá rok rulláeá ne.	They harried and destroyed him.
Urárpár hukm Chaddrar dá.	The Chaddrars were rulers on both sides of the river (Chenáb).
Siálá di kuriá bereá dál chikáeá ne.	They put the Siáls' daughters on rafts and dragged them away.
Ajjún, Cha, Sultána yáge	They cleared a wide road of (*i.e.*, dispersed)
Dágar ráh ghataeá ne.	Ajjún, Chá and Sultán the rebels.
Vijjar, Víse bán cháye	When Vijjar and Vise (Chaddrars) grew to wisdom
Sir chattr Nabi jhuláeá ne.	The Prophet held his canopy over them.
Hambí nadi Chitráng vasáe,	Hambí (a Chaddrar) lived on the Chitráng nadi,
Bakhrá púrá páeá ne.	And divided his share fully.
Jappeá ne bhí rutbá chokhá,	The Jappas' line was also good,
Daftar wále karáeá ne.	And separated off a share.
Dinglián Bulghán Bilochán.	They met the Bulghán Biloches.
Már Biloch vanjáeá ne.	They beat and defeated the Biloches.
Chulhe te ral vandi de saphará.	They fed in common, but their share was divided.
Sár garáhi kháeá ne.	They fought to their hearts' content.
Mirjá Dhir hoeá kurerá :	Mirza, son of Dhír, was a stalwart man :
Baggá shih chiráeá ne.	He struck tigers (with his sword).
Nithar, Kálú, Dallú, Mallú mani gáwá :	I sing of Nithar, Kálú, Dallú and Mallú :
Jouro takht macháeá ne :	They also held power :
Jiṭhe satt shahid akatthe hoe,	Where seven martyrs were together (*i.e.*, among enemies),
Uṭhe duddh piáeá ne.	There they gave them milk to drink (killed them).
Is kul te dátá Núra,	Of this family were the generous Núr,
Gahna, Jáni, Wáchi, Ibráhím Haqqání.	Gahna, Jáni, Wáchu and Ibráhím the Haqqání.
Jas Mir Bráhim gáeá ne.	I, Ibráhím, have sung this praise.

The Rájoke Chaddrars once got hold of a Mughal emperor's elephant and yoked it to a well at a place near Khuriánwála, still called the Háthí Theh. The following *cháp* on the subject was given by the Mirási *faqír* at Shaikh Sábu :—

Malik Dádú báh chái,	Malik Dádú (a Rájoke Chief) lifted his arm,
Indra Rája ris áe.	Indra Rája became envious.
Vass baddal káleá !	Rain, O black cloud !
Háthi leá ne khass	He seized the elephant
Maháwat ne máreá.	And killed the *mahaut*.
Háthi Akbar Bádsháh de,	It was an elephant of the emperor Akbar's,
Iṭṭhe chaṛe dhámni, Lahúur kamánd.	Here it grazed on *dhaman* grass, in Lahore on sugar-cane.
Rájú ke Rájoke,	The Rájokes, descendants of Rájú,
Sundh vaḍḍhke khuhe jutte dánd.	Cut off its trunk and yoked it to the well,

Chhajju, Chhajjú-panthi.—A sect which exhibits a curious combination of the Hindu and Muhammadan creeds among the lower orders. It is said to have been founded by Chhajjú, a *bhagat* of Lahore, who lived about the time of Aurangzeb.* His followers burn their dead, but do not throw the ashes into the Ganges; they take them to a place called Parnají, in Bundelkhand, where they bury them. They believe in the divine mission of Muhammad, but have no social intercourse with the Muhammadans. One of their sacred places is Malka Hans, in the Pákpattan tahsíl of Montgomery, where their *mahant*, Lachhman Dás, lives, and their sacred book is kept in a kind of temple. It is called the *Kul Jama Barup*, is written in Bhásha, and its doctrines are based on a mixture of Hinduism and the Qurán. They also have adherents at Qabúla Tibbi and Harappa, and are said to be strong vegetarians and teetotallers.

Chhajṛá. A tribe of Jáṭs who claim descent from the royal race of the Bhaṭṭis of Jaisalmer. They came to Multán under Rao Kehar, a chieftain of their own, and settled there. Kehar is a name of note in Bhaṭṭi annals. One Kehar was contemporary of the Khalífa-ul-Walíd, A.D. 713.† He and his sons advanced the Bhaṭṭi kingdom of Jaisalmer. Another Kehar ruled Jaisalmer in the sixteenth century, and his son conquered all the Multán country up to the Indus. The Chhajṛás marry their daughters to their own tribesmen only, but receive the daughters of other Jáṭ tribes in marriage.

Chhajra, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán tahsíl.

Chhaju, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Chha Kháng, a caste found in Spiti (from *chha,* 'owner' and *kháng,* 'land'). But according to Sir James Lyall *kháng* means 'house' or 'household,' not 'land.' *Zing* means land : *cf.* Cháhzang.

Chhála, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chhalapdárs. A small community of some 10 houses in Delhi, who say that they came from the Mewát in Mughal times and that in the United Provinces they are known as Mujáwars.‡ Shaikhs Mujáwar and Qalandar were their ancestors, and so the latter's descendants are called Qalandars. But this seems to be an absolute fable. That they came from the Mewát may be conceded, but, in spite of what they

* Chhajjú's *chaubára* is a conspicuous edifice near the Divinity School at Lahore. The local histories describe him as an Aroṛa who worked miracles in that city, but not as having founded a sect. Chhajjú-panthi would appear to be a local term for the more general term 'Parnámi' (*q. v.*).

† Walíd was Khalífa from 705—15 A. D.: Elliot's *Hist. of India*, I, p. 428.

‡ Ar. lit. 'a neighbour.' The word is used in India to denote an attendant at a shrine.

say, it is probable that they are Hindu converts to Islám, and that in their former faith they were temple musicians or wandering minstrels. On the conversion of the Mewát their deities were overthrown, but the spirit of idolatory which remained, and is not yet quite extinct, set up Muhammadan *pírs* in their stead, and they found employment in dedicating themselves to these saints. But it is doubtful whether they were ever really attached to the shrines of the saints to whom they are dedicated, *viz.*, Khwája Moín-ud-Dín of Ajmer, Badí-ud-Dín or Madár Sáhib,* or Saiyid Sálár Masaúd Ghází, known as the 'Bálá Miyán.' The Mujáwars belonging to these shrines are of authenticated descent and certainly of higher status than the Chhalapdárs, who derive their name from *chhalap*, the musical instrument which they carry and which is in itself a sign of low social status. That they call themselves Mujáwars may be taken as a mere attempt to claim a higher origin, though they certainly take upon themselves certain duties connected with the anniversaries of their saints, especially at Delhi, where they are to be seen wandering from house to house as harbingers of the approaching ceremonies, and singing songs to the accompaniment of the *chhalap* in praise of their saints. The anniversary of the first-named saint, who is the most reverenced of them all, is held at Ajmer from the 1st to the 6th of Rajab, when thousands from all parts of India gather at Ajmer. When there were no railways, people used to start on this journey weeks and even months beforehand, so that the month preceding Rajab actually came to be called 'the month of Khwája Moín-ud-Dín.' On the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this month large numbers from the Mewát, and the countryside generally, assemble at the Qutb, 11 miles from Delhi (which, as the name signifies, is the shrine of Khwája Qutb-ud-Dín, the chief disciple of the Ajmeri Khwája) for three days, which are observed as great holidays. On the 16th this great concourse forms a huge caravan which sets out on its way to Ajmer. Even now the journey is mostly performed on foot, though bullock carts are also employed, chiefly for the women. The sight is picturesque and interesting, young and old being dressed in their best attire; trains of *chhakras* (country carts) which carry the thousands of women and children, singing to the accompaniment of drums, flutes and all kinds of instruments. A conspicuous feature of the procession is the red and green banners and flags, called *chhaṛián* (lit. 'sticks'), to which the three days' gathering at the Qutb owes its name of the *chhaṛion ká mela* or 'fair of the flags', which are more precisely called Khwája jí kí chhaṛián. In the preparation and erection of these flags and in the ceremonies connected with them the Chhalapdárs are the principal actors. The flags look like so many

* On the first day of Jamádí-ul-awal, also called the month of Madár, when the banners or *chhaṛiáns* of Madár were erected under the walls of Delhi the Chhalapdárs, accompanied by a band of drummers, used to appear with Madár's banner before the emperor in his court of private audience, and on their arrival he came out of the palace and his attendants used to give them trays of *malídah*, the Chhalapdárs in return placing a *baddi* or garland on the emperor's body in memory of the Saint Madár. Prayers were then offered in the name of the saint and the *malídah* was doled out to all present. After this the king gave the Chhalapdárs a standard from the top of which hung a cloth called *pharaira*, embroidered with gold (called *tásh* or *tamámi*, etc.) to the loose ends of which were attached silver cups or *kaṭoras*. This standard was given to the Chhalapdárs in order that it might be presented at the convent of Madár Sáhib in the king's behalf.

standards, distinguishing the various bands and contingents which form the great Khwája's camp or *lashkar*. They are gaudily draped, have guilded tops, and are garlanded with flowers, which have peculiar names. The cloth, and even fragments of it, after having been once twisted round the stick are considered to be not only sacred, but possessed of healing virtues, and are eagerly sought after, especially by mothers who cause them to be worn by their children, if sick or otherwise in danger, in order to get them cured. They collect women of their kith and kin, form a procession headed by the men beating drums, and follow them singing the Khwája's praises, till they reach one of these flags, to which they make offerings of sweetmeats, pice and *cowries* and sometimes even rupees, the whole being the perquisite of the Chhalapdárs, who are in proprietary charge of the sticks. A portion of the sweetmeat, after it has been offered, is returned to those who bring it and also distributed among any others present. Sometimes this ceremony is performed at the house of the child's parents, in which case the Chhalapdár takes his stick or flag there and the rite is gone through midst the singing of the child's relatives and with great festivities. In some cases the ceremony of putting on the garlands and draping a child in the cloth of a flag is repeated yearly during its minority, or until the term of years, for which its parents had vowed to perform it, has expired.

For three days the scene at Qutb is most noisy and the din of the vocal and instrumental music of innumerable processions passing through the streets and crossing each other is enhanced by the noise and rowdyism of the jumping Darweshes called Qalandars. In front of every shop and place where a rustic family is staying during the fair, as well as around every stick or flag erected by Chhalapdárs, groups of these Qalandars may be seen marking time with their feet which movement by degrees rises into high jumps. Their chorus,* while they are thus jumping, is—

Mast Qalandar! Allah hí degá!!
Támbe ká paisá! Allah hí degá!!
Dudh malidah! Allah hí degá!!
Dham Qalandar! Dudh malídah!! Allah hí degá!!!

and so on.

"O Darwesh free and drunk! God will give it! Copper coin! God will give it! Milk and *malídah*! God will give it! Jump Qalandar! God will give milk and *malídah*! (lit., a sweet dish)."

This is repeated again and again until the shopkeeper or the person or family addressed, gives them something in cash or kind taking which they move on to jump before others.

In all the songs sung by the Chhalapdárs, and others generally, on this occasion the Khwája's praises are the principal theme. The following which forms the burden of a popular song is given here as a specimen:—

Mere dil daryáo Khwája! Tere jhalare pe lági hai bhir. "My bountiful river-like Khwája! Look what a concourse of people (with eager prayers) has assembled at thy *jhalara*."†

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* Sung in a loud and emphatic voice.

† *Jhalara* is a large spring at the shrine of the Khwája at Ajmer.

The second fair of flags is held in honour of Madár Sáhib below the walls of the fort or red palace of Sháh Jahán in Delhi. It is similar to the one described above, with this difference, that it is less attended and the flags are taken to the tomb of the saint at Makkinpur. One of the songs (or *sohlás* as they are called) sung by the Chhalapdárs which refers to Madár Sáhib is:—*Lei to chaloji bálama Makkinpur?* In this song a newly married girl implores her husband to take her with him to Makkinpur. These fairs are especially popular among the women.

The third fair is held in honour of 'Bálá Míyán' Saiyid Sálár Masaúd Ghází, who is said to have lost his life in one of the early wars of the Musalmáns with the idolatrous Hindus. He was young and about to be married, but fought bravely and died in the hour of victory. As in the case of the second fair, the *chharián* are erected under the walls of the Delhi Fort. One of the songs sung in praise of Saiyid Sálár runs:—*Merá nit banra Sálár bálá! Bálá merá jágo ná*: "My bridegroom ever young, the young Sálár, why does he not awake?"

The Chhalapdárs say they have no *chaudhri*, but a *pancháyat* system is in vogue among them. A transgressor is punished with a fine of 10 or 12 annas with which sweetmeats are purchased and distributed among the *panchs*. In extreme cases he is punished by temporary excommunication. Marriages are confined to the community. The *nikáh* is in vogue, but the bride's dower does not exceed the legal minimum under Muhammadan Law. The ceremonies connected with birth and marriage, such as *sachaq, chauthi,* etc., and those observed till 40 days after death are the same as those of the other Delhi Muhammadans. Widow remarriage is not unlawful, and a deceased brother's widow may be taken in marriage. Some of the Chhalapdárs' songs are:—

(1) Sung on the bridegroom's side:—*Apne Haryále bane pe main chun chun wárún gí kalyán! Merá jiwe bana! Apne Haryâle bane pe main, etc.* "I will pick the choicest flowers and shower them upon my dear bridegroom, the beloved of God! May he live long."

(2) Sung on the bride's side:—*Meri acchchi bano sohág banri!* "My good, and of her husband most beloved, bride!

(3) Sung at a birth:—*Aye lál re tere háth men jhunjhuna.* "O my pretty little baby, with a rattle (*jhunjhuna*) in thy hand."

One of the ceremonies observed prior to birth is held when the woman has been *enceinte* for 7 months. It is called *sath wánsá* or 'the custom of the 7th month.'

The Chhalapdárs say that they also sing the praises of Saiyid Ahmad, surnamed Kabír.

Chháligar, a syn. for Bázígar, used in Siálkoṭ.

Chhamiá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chhana, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán.

Chhánb, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Chhaner, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHHANGAR, M. = Changar, *q. v.*

CHHÁNT, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

CHHAPERA, a synonym, rarely used, for Chhápegar or Chhímba, *q. v.*

CHHATHA, Chhatta, see Chatha.

CHHATTA, a tribe of Muhammadans found in Montgomery and, as Játs (agricultural), in Amritsar. Probably identical with the Chatta.

CHHÁZANG.—A term confined in the Punjáb to the Buddhists of Spiti, among whom caste was said to be unknown. It includes all the land-owning classes of Spiti, where everybody except Hesís and Lohárs owns land. The Chházang are by nationality Tibetan, or as they call themselves, Bhoti, and Cháhzang means the land-holding class, and the people towards Tibet, Ladákh, and Zanskár are known as Chházang. It appears to be used in a very wide sense to mean all who speak Bhoti, just as Monpa means 'the people that do not know,' that is, the Hindus.

Mr. A. H. Diack, a high authority on Spiti thus described the tribal system in that country, where four grades of society are recognised :—

"(i). *Jo* or *Tso.**—This is a title enjoyed for his lifetime by one who marries the daughter of any high-class family, such as that of the Nono of Spiti or the Thákur of Láhul, or any family of equal importance in Ladákh or Tibet.

(ii). *Lonpo.*—This term is applied to the class not so high as the *Jo* or as low as the Chhá-zang. Lonpo means 'minister' and is an hereditary title and office. Lohrag and Da-tong-karpo (Dhongrukárú) are said to be synonyms for Lonpa.

(iii). *Chhá-zang.*—The word means 'middle-class,'† ['good position'] as opposed on the one hand to 'Tarap,' or high-class, such as members of the family of the Nono of Spiti, and on the other to 'Marap,' or 'low class,' which includes the blacksmiths, Hesís, etc.

(iv). *Lobon.*—The word means 'teacher,' and is probably the description given of himself by some wandering Tibetan pilgrim. There was some difficulty in ascertaining the 'caste' of Tibetan pilgrims at the census of 1891. They treated the question as a joke, and returned themselves as "stones," or articles of wearing apparel,‡ and the like.

Tribal distinctions are recognized in Spiti, the chief being the following :—(1) Nandu, (2) Gyazhingpa, (3) Khyungpo, (4) Lon-chhenpo,

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* See under Nono for the precise meaning of this term. Mr. Diack also added that the same name is borne by the lady whose marriage has invested her husband with the title. but the feminine form is generally *jo-jo*. The children of the union do not enjoy the title. *Jo* and *Tso* (Cho) are synonyms. This however is contradicted by later information from Spiti. (See under *Jo*.)

† Mr. Diack refers to the Census Report of 1881, § 562, and apparently accepts the derivation (given therein) fr. *zang* 'land,' *chák* 'owner.' But 'land' = *zhing*, and 'owner' is *dagpo* in Spiti, and the derivation appears to be untenable.

‡ Using family names, probably.

(5) Hesir, and (6) Nyekpa.* Marriage is forbidden within the clan but one clan intermarries freely with another. A woman on marrying is considered to belong to her husband's clan and the children of both sexes are of the clan of the father. The tribes (*ru'wa*) are not local; members of each may be found in any village. The members, *phaibat*, of the clan, wherever they may live, inherit in preference to the people of the village, in default of natural heirs. The Lonchhen-pas and the Gyazhingpas are considered somewhat superior to the others, but my informant, a Spiti man, says that in his country, as elsewhere, wealth is the real criterion of respectability." More up to date information shows that Mr. Diack using (no doubt) a Láhula interpreter has confused Láhula and Spiti nomenclature: the true class distinctions are these—

	Ladákh.	*Láhul.*	*Spiti.*
I.—Royal or noble ...	... r(gyalrigs)	... Jorigs ...	... Nono.
II.—Upper official class ...	rjerigs	... Lonrigs or Lonchhenpo.	Lonpo.
III.—Farmers or yeomen ...	h(mangrigs)	... h(mangrigs)	... Chházang.

All these three classes are Nangpa or Chajang, 'insiders.' All below them are styled Pipas in Spiti, Chipas in Láhul, or Tolbeyrigs in Ladákh.

Mr. Francke describes the Spiti people as divided into three main classes: NONO, Chajang and PIPA. The older accounts averred that only in the lower parts of Spiti must menials provide their own stems for the common *huqa*, which in the upper part was used by all without distinction of rank. This is now indignantly denied, and, it is said, a *nangpa* or commoner will carefully remove the stem from a *nono's* (noble's) pipe and 'start' it with his mouth. As a fact any one, except a *pipa*, may use an ordinary man's pipe, and the *nonos* admit that if the stem were used by an inferior it would only be necessary to wash it. The tendency is, however, for etiquette to become stricter. Just as the Lahulas have advanced an utterly unfounded claim to be Kanets by caste, so the people of Spiti, in the presence of Hindus who pride themselves on their caste rules, pretend to caste distinctions of their own.

As to the clan system, it must be borne in mind that the thing most necessary to ensure in the Buddhist world is that when a man dies there shall be some one ready to prepare his body for burial. Persons reciprocally bound to perform the last offices for each other are called *phuspun* (father-brotherhoods), as well as *phaibat*, as they are in theory of the same *ru'wa*,† as it is called in Spiti. From this origin have sprung the clans which are found in every grade of society. Such are the Stond-karpo, the Rumpu, the (b)Lonchhenpa or 'great ministers,' the Khyung-búba, the (r)Gyanshcba and the Dreba, all found at Dhankar. Even the *pipa* class has clans. In marriage the

* For an explanation of these Tibetan clan names see TIBETAN.

† The word means 'bone' and is pronounced *rúspa* in Ladákh.

'bone' must be avoided, just as in Kullú and the Simla Hills the *haddí ká nátha* is the exogamous limit. It almost goes without saying that the 'bone brethren' or *phaibat* inherit in preference to any one outside the clan.

Chhatar, a tribe of Muhammadan Jáṭs found in Gujrát. Its eponym came from Uch, but his real name is unknown. As a child he visited his maternal grandfather's house and was weighed against shoes *(chhatar)* whence his nickname.

Chhechhar, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chhelar. A small clan of Jáṭs whose principal settlement is Chhelar in the Nárnaul tahsíl of Nábha. They revere Bhagwán Dás, a Hindu saint of Mukla in that State, and shave their children at his shrine. They avoid tobacco.

Chhibbar, (1) a section of the Muhiál Brahmans ; (2) a sept of Kanets, who give their name to the Chhibrot *pargana* of Keonṭhal, to which State they migrated from Chittor in Rájputána with its founders. *Cf.* Balbir.

Chhibí, Chhíbú, syns. of Chhímbá.

Chhímbá. The Chhímbá, Chhípí or Chhímpí, called Paungar or Chaṛhoa in Dera Ghází Khán, is by occupation a stamper or dyer, but he also turns his hand to tailoring or washing. Hence the caste includes the Darzís or tailors, the Liláris or dyers, and the Dhobís : * also the Chhápágar.† By religion the Chhímbás are mainly Hindus and Muhammadans.

The Chhímba is properly a calico-printer, and stamps coloured patterns on the cotton fabrics of the country, and he is said occasionally to stamp similar patterns on paper, but he can hardly be distinguished from the Dhobi. Besides printing in colour, he dyes in madder, but as a rule, in no other colour. He is purely an artisan, never being a village menial except when a washerman. In some places, though not in all, Chhápegar is used to distinguish those who ornament calico with patterns in tinsel and foil only.

The Hindu Chhímbás are divided into two sub-castes, which may not intermarry, but may eat and smoke together.‡ These are the Tank and Rhilla. And in Paṭiála the Hindu Dhobís are said to form a third sub-caste.§

The following legend explains the origin of the two former sub-castes :—At Pindlapur in the Deccan lived one Bámdeo, who one night entertained Krishna and Udhoji, but, as the latter was a leper, the villagers ejected them. They were in *máyavi* form, and at midnight both of them vanished, leaving Bámdeo and his wife asleep. Udhoji hid in a shell (*sipi*), and when Bámdeo went to wash clothes he found the shell and placed it in the sun. It produced the child Námdeo who was fostered

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* Sháhpur.

† See below.

‡ In Paṭiála the Hindu Dhobi *gots* are not separately given, and it is said that the Tank print cloth, while the Rhillas are tailors and the *dhobís* washermen.

§ But in Máler Koṭla the Tank claim to be of higher status than the Rhilla, and do not even eat or smoke with them.

by Bámdeo's wife. Námdeo taught his son Tank, and Rhilla, his daughter's son, the arts of dyeing, printing and washing clothes.*

Territorially the Hindu Chhímbás have various divisions, *e.g.*, in Siálkoṭ they are divided into the Lahori and Dogṛa sub-castes, which are said not to intermarry and which have separate *gots.*† In Amritsar too is found a Lahori group, which is also called Chhápágar or Nawandhi.‡ It is looked down upon by the other Chhímbás, who avoid all social relations with its members, because at weddings, it is said, they make a cow's image of flour and shoot arrows at it.

The Lahori *gots* are :—

1. Pharwain.	3. Takhtar.
2. *Bagrí.*	4. Ded.

The Dogṛa *gots* are :—

1. Karakú.	5. Rihania.	9. Chebhe.
2. Panotra.	6. Pabe.	10. Bhumral.
3. Dowathia.	7. Saragra.	11. Tanotra.
4. Andh.	8. Bagri.	

The Hindu Chhímbás have few or no special observances at births, etc. In or near Delhi after childbirth, if the child be a son, the mother worships at a well to which she is taken 15 days after her confinement, accompanied by the women of her quarter of the city who sing songs as they go. The mother does obeisance to the well, and throws some sweet stuff and rice into it.

Hindu Chhímbás never grind turmeric, except at a wedding. They will not make *barís,* and their women avoid wearing *kánch* bracelets and the use of henna.

The Hindu Chhímbás§ observe the ordinary Hindu rites, but Námdeo, the famous *bhagat,* is their patron saint, for no better reason than that he was himself by caste a Chhímbá. Accordingly they pay yearly visits to his *dera* at Ghamán near Amritsar, and offer him a rupee and *nárial* at weddings. Sikh Chhímbás appear to favour the tenets of Gurú Rám Rai.

The Muhammadan Chhímbás have several territorial divisions, *e. g.*, in Paṭiála‖ there are three, the Sirhindís (endogamous), the Deswáls and Multánís,¶ who intermarry, as is also the case in Jínd. In Gurgáon the Desí Chhímbás are said to be converts from the Tank and Rhilla

* But in the Máler Koṭla version it is said that originally the Chhímbás were a homogeneous caste, until Námdah (-deo) Chhímbá took unto himself two wives, one a Chhímbá woman, the other of another caste. From the former sprang the Tank, from the latter the Rhilla. Hence the Tank assert their own superiority as they are pure Chhímbas, while the Rhilla are not.

† But the Bagrí is found in both groups.

‡ Nawandhí = of low degree.

§ In Gurgáon Hindu Chhímbás, who are very superstitious, worship a Muhammadan's grave, real or supposed, calling it a Sayyid's grave, offering a cock in the Sayyid's name or a dish of boiled rice at his grave, lest their domestic peace be disturbed.

‖ In this State the Muhammadan Dhobís are said to have five sub-castes—Lahori, Sirhindí, Multání, Purbia and Deswál. Of these the two latter only are found in the State. They do not intermarry. The Deswál sections are :—Goráyá, Chauhán and Kanakwál—all Rájput clans.

¶ For some of their sections see the Appendix.

sub-castes, while the Multánís are of the Iuroí clan which dwelt in the Indus valley and took to printing calico.

In Leia the saint of the Chhímbás is Alí, the dyer, who is said to have been a pupil of Luqmán and to have invented washing and dyeing. Before beginning work they invoke him saying:—*Pír ustád Luqmán hakím, hikmat dá bádsháh, Alí rangrez, charí rahe deg*; *i. e.*, 'Luqmán the physician is the priest and teacher, the king of craft, and Ali is the dyer. May his bounty endure for ever.'

Most Muhammadan Chhímbás are Sunnis, but in Karor some few are Shias.

The Muhammadan Chhímbás have a loose system of *pancháyats*, and in Dera Ghází Khán elders or *mahtars* are elected by the caste.

The women of the Muhammadan Chhímbás and Dhobís wear no *laung* (nose-ring), no ivory or glass bangles, or blue clothing. The Muhammadan Chhímbás will not make *achárn* or *baria*? and avoid building a double hearth.

CHHÍNÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur: also classed as Jáṭ, (agricultural) in Amritsar. The Chhína are undoubtedly distinct from the Chíma Jáṭs of Siálkoṭ and Gujránwála, though the two tribes are frequently confused. That there are Chhína in Siálkoṭ appears from the fact that the town of Jámki in that District was founded by a Chhína Jáṭ who came from Sindh and retained the title of Jám, the Sindhi equivalent for Chaudhri. Yet if the Chhína spread up the Chenáb into Siálkoṭ and the neighbouring Districts in large numbers, it is curious that they should not be found in the intermediate Districts through which they must have passed. The Chhína are also found in Miánwáli and in Baháwalpur State. In the latter they are mainly confined to the Minchinábád *kárdári*, opposite Pákpattan, and there have three septs, Táreka Mahramka and Azamka, which own land. Other septs are tenants. Their genealogy gives them a common origin with the Waṭṭus:—

Uchchir.

Jay-Pál.	Raj-Pál.
Chhína.	Waṭṭú.

Pheru, 18th in descent from Chhína was converted to Islám by Báwa Faríd-ud-Dín of Pákpattan. The Chhínás are courageous and hard-working, but they are also professional thieves, though they will not steal from Sayyids, *faqírs* or *mírásís*, dreading the abuse of the latter. Though a small tribe in comparison with the Waṭṭús they will not allow the latter to get the upper hand, and if they steal one buffalo from the Chhínas, the latter endeavour to retaliate by stealing five from the Waṭṭús.

CHHIṆBÁ, fem. -aṇ see Chhímba, P. Dicty., p. 225.

CHHOLIÁNA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHHON, CHHONI, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHHOṚÍ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHHÚL, or JHÚL: a synonym for Malláh, used in Hoshiárpur.

CHIBH.—A Rájpút tribe confined, in the Punjáb, to the northern portion of Gujrát under the Jammu Hills, but also found in the hills above that tract which belong to the Kashmír State. It gave its name to the Chibhál, the hill country of Kashmír on the left bank of the Jhelum river along the Hazára border, though it appears to no longer occupy those hills. The Chibh claim to be an offshoot, at least in the female line, of the Kaṭoch of Káṅgṛa, and their eponym Chibh Chand is said to have left Káṅgṛa 14 centuries ago* and settled at Maghlora near Bhimbar in the Jammu Hills, receiving from Rája Sripat of Bhimbar his daughter's hand, with part of his country as her dower.†

The first of the tribe to become a Muhammadan was one Súr Sadi, who died a violent death in Aurangzeb's reign. He is still venerated as a martyr, and the Muhammadan Chibh offer the scalp locks of their male children at his tomb, till which ceremony the child is not considered a true Chibh, nor is his mother allowed to eat meat.

The Chibhs had at one time or another a very curious and interesting feudal organisation, survivals of which are still traceable in its social gradations. Succession to the throne of the Bhimbar kingdom was governed by the rule of primogeniture, but younger sons had a right to a share and so it would seem that the *ráj* was divided into four *manḍis*—Mahlot, Bundála, Kahawalíán and Rajal, and each of these great fiefs was held by a "prince of the blood," the eldest son being Rájá of Bhimbar. Hence the *ráj* always remained in the family of the Ghaniyál Chibhs, descendants of Ghani Khán, grandson of Shádi Khán, the ancestor of all the Muhammadan Chibhs, who is identified with the martyr Súr Sadi.

The *ráj* also contained four strongholds, *gaṛhs*, *viz.*, Dewa, Butálá, Ambariál and Kadhála. These *gaṛhs* were distinct from the *manḍis* and were in charge of the Ghaghiál, descendants of Ghaní Khán's cousin. Their precise relation to the *manḍis* is by no means clear, but both *gaṛhs* and *manḍis* owed allegiance to the Rájá; though their holders collected their own revenue and were independent in the management of their estates. But whatever the precise nature of the *manḍis* and *gaṛhs* may have been, there were also minor fiefs, which were bestowed on younger sons: these were 84 in number, at least in theory, and were called *dheris*. The *dheris* again were classed as *dheri álá*, *i.e.*, a fief with a few villages attached to it, and *dheri adná* or one which had no dependent villages.

Accordingly the Chibhs are divided into three grades, Manḍiál, Gaṛhiál and Dheriál, but now-a-days it is difficult to say who are Manḍiál and who Gaṛhiál, though feeling still runs high on the point. Further the Ghaniáls are all regarded as standing high, since they once held the *ráj*, though some have now slender means, and they will not give

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* Tradition makes Chibh Chand's father, Náhar Chand, Rájá of Káṅgṛa, a contemporary of Taimúr, but the Chibhál (Jhibhál) was already known by that name to Taimúr's historian.

† A variant says that the Chibhs are of Persian descent. Na'mán, a descendant of Dáráh, son of Bahman, ruled Khurásán, and his descendant, Gauhar Shah, came to the Deccan and married Náhir Chand's daughter and their son was named Ahdár Chand, a Hindu. *His* descendant Náhir Chand became Rájá of Káṅgṛa.

daughters to others. The Samwálias, Miánás and Malkánas are also regarded as superior for unknown reasons, and either intermarry or seek matches for their girls among the Sayyids or Gakkhars whom they admit to be their superiors. Lastly the Chibhs descended from Shádi Khán have 14 septs, mostly named after eponyms:—

1. Rúpyál, descended from Rúp Khán.
2. Barwána, from Barú Khán.
3. Daphrál, from Daphar Khán.
4. Dhurál, from Dhaur Khán.
5. Darwesál, from Darwesh Khán.
6. Jaskál, from Jaisak Khán.
7. Maindál, from Jalál Dín, Kiás Dín and Bhurá Khán.
8. Báránsháhia, from Bárán Khán.
9. Samwáliá, } from Muhammad Khán.
10. Miáná, } from Muhammad Khán.
11. Malkáná, } from Muhammad Khán.
12. Malkál, from Malik Khán.
13. Ghaniyál, from Ghani Khán.
14. Ghaghiál, from Ghaghi Khán.

Chilásí, an inhabitant of Chilás, which is a canton comprising six valleys in the Indus Kohistán. Its inaccessibility has given the Chilásís a spirit of independence and a distinctive character among all the Kohistán communities. Though but somewhat recent converts to Islám they are more fanatical than any other Dard community, and being Sunnis, every Shia who falls into their hands is put to death, without the usual alternative of slavery. Once subject to Gilgit, the Chilásís were notorious for slave-raiding and they once repulsed a Sikh expedition from Kashmír. In 1851 they were however subdued by that State and now give no trouble to its government. The love of music, dancing and polo, so general in the Indus Kohistán, is unknown in Chilás. Tradition says that the whole of Shinkári was once ruled by a Hindu *rájá*, Chachai by name, from Chilás, which, on his death without issue, became divided into republics, as it is now. Later, a civil war between two brothers, Bot and Matchuk, ended in the expulsion of the latter's adherents, and the Botě are now the most prosperous family in the canton. Tradition also preserves the name of Naron, the old tutelary deity of Chilás. Each village is independent and has a number of elected elders, *jushteros*, but they are the servants, rather than leaders, of those whom they represent. The elders are mostly occupied in the details of the village administration, but all matters are discussed in the *sigas* or public meeting, whose decision is announced by them. If several villages combine to hold a *sigas*, each appoints a *jushtero*, and after the general discussion, which is as open as that at a village *sigas*, a loud whistle is given, after which none but the representative *jushteros* are permitted to speak. The elders' decisions about land disputes are respected, but criminal justice is administered by the *mullahs*, who profess to follow the Muhammadan Law, but who are really guided by ancient custom, which is very strong in some villages. Murder is rare and is generally regarded as a tort to be avenged by the nearest relation. The blood feud is however not allowed to continue indefinitely and after a time the parties are made to swear peace on the Qurán.—Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 17 and 18.

CHILISS, a group of some 200 families, so called by their neighbours, but styling themselves Galis, found scattered in the Kohi tract in the Indus Kohistán. Originally, say their traditions, settled in Buner, they migrated to Swát and thence to the Indus in vain attempts to escape conversion to Islám. They are looked up to by their neighbours and occupy, as a rule, the best land in the country. Probably an offshoot of the Torwálik, they doubtless derive their name from Cháhil,* the principal village in Torwál: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 10, 69.

CHÍMA.—One of the largest Jáṭ tribes in the Punjáb. They say that some 25 generations back their ancestor Chíma, a Chauhán Rájput, fled from Delhi after the defeat of Rai Tanúra† (Prithi Ráj), by Muhammad of Ghor, first to Káṅgṛa in the Delhi District and then to Amritsar, where his son Chotú Mal founded a village on the Beás in the time of Ala-ud-dín. His grandson was called Rána Kang, and the youngest of his eight sons, Dhol (the name appears among the Hínjra), was the ancestor of their present clans—Dogal, Mohtil, Nagára and Chíma. The Chíma have the peculiar marriage customs described under the Sáhi Jáṭs, and they are said to be served by Jogis instead of Brahmans, but now-a-days Bhania *purohits* are said to perform their ceremonies. They are a powerful and united tribe, but quarrelsome. They are said to marry within the tribe as well as with their neighbours. The bulk of the tribe embraced Islám in the times of Fíroz Sháh and Aurangzeb, but many retain their old customs. They are most numerous in Siálkoṭ, but hold 42 villages in Gujránwála, and have spread both eastwards and westwards along the foot of the hills.

It is noteworthy that the tribe takes its generic name from its youngest clan, and is descended from Dhol, a youngest son.

Another genealogy is—

Rai Tanúra.
|
Chotú Mal.
|
Chima (4th in descent).

Audhan. — Audhar.

(Audhan) | Rávan, founded Chíma.

The *Siálkoṭ Pamphlet* of 1866 makes them Somabansi Rájputs, claiming descent from Ráma (*sic*) Ganj. It also says they follow the *chúṇdavand* rule of inheritance.

CHIMA, a Hindu and Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHIMNE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHINA, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHÍNÁ, *see* Chhína.

CHISHTI.—The Chishtis are by origin one of the regular Muhammadan orders. They trace their foundation to one Abu Isháq, ninth in succession from Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, who migrating

* But Chiliss also occurs as a proper name in Hurza: *Ibid*, p. 27.

† Sic: for Pithora.

from Asia Minor, settled at Chisht, a village in Khurásán and became the teacher of a large body of Musalmáns.* One of his successors, Khwája Muín-ud-dín Chishtí, a native of Sanjar in Persia, migrated to India in the time of Ghiás-ud-dín Balban, settled in Ajmer and established the order in India. His *khalífa* or immediate successor was Khwája Qutb-ud-dín Bakhtiár Káki, who is buried near the Qutb Minár at Delhi,† and his successor was the celebrated Bábá Faríd Shakarganj, whose shrine is at Pákpattan in Montgomery. The surname of this saint is said to be derived from the fact that, owing to the purity of his body, all he ate became sugar : if we may trust another story, he "nourished himself by holding to his stomach wooden cakes and fruits when he felt hungry. This miraculous but inexpensive provender is still preserved." An immense fair is held at his shrine each year, and the object of every pilgrim who attends is to get through the narrow gate of the shrine on the afternoon or night of the 5th Muharram. The saint is adored by Hindus‡ as well as Musalmáns, and to be a disciple of Bábá Faríd does not necessarily imply being a Chishtí; and, again, the descendants of this saint and his relations, carnal or spiritual, have formed themselves into a separate caste of men who are found on the Sutlej in Montgomery and who, though bearing the name of Chishtí, are now in all respects an ordinary lay caste, quite apart from the religious order of the same name.

Bábá Faríd had two disciples : one of these was Ali Ahmad surnamed Sábir, whose shrine is at Píran Kaliar near Rurkí, and whose followers are known as Sábir Chishtís ; the other was the celebrated and mysterious Nizám-ud-dín Aulia (1232-1324 A. D.), around whose tomb are collected some of the choicest monuments of ancient Delhi, and whose disciples are known as Nizámís.

The Chishtís in repeating the profession of faith lay a peculiar stress on the words *Illalláhu*, repeating these with great violence, and shaking at the same time their heads and the upper part of their bodies. The sect is said to be specially affected by Shías, and it is distinguished by its adoption of vocal music in its religious services. The members of the order are worked up by these religious songs to a high pitch of excitement, and often sink down exhausted. They frequently wear coloured clothes, especially clothes dyed with ochre or with the bark of the acacia tree. Their principal shrines in the Punjáb are the tomb of Nizám-ud-dín Aulia at Delhi, the *khángáh* of Míran Bhik in Ambála, the shrine of Bábá Faríd at Pákpattan, and the *khángáh* of Hazrat Sulaimán at Taunsa in Dera Ghází Khán.

In Baháwalpur the Chishti sect has in modern times shown great vitality. Shaikh Táj-ud-dín Chishti was a grandson of Faríd-ud-dín Shakar-ganj and his descendants founded the village of Chishtián in that State. His shrine is also called Rozá Táj Sarwar. Many tribes accepted Islám at his hands, especially the Sodhá and Ráth, and this led to war with the Rájputs of Bíkáner. The saint on going forth to battle

* "The Chishti or Chishtia is an order of Muhammadan *faqírs* founded by Banda Nawáz who is buried at Kalbargah."—*Punjab Census Report*, 1881, Section 518.

† See the interesting account of this saint given in the late Mr. Carr Stephen's *Archæology of Delhi*, p. 174 *seqq.* He is the patron saint of the Afgháns.

‡ In Gurgaon the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Chishti is mainly frequented by Hindus.

pitched a flag on top of his house and told his women-folk that as long as the flag stood they would know he was safe. Unfortunately the flag was accidentally knocked down and the women prayed for the earth to swallow them up as the saint had commanded. Their prayer was granted and they were engulfed, only the edges of their shawls remaining outside. A tower was built on the spot and at it women still make vows. One of the women, however, a Bhaṭṭi by tribe, did not join in the prayer and was not engulfed, but made her escape. Hence the Chishtís do not marry Bhaṭṭi women to this day. Near this shrine, at the tomb of Khwája Núr Muhammad, stood five large *jand* trees, called *Panján Pírán de jand*, or the *jand* trees of the five *pírs*. Under their shade Báwá Nának once sat and prophesied that he who should obtain possession of it would indeed be blessed, for it was a part of paradise. Muhammadans here sacrifice goats and sheep after offering prayers for rain. Hindus offer a covering of chintz for the restoration of health, and sugar and boiled grain for rain.

The Chishti revival.—The decay of the movement headed by Báwa Faríd Shakar-ganj had become marked, when Khwája Núr Muhammad Qiblá-i-Alim, a Punwár Rájput of the Kharral tribe, revived it. This saint was a disciple of Maulána Fakhr-ud-dín, Muhíb-ul-Nabi, of Delhi. He had miraculous powers and once saved the sinking ship of one of his disciples,* his spirit being able to leave his body at will. He had promised another disciple to pray for him at his death, and though he pre-deceased him, re-appeared in the flesh and fulfilled the promise. It would seem that in a sense the rise of the Chishti sect marks an indigenous revival of Islám, under religious leaders of local tribes, instead of the older Sayyid families. Thus the Baloch tribes on the Indus are often followers of the Chishti saints, but even the Sayyids of both branches recognize their authority.

The four chief *khalifas* of Qiblá-i-Alim were, Núr Muhammad II, of Hájipur or Nárowála, in tahsil Rájanpur, Qázi Muhammad Aqíl, of Chácharán Sharíf, Háfiz Muhammad Jamál, Multáni, and Khwája Muhammad Sulaimán Khán, of Taunsa Sharíf, in tahsil Sanghar. Khalífa Muhammad Aqíl was a Qoraishi and one of his descendants, Shaikh Muhammad Kora, founded the religious tribe of that name. Muhammad Aqíl's shrine was at Kot Mithan, but, when Ranjít Singh conquered the Deráját, Khwája Khudá Bakhsh, Mahbúb Iláhi, his descendant, settled at Chácharán Sharíf, which may now be regarded as the head-quarter of the Baháwalpur State religion. Muhammad Aqíl displayed many miracles and in his old age, owing to his spiritual enlightenment, had no shadow; so he used to come out of his house on dark nights only, in order to conceal his sanctity. A cloth (*lungi*) which passed through his body is kept as a relic to this day. One of his *khalífas* was Maulvi Sultán Mahmúd whose shrine is at Khán Bela. This saint was fond of *missi*, a kind of bread, of fowls and of snuff, in his lifetime; so these are offered at his shrine—a clear instance of anthropolatry—very similar are the offerings made to Bírs. The Súfis, or devotees of the Chishtia sect, have a number of songs (*káfis*) which they consider the food of the soul. Their principal poets are Budha Sháh, Ghulám Sháh, a

*Cf. the story of the Sikh Gurú Rám Rái given at section 32 of the *Punjab Census Report*, 1902.

Sindhi, and Khwája Ghulám Faríd, late *sajjáda-nishín* of Chácharán Sharíf. The Chishtis, generally, are devoted to music. Outwardly the followers of the *sajjáda-nashíns* of Chácharán are distinguished by a special head-dress, the Chácharán-wála *top*, or hat, which is shaped like a mosque and is about 15 inches high, covering the ears and neck.

As a caste the Chishtís appear to be absorbing the Naqshbandis, many of the Qádrias and other Súfi sects, especially in the south-east Punjáb. Like the Bodlas the Chishtís were till lately wholly nomad. They take Rájput girls to wife. There is a saying—" You can tell a Chishtí by his squint-eye " ; but the origin of the saying is unknown.

CHITRAGUPTA-BANSI, one of the two classes of the Káyasths *q. v.*, found in Northern India.

CHITRÁLI,* an inhabitant of the State of Chitrál. The Chitrális are divided into three classes—Adamzádas, Arbábzádas and Faqír-Miskín. The first-named are divided into some 23 clans including the KATOR, the family of the Mihtar of Chitrál, whence it is also called Mihtari. The other Adamzáda clans are—

Khushwakté.† } ‡	Atam Begé.	Shighniye.
Razá. } ‡	Mazbé.	Dachmané.
Muhammad Begé. } ‡	Mirasiye.	Khoja.
Sangalé. } ‡	Khoshal Begé.	Byuriye.
Kushamadé. } ‡	Khashé.	Roshte.
Khániye. } ‡	Munfiat Kháné.	Kisrawe.
Burushe.	Bayike.	
Zundre or Ronos.	Qabile.	

From the Rono§ families the *wazírs* are generally, but not always, chosen. The Ronos are most numerous in Yassin, Mastúj and Chitrál, and are found, though in decreasing numbers, as one goes eastward, in Nágar, Gilgit, Punyál, etc. In Nágar and Yassin they call themselves Hara or Haraiyo, in Wákhán and Sarikul Khaíbar-Khatar, and in Shighnán Gaibalik-Khatar. Wherever found they are held in great respect. Three principal traditions as to their origin exist, (1) that they descended from Zún, Rono and Harai, the three sons of Súmálik who ruled in Mastúj before the Sháhrei dynasty of the Shins was established; (2) that they are of Arab descent, from Muhammad Hanífa, son of Ali; and (3) that they came from the ancient principality of Rájauri, near Púnch, and are descended from three brothers, Sirang, Súrúng and Khangar ,Phutúto. In appearance generally taller than the other inhabitants of Chitrál, with rather high cheek-bones, oval faces not thickly bearded, and fairly developed features, some of them resemble high-class Rájputs in type. They give daughters to the ruling families, and the children of

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* Chitrál, Chitrár or Chitlár, as it is also called, will be found described in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

† The Khushwakté were rulers of Mastúj and conquered Yássin. Descendants of the Kators and Khushwakté families are alike called Mihtarjao or Mihtarbak, *i.e.* sons of Mihtars.

‡ Called collectively Shah Sangale: descended from the common ancestor and founder of the Katorí and Khushwakté families.

§ Ronò appears to be unquestionably the same word asRáná, the change from á to o being very common. Philological speculation might suggest the following equivalents: Súmálik = Siwálik; Zún = Jún, the aborigines of Siálkot; Khatar = Kshatriya, Khattri, or Khattar (in Báwalpindi).

such marriages can succeed to all the honours of the father's family. They all give daughters to Sayyids, and the Zundre of Chitrál do not refuse them to the Paṭháns of Dir. In their turn, however, they take wives from both Shins and Yeshkuns, and the children of such wives rank as Ronos and, if daughters, can marry into ruling families. Occasionally Rono women are given to Shins and Yeshkuns, but this is a penalty for misconduct when they cannot find husbands in their own class. Ruling families give daughters born of slaves or concubines to Ronos, but not those born of lawful wives.*

The Arbábzádas and Faqír-Miskín are really one and the same, but the latter are the very poor class, some having barely sufficient to live on. The Kho, who inhabit the whole of Kashkar Bálá, the Lut-kho and Arkari valleys and the main valley down to Drosh, are by class Faqír-Miskín. They call the country Kho also, and divide it into Túri-kho (Upper), Múl-kho (Lower) and Lut-kho (Great). They speak Kho-wár, and are divided into classes such as the Toriye, Shire, Darkháne and Shoháne, but have no caste distinctions. The YIDGHAL are also classed as Faqír-Miskíns, as are the KÁLÁSH and BASHGÁLI Káfirs, DANGARIKS, GABR, and Siáh Posh—all broken tribes subject to Chitrál.

The Arbábzádas are really well-to-do Faqír-Miskín who have been rewarded for services to the Mihtar. Coolies and ponies are furnished for his service by both these classes, the Adamzádas being exempt, and this *corvée* falls very heavily on them.

The Ashima-dek (or more correctly Hashmat-diak), according to Biddulph, is a large class, ranking below the Zundré and comprising the following clans :—

Atam Begé.	Dashmanné.	Zadimé.
Bairám Begé.	Jikáné.	Májé.
Baiyeke.	Kashé, of Kash, in Badakhshán.	Shaúké.
Barshintak.	Koshiál Begé.	Shighnie (of Shighnán).

The term Hashmat-diak† signifies food-giver, and this class is bound to supply the Mihtar and his retainers with 8 sheep and as many *kharwárs* of wheat from each house whenever he passes through their villages, but it pays no other revenue.

In the valley below Chitrál, scattered among the villages, a number of the meaner castes are found, as in the Gilgit and Indus valleys. They are called Ustáds or "artificers" and include Dartoche (carpenters), Dargere (wooden bowl makers), Kúlále (potters), Doms (musicians), and Mochis (blacksmiths). The two latter rank below the rest and only intermarry among themselves. The other three intermarry without restriction *inter se*, and occasionally give daughters to the Faqír-Miskín class. Ustáds are not found in Káshkár Bálá or Lut-kho.

The physical characteristics of the Chitrális vary little. In appearance the men are light, active figures from 5′ 5″ to 5′ 8″ in height. Though well made they are not, as a rule, remarkable for muscular development,

* It is unnecessary to point out the analogies presented by the social system in Chitrál to that which prevails in Kángṛa, as described by Sir James Lyall in his *Settlement Report* on that District.

† From *hashmat* or *ashmat*, food, given to the Mihtar and his servants when they are travelling, by the Arbábzáda class.

presenting in this respect a marked contrast to the Tartar races, and, despite their hardy, simple lives, they seem unequal to any prolonged physical effort. Their constitutions also lack stamina and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physique is strongly marked in the Shins. In disposition tractable, good-tempered fond of merry-making, the Chitrális are neither cruel nor quarrelsome and readily submit to authority, though the Arbábzáda class compares unfavourably with the older tribes, having been guilty of cruelties in war.

The women are pleasing-looking when young, but not particularly handsome. The Khos of Faqír-Miskín status, however, are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus about Koli, but better looking, having oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. Their most striking feature is their large, beautiful eyes which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They are also proud of their unusually fine hair. The Chitrál women used to be in great demand in the slave markets of Kábul, Pesháwar and Badakhshán. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Búrish of Yassín and Hunza where individuals may be found who might pass for Europeans, and red hair is not uncommon.

In Chitrál, as in some of the valleys to the westward, many customs have in part disappeared under the influence of Islám.

The usual dress in Chitrál, as in Yassín, Hunza, Nágar, Sirikot, Wákhán, etc., is a loose woollen robe, for which those who can afford it substitute cotton in summer. This is of the same cut as the woollen robe, but has quilted edges, worked round the neck and front with silk embroidery. When first put on the sleeves, which are very full, are crimped in minute folds, right up to the neck, giving the wearer a clerical appearance. Boots of soft leather are also worn. As in Wákhán and Sirikot the men wear small, scanty turbans, not the rolled cap of Gilgit and Astor. The women wear wide trousers, over which is a loose chemise of coarse-coloured cotton stuff, fastening in the middle at the throat, and coming down to the knees. The opening is held together by a circular buckle, from which hangs a curious triangular silver ornament called *peshawez*, that varies in size according to the circumstances of the wearer. Round the neck are generally one or two necklaces of silver beads with oval silver medallions, and a piece of carnelian or turquoise set in them. They also wear a loose woollen cap, generally of dark colour such as brown; but this kind of cap is now confined to women of the lower classes, residing in the upper valleys, and Chitráli women of the better classes wear embroidered silk caps. In the Shín caste unmarried women are distinguished by a white cap, which is never worn by married Shín women.

Both men and women wear numbers of charms, sewn in bright-coloured silk, and suspended from the cap or dress by small circular brass buckles. Some of the buckles are very tastefully worked. A curious kind of cloth is sometimes woven out of bird's down. That of wild fowl and of the great vulture (G. himalayensis) is most generally used. The down is twisted into coarse thread, which is then woven like ordinary cloth. Robes made of it are very warm, but always have a

fluffy uncomfortable look, suggestive of dirt. They are only made in the houses of those in good circumstances. The *pashm* of the ibex is also in great demand for warm clothing, but it never seems to lose its strong goaty smell.

When young the men shave the whole top of the head from the forehead to the nape of the neck, the hair on both sides being allowed to grow long and gathered into a single large curl on each side of the neck. The beard is kept shorn.* Youths of the better class only shave the top of the head for a breadth of two inches in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast long locks dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head—an ancient Persian fashion.† On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved in orthodox Muhammadan fashion and the beard allowed to grow. The effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side and then on the other, hands are joined and each kisses the other's hand in turn. When the meeting is between two of unequal rank the inferior kisses the hand of the superior and he in return kisses the former on the cheek—in the ancient Persian fashion.‡

In Chitrál and Yassin, as in Shighnán, Badakhshán, Wákhán, Gilgit and Hunza§ a chief's visit to a chief is celebrated by the *kubah,* an observance thus described by Biddulph :—"On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,‖ and the followers of both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback, while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue."

In the Khowar tongue the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction: but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother" which may point to polygamy as the ancient custom of the Khos.¶ Marriage of a widow with the husband's brother is common, though not compulsory.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show more of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Muhammadan communities. In case of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together, but should he slay the one and not the other he is held guilty of murder.** When conclusive proof is wanting in a trial before the *wazír,* guarantee is taken for the

* These fashions have also been adopted by the Báltis in Báltistán.
† Biddulph cites Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies, IV.*
‡ Biddulph cites Strabo, Bk. XV, Ch. 3, 20.
§ In Nágar it is customary to kill the buffalo with an arrow.
‖ Polo ground: so-called in Shíne. In Chitráli it is called *jináli.*
¶ Maulaví Ghulám Muhammad however notes that the mother's sister is called *biah.*
** This is the rule in Sarikul and Wákhán as well as south of the Hindu Kúsh.

future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast, and so sacred is the tie of fosterage thus created that it has never been known to be broken. The husband has however a right to both their lives.*

The custom of fosterage is maintained among all the ruling families of the states of the Hindu Kúsh and its ties seem stronger than those of blood kinship. When a child is born it is assigned to a foster-mother and brought up in her house, so that frequently the father does not see it till it is six or seven years old.† The fortunes of the foster-mother's family are unalterably bound up with those of the child and should exile be his lot they accompany him. On the other hand if he rises to influence his foster-father is generally his confidential adviser and his foster-brothers are employed on the most important missions.

Friendship too is commonly cemented by the milk tie. If a woman dreams that she has adopted any one, or a man dreams that he has been adopted by any woman, the tie is created in the manner, already described as in vogue to make the woman *tabu* to the man. Not many years ago this custom was very common, though it is falling into disuse.‡ A young couple at marriage sometimes induce a friend to become their foster-father, and the tie is ratified when they eat together: both being seated opposite each other, the foster-father, seated between them, takes a piece of bread in each hand and crossing his arms puts the bread into their mouths, taking care to keep his right hand uppermost. Marriage between foster-kindred is regarded as incestuous. Among the Hashmat-diak the tie of fosterage is formed in a peculiar way, for in order to strengthen tribal unity it is customary for every infant to be suckled in turn by every nursing mother of the clan. In consequence there is a constant interchange of children going on among the mothers.

Polo is the national game and is called *ghál* in Chitrál where it is played in a special way. Shooting from horse-back at a gourd filled with ashes, or at a small ball, hung from a pole 30 feet high, is also practised. Dancing is the national amusement, several different steps being in vogue, each with its special air. Almost all these commence slowly, increasing in pace till the performer is bounding round the circle at top speed. In Chitrál and Yassin the Hashmat-diak affect to despise dancing, but the rulers keep dancing-boys for their amusement. Singing is common and the Khowar songs, which are mostly amatory in character, show a more cultivated taste than those in the Shína tongue, the music of the language and the better rhythm of the verse entitling them to the first place in Dard poetry.§

The Chitrális are noted for their swordsmanship, which has gained many a victory over matchlocks.

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* But if he does not kill them and intends to divorce his wife, or if his wife or daughter has been enticed away by some one, he can take as compensation some or all of the seducer's property. This form of divorce is called in Shiná *pito phare bák*, *i.e.*, words uttered while turning his back towards the assembly, as by turning his back he signifies his acceptance of compensation.

† The Rájá of Bashahr observes a similar custom.

‡ Milk from a woman's breast is esteemed a sovereign remedy for cataract and other eye-diseases. Its use establishes the milk-tie for ever afterwards.

§ In Gilgit, Hunza and Nágar the songs are generally of a warlike nature and celebrate the deeds of different princes.

The Chitrál calendar is computed by the solar year, commencing with the winter solstice; but the months take their names from peculiarities of season or agricultural operations:—

1. Thúngshal or Thhongshal (long nights).
2. Phheting (extreme cold).
3. Áriyán (wild duck).
4. Sháhdágh (black mark).*
5. Boi (sparrows).
6. Ronzak (trembling—of the growing corn).
7. Yogh (full).
8. Múzho Was (middle).
9. Poiyánáso (the end).
10. Kholkremi (threshing).
11. Kishman (sowing).
12. Chhanchori (leaf-falling).

The Muhammadan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Hashmat-diak class. The Muhammadan days of the week are used, but Friday is called Adinna.

In Chitrál the new year festival is called Dashti. It corresponds to the Nos† of Yásin, Gilgit, Hunza, Nágar, Ponyál, Astor and Gor, but no bonfires are lit as in those territories.‡

At the commencement of the wheat harvest the Phindik,§ as it is called in Chitrál, is observed. The day having been fixed with reference to the state of the crop, the last hour of daylight for the preceding ten days is spent in dancing on the *shawaran*. At dusk on the evening before the festival, a member of every household gathers a handful of ears of corn. This is supposed to be done secretly. A few of the ears are hung over the door of the house, and the rest are roasted next morning and eaten steeped in milk. The day is passed in the usual rejoicings, and on the following day harvest operations are commenced. As some crops are always more forward than others, and ready to be reaped before the appointed day, no restriction is placed on their being cut; but to eat of the grain before the festival would provoke ill-luck and misfortune.

Next comes the Jastandikáik ‖ or "devil-driving" which celebrates the completion of the harvest. When the last crop of the autumn has been gathered, it is necessary to drive away evil spirits from the granaries. A kind of porridge called *múl* is eaten, and the head of the household takes his matchlock and fires it into the floor. Then, going [illegible] he sets to work loading and firing till his powder-horn is [illegible]sted, all his neighbours being similarly employed. The next day is spent in the usual rejoicings, part of which consists in firing at a sheep's head set up as a mark.

A festival called Binisik, "seed-sowing"—somewhat similar to the Chilli of Gilgit and the Thamer Bopan or "the Tham's sowing" of Hunza and Nágar—takes place in Chitrál; but the present ruling

* In allusion to the earth's appearance when the snow melts.

† Nos means 'fattening,' and alludes to the slaughtering of cattle which takes place. The first day is one of work, and is devoted in every household to dressing and storing the carcases of bullocks, sheep, and goats slaughtered a few days previously. This is done by drying them in a particular way, so that they remain fit for food for several months. This is necessary because the pastures have become covered with snow and only sufficient fodder is stored to keep a few animals alive through the winter.

‡ In Chilás and Dárel, too, no bonfires are in vogue at the Daikio, as this festival is there called.

§ Called Ganoni in Gilgit and Shágat in Wákhán.

‖ The Domenike or "smoke-making" of Gilgit.

class having never identified themselves with their humbler subjects, the ruler takes no part in it.* The following account of the Chilli festival in Gilgit is contributed by Maulavi Ghulám Muhammad, author of *The Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*:—

" At night a big goat called *asirkhan ai mugar* (the goat of the kitchen) was killed at the Rá's house and a feast prepared by cooking about a maund of rice and two of flour. The baking of the bread was commenced by an unmarried girl, on whom a gift (*khillat*) of a *chádar* (head cover) of longcloth was bestowed, but the other women took up her task. In former times a big loaf, called *bi ai tiki* (the loaf of seed), of a maund of flour, was also cooked on a fire made of straw, and distributed, half to a man of the Katchata† family, a fourth to the *yarfa* (the Rájá's grain collector), and a fourth to the Rájá's ploughmen. But on this occasion three loaves (two of 20 *sers* each and one of ten *sers*) were prepared. The big loaf was about seven feet in circumference and four inches thick. One of them, with 24 *sers* of flour, was given to the Katchata in the morning, and the other two were divided equally between the *yarfa* and the ploughmen in the afternoon. The local band played all through the night with dancing and singing. At 10 in the morning the people of Gilgit, Barmas, etc., assembled at the Rá's house where a *durbar* was observed, *i.e.*, some *ghi*, *chilli* leaves and seeds of the wild rue were placed on an iron pan, beneath which a little fire was made in order to fumigate the air with its smoke. The bandsmen and the man who had brought the load of *chilli* branches from the jungle, were then each given a *khillat* of a muslin turban. A *khillat* of a turban and a *choga* (cloak) was also given to Ghulám, one of the Katchata family, whose face was then rubbed with flour, a small loaf of bread mixed with *ghi* being given him to eat. According to custom while eating this he ought to have bellowed like an ox, but this rite was not observed. A maund of wheat was also put in a leather bag. The procession was ready to proceed to the Rá's field by about 11-30. The bag of grain was loaded on the Katchata, one man took the iron pan used in the *Dúban*, and another took the two big loaves, the one uppermost being covered with about four *sers* of butter with a pomegranate placed in the middle, while two *chilli* branches were stuck in the butter round the pomegranate. Two men carried a he- and a she-goat, while the remainder of the procession had branches of *chilli* in their hands; and the procession, with the band playing in front, started for the Rá's field where the sowing was to be commenced.

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* In Yásin this festival is accompanied by a curious custom. The *charvelu* is mounted on a good horse and clad in a robe of honour given him by the Mihtar. In this way he is conducted to the polo ground, where all seat themselves while the music strikes up, and the *tarangfah* gallops twice up and down the ground. Should any accident happen to him, such as either himself or his horse falling, it is regarded as a presage of misfortune to the whole community, and of speedy death to himself. In order to avert evil, he and his family observe the day as a solemn fast.

† A family of Gilgit, which in ancient times became such a source of danger to the chief of Gilgit, that it was attacked and massacred to a man, only a pregnant woman managing to escape towards Darel. After this the crops of Gilgit did not flourish for several years, and a *danyál* (soothsayer) said that its fertility depended on the Katchata family, and that until a man of that clan was brought there to commence the seed-sowing the crops would never flourish. After a great search the son of the woman who had escaped towards Darel was found and brought to Gilgit. On his return the crops gave a good outturn.

The Katchata then took from a leather bag one after the other 4 handfuls of wheat, in each of which he mixed a *masha* of gold-dust, and gave them to Rájá Ali Dád Khán, who threw the first handful towards the west, the second towards the east, the third to the north and the fourth to the south. Then the Rá himself ploughed three turns in his field with a pair of bullocks which were ready on the spot. The *wazír* of Gilgit ought then to have ploughed three turns but this was omitted. The band then commenced playing and two grey-beards of good family, with swords and shields in their hands, jumped forward and began to dance amid joyous cheers from the people. This dance is called *achhúsh* meaning 'prestige' or 'pomp,' and is intended to awaken the deity of prestige. Meanwhile a he-goat was, according to custom, killed by a man of a Rono family. This goat is called *achhúsh ai mugar, i.e.*, 'the goat of the deity of pomp' and is sacrificed in his honour. Its head and two of its feet were separated and two men, one with the head and the other with the two feet in their hands, came forward and danced amid the rejoicings of the people. All the flesh of the goat was, as is customary, given to the people of Barmas village to prepare a feast. A she-goat, called the *yadeni ai ayi, i.e.*, 'the goat of the deity of drums,' was then killed and given to the bandsmen. The procession then started back to the Rájá's house where the feast cooked at night was served. The Rájá had to give some bread to the *motabars* and the bandsmen from his own dish. This custom is called *ishpin*; after that the people started for the *shawaran* (polo ground) to play polo and make merry. After polo the people again went to the Rá's house and dined there. The Katchata commenced ploughing his fields the same day, while the other *zamíndárs* did not commence work on their fields till the next day."*

Chohang, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chohar, a Dogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Chokáhí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* The corresponding Thomil festival of Puniál is thus described by the Maulavi:—

" A very interesting ceremony known as the Thomil used to be observed every year at Sher Killa, the seat of the Rájá of Puniál, before seed-sowing. On the day it was to be observed, the people visited the Rájá in his Fort and got from him 10 or 20 *sers* of flour, 4 or 6 *sers* of *ghi* and one big goat. The flour was made into broad thin leaves on which the *ghi* was placed. The preliminaries were observed in the Fort. All the persons present held in their hands a small branch of the holy juniper tree, and those possessing guns brought their weapons with them. From the gate of the Fort, the Rájá attended by his people marched out to the open fields among their shouts and cries, a band playing various war-tunes. The assembly then gathered in an open field, and the cooked leaves were presented to the Rájá who tasted one of them. The rest was then distributed among all present. After the feast prayer was made for an abundant crop. The goat was then killed, and leaving the carcase behind, its head was brought before the assembly and being greased with butter, flour was sprinkled on it from the forehead down to the nose. The head was then placed at some distance as a target to be fired at. The firing was opened by the Rájá who was followed by his *motabars* and any other who possessed fire-arms. Whosoever hit the head was liable to contribute a *chalar* of country wine. When this target practice was over, the assembly dispersed after a *nati* dance, which was given by a *motabar* of the Rájá, who used to present him with a turban. In the evening the goat's flesh was roasted and enjoyed with the wine contributed by those who had hit its head in the day. Only the people of Sher Killa had the right to share in this merry-making, no one else from other villages of Puniál being even allowed to attend it. A few years ago this ceremony was discontinued, but it was revived this year (1910)."

CHOKAR, Chhokar, a Gujar tribe, found in Karnál, where they have long been settled. Immigrating from beyond Muttra they once held a *chaubísi*, or group of 24 villages, with Namaunda as their head-quarters.

CHOKHIA, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHONIYA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHOṆPṚA, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

CHOPRA, a Khatri section.

CHOSAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHOTA, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHOTIA, one of the clans of the Pachádas (*q. v.*). They claim to be Chauhán Rájputs by descent from their eponym, Chotiá. Most of them are Muhammadans and only a few Hindus.

CHOWAH, Chowan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

CHUCHKÁNA, a clan of the Siáls.

CHUHÁL, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

CHÚHAN, (? Chauhán) a sept of Baurias, claiming Chauhán descent, found in Ferozepur. They avoid the use of oil in lamps, and use *ghi* instead. After the wedding a girl seldom revisits her parents' home, and if in consequence of a quarrel with her husband's people she does so, and dies in her paternal home, her parents are bound to find another bride for her husband in her stead. Fornication in this sept is punished with excommunication and re-admission to the caste only permitted on payment of a fine, but even that does not remove the stigma.

CHUHṚÁ.—The sweeper or scavenger, and hence the out-caste, *par excellence*, of the Punjab, whose name is popularly supposed to be a corruption of Sudra.* It has many synonyms, but few of them are precisely the exact equivalent of Chuhṛá. Thus a Chamár is, probably by origin, a Chuhṛá who works in leather, but the Chamárs appear to form almost a distinct caste, though both the castes are placed in the same rank and lumped together in the popular phrase Chuhṛá-Chamár, just as Mochi-Juláhá is used to denote collectively the two castes which bear those names. As a scavenger or rather as a 'sweeper up of dust' the Chuhṛá is termed *khák-rob*. As a domestic he is ironically† styled Mihtar or 'chieftain': as a worker in leather he is called a Ḍheḍ (lit. 'crow'), as a weaver he is styled Megh, at least in Siálkoṭ, in which district the Meghs however form to all intents and purposes a separate caste: and as an executioner he is known as Jallád. Further as a tanner the Chuhṛá is called a Khaṭík in the Eastern Punjab, and as a breeder of swine he is known as a Háli. These two groups appear to form distinct castes, or at least sub-castes which rank below the Chuhṛá proper. The Khaṭíks have a sub-group called Basúr.

Change of religion also involves the adoption of a new title and the Chuhṛá on conversion to Sikhism becomes a Mazbi or Mazhabi,

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* Once Bálmík, founder of the caste, arrived late at a feast given by a Bhagat and found only fragments of it left. These he devoured and earned the name of Chuhṛa or 'one who eats leavings.'

† But in Gurgaon *mihtar* is used as equivalent to *chaudhri* and the term may be originally free from any taint of irony.

while one who embraces Islám becomes a Musalli,* or in the south-west of the Punjab a Kurtana,† or he may ever aspire to be entitled Díndár: indeed in the villages of the Pachháda Rájpúts of Sirsa the people who remove filth are called Díndár-Khákrob and they follow Muhammadan observances, being even admitted to smoke with other Muhammadans. Bhangi is also used, but not very correctly, as a synonym for Chuhṛá.

The Chuhṛás' relations to other castes vary considerably. They are distinctly superior to the Sánsis, from whom alone they will not eat in Nábha. But in Gurgaon they are also said to look down upon the Changaṛs or Dhias, who are makers of winnowing sieves, and they are said to refuse food from the Dhának's hands too, though their claim to superiority is a doubtful one. The Chuhṛás are split up into various groups:

Territorial.

Deswáli—of the Gangetic plain.	Sotarwála—of the riverain lands.
Bágṛi—of the Great Indian Desert.	Jangalke—of the Jangal tract.

Various other divisions exist, being recognised by the Chuhṛás themselves if not by others. Such are:—

1. Bálmíkí.	2. Lál-Begí.

These two are really identical, Lál Beg having been Bálmík's disciple. Both terms are thus equivalent to 'disciples of Bálmík or Lál Beg.'

The *gots* of the Chuhṛás are numerous and some are wide-spread. Various origins are claimed for them. Thus the Bohat, found in Gurgaon, claim to be Punwár Rájputs, and the Sárwán, also of Gurgaon, to be Chauháns. There is also a Chauhán *got*, south of the Sutlej.

In Rohtak the Lohat also claim to be descendants of one Sánjhar Dás, a Rájput, while the Baohár say they are Punwár Rájputs from Dháránagri in the Deccan and that their ancestors immigrated into that District with the Káyaths. These two *gots* do not intermarry with Changaṛs, and lay stress on the necessity for marrying a girl before she is 15 or 16. They regard Bálmík as God's brother and revere him as their prophet with a Muhammadan ritual, reciting prayers (*namáz*) in a line headed by an *imám*, and prostrating themselves with the words:—*Bálmík káfi, Bálmík sháfi, Bálmík mu'áfi, bolo momno wohi ek.*

The Pail-powár *got*, in Rohtak, also claims Rájput origin, saying that a Rájput woman who was pregnant threw in her lot with the Chuhṛás. Her son was called a Pail-powár on account of her descent. This *got* reveres Gurú Nának, does not employ Brahmans, and gets its weddings solemnized by one of its own members. But it buries its dead.

The original division, Dr. Youngson was informed, was into Lúté, Jháe, and Ṭéngré, the Lúté being Manhás Rájput, wandering Dográs; the Jháe, Dháe or Sáhí being named from their founder, who, when a child, slept beside a hedgehog (*seh*); and the Ṭéngré being makers of winnowing-sieves, living in the desert, and named Ṭéngré on account of their pride. Besides the three original divisions, there are Goriyé, so called from the fact that their founder was born in a tomb (*gor*).

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* Musalli may be defined as a Chuhṛa converted to Islám who has abandoned *harám* food, eating only *halál*. The Musallís do not intermarry with the Chuhṛas, or at least only take daughters from them.

† Kurtána or Kotana is said to be derived from Hindi *kora*, 'whip,' and *tanna* 'to stretch,' and thus to mean 'flogger,' because sweepers were employed as executioners by Muhammadan rulers.

They hail from Delhi. The founder was Sháh Jahán's son. He was also called Kaṇḍárá, because he spoke harshly.*

Next come: Paṭhán, originally from Kábul, in Akbar's time. There were three brothers, of whom Ḍhagáná was the eldest. They entered the country as *faqírs*, or *pírs*. Gil; from Chakrárí in Gujránwálá. A tree sheltered the first of the name in a time of rain: and in Dera Ghází Khán the section respects bricks. Bhaṭṭi; from the Bár in Gujránwálá, Pinḍí Bhaṭṭián, Dullá being their chief. Sahotré; in Akbar's time Sahotrá was thrown to the tigers, but the tigers did not injure him. In Dera Ghází Khán the Sahotrá section respects the lion. Soéní Bhunniár; descendants of Rájá Karn, the Brahman, who gave away 1¼ maunds of gold every day before he ate his food.

Then follow Laddaṛ; Khokar, who are said to avoid eating the heart of a dead animal in Montgomery, while in Dera Ghází Khán they do not eat *bharta* or things roasted on the fire; Khonjé, Kalíáné, Rattí, Maṭhí, Búrṭ, Momé (in *iláqa* Momá near Gondhal). The Momí are said to be descended from Bálmík. Hauns, Chapríban (in Khák beyond Lahore, makers of wicker-work), Ghussúr, Balhím, Labanté, Nahír.

The Dúm, the Chuhṛá, the Mírásí, the Máchchí, the Jhíwar, and the Changaṛ, are all of the same origin. They claim to be indigenous in the Siálkoṭ District, at least as far as the older divisions are concerned.

In the time of the Páṇḍavas and Kauravas there were four sons of Kanwar Brahmá, *viz.*, Púrabá, Párthá, Siddhrá, and Práshṭá, the last being also called Jhaumpṛá, from living in a jungle. There are other names applied to him and to his successors, such as Ghungur Bég, Ail Malúk, Lál Bég, Pír Chhoṭá, Bálmík, Bálá. The following genealogical tree was given, but I presume it is a very uncertain one:—

A Genealogy.

Práshṭá.
|
Kálak Dás, and his wife Sílawantí.
|
Alif.
|
Eighteen generations, all *jánglí*.
|
Bálá Rikhí and his house.
|
Bamrík.
|
Bál.

* Another version (from Montgomery) is that Jhata, Jhába, Tíngrá and Athwál were four brothers, probably Muhammadans. Of these Jhata became a follower of Bábá Faríd, and his descendants, called Jhatas, continued to observe the Muhammadan law (*i.e.*, did not become Chuhṛas). Jhába's and Tíngrá's descendants worked as Chuhṛas, and are known as Jhais (Chais) and Tíngrás, respectively. Of Athwál's progeny some remained Muhammadans, while others became Chuhṛas and are now known as Athwál Chuhṛas.

The Jhába (Jhai or Chai) section is closely associated with Multán. When that city was founded, tradition asserts that the king commenced to build a fort which collapsed as fast as it was built. The spot was held by the Jhába Bhangís, one of whom offered himself as the fort's foundation-stone, and is said to be still standing in the Khání Burj of the Fort. Some people regard this *burj* as a place of pilgrimage. The Jhai—possibly owing merely to his fortunate name—was sacrificed to ensure victory in battle—*Jhaye sandhi fateh wandi*, which is explained to mean, if a living Chuhṛa be built into a thick wall of burnt brick before going to war, victory is assured.

In Tarn Táran tahsíl, Amritsar District, Brahma's son, Chuhṛa, had three sons, Lata, Jhába, and a *pichhlag* named Tingru, from whom are descended the 2½ original sections of the caste.

Another Genealogy or Kursínáma.

Att.
|
Patt.
|
Adis and wife Véshná.
|
Saddá Saddájívá and wife Govittrí.
|
Ghung and wife Surangiyá.
|
Dhand and wife Silá Sakat.
|
Níl Kanth and wife Gó Atmá Déví.
|
Kanwar Brahmá and wife Burhadjí or Jastrí.
|
Sidhrá. Púrabá. Bhárthá. Práshta, also called Jhaumprá, 1st Incarnation, and wife Mansá Déví.
|
Ad Gópál and wife Bhilní.
|
Sankéswar and wife Sadawantí, 2nd Incarnation.
|
Unésh Deota. Mugat Gosáín and wife Dhanwantí.
|
Gaur Rikh and wife Naurangéá.
|
Dayál Rikh and wife Manglán.
|
Jal Bhigan and wife Pavittarán.
|
Angash Deotá and wife Satwantí.
|
Agganwar and wife Asná.
|
Sankh Pat or Santókh and wife Jáss Vartí, 3rd Incarnation.
|
Bálá Rikhí and wife Shám Rúp, 4th Incarnation.
|
Bír Bamrík and wife Rájwantí, 5th Incarnation.
|
Ball and wife Nau Chandrán.
|
Iswar Bálá and wife Mansá, 6th Incarnation.
|
Bálmík and wife Mahén, 7th Incarnation.
|
Ud Rikh. Budh Rikh and wife Salikán.
|
Márwar Didári and wife Dayáli.
|
Núr Didárí and wife Asáwanti.
|
Shám Surandá and wife Surgán, 8th Incarnation.
|
Shám Barbarí and wife Lachhmí.
|
Sri Rang Shám and wife Rájwanti.
|
Sati and wife Sálo.
|
Sháh Safá and wife Sáván.
|
Arján and wife Arfán.
|
A

A

Pír Sával and wife Jáfarán.

Ásá and wife Janatán. Qásá.

Ahir Malúk and wife Sikiáwatí.

Ghungar Bég and wife Násarán.

Báz Bég and wife Sadiqán.

Baréhhí Beg and wife Varsán.

Lál Bég and wife Satilán, 9th Incarnation.

Bálá Sher (also called Pír Jhóṭá, the wrestler) and wife Amólikán, 10th Incarnation.

Sadá Bálá Lál Khán and wife Roshanán.

Pír Dhagáná and wife Núr Díváni.

Sháh Súrá and wife Gussán.

Máhí Sháh. Dargáhí Sháh. Sháh Akhlás and wife Lachhmí.

Ghasítá Sháh. Yárá Sháh. Sévá Sháh and wife Sarsí.

Sarám Sháh. Jám Sháh. Arpar Sháh. Arif Sháh.

Karam Sháh. Langar Sháh. Zabardast Sháh. Chugattá Sháh. Murád Sháh.

Fazl Sháh. Mohammed Sháh.

*Karím Sháh. *Qutab Sháh. Rahm Sháh. Umar Sháh.

Falel Sháh. Qásim Sháh.

*Sardár Sháh. *Sultán Sháh.

Jawáhir Sháh. Bárá Sháh.

Alim Sháh. *Jamiat Sháh.

Fath Sháh. *Bahádur Sháh. *Nádir Sháh.

*Alif Sháh. *Gauhar Sháh.

Bálá is a name given to the leaders.

*Hákim Sháh. *Fath Sháh. *Baháwal Sháh.

A THIRD GENEALOGY FROM (MÁLER KOTLA) IS—

Akál Purakh (*i.e.*, God).

Mahádeo Sri Maháráj.

Bikhí Deo.

Rikhí Deo.

Ansadá.

Sahad Rikh.

Sandokh Rikh.

Bálmik or Bálník.

* Present representatives.

A FOURTH GENEALOGY.

Bálá Sháh Santókh Rikh dá,	Bálá Sháh is son of Santókh Rikh,
Santókh Rikh Sharáp Dit Rikh dá,	Santókh Rikh is son of Sharáp Dit Rikh,
Sharáp Dit Rikh Ainák dá,	Sharáp Dit Rikh is son of Ainák,
Ainák Rikhí dá,	Ainák is son of Rikhí,
Rikhí Bikhí dá,	Rikhí is son of Bikhí,
Bikhí Mahádév dá,	Bikhí is son of Mahádév,
Mahádév Bhagwán Aut Khandé dá,	Mahádév or Shiv is son of Aut Khanda,
Aut Khandá Alakh Purkh dá,	Aut Khanda is son of Holy Person,
Alakh Purkh Sakt dá,	Holy Person is son of Almighty Power,
Sakt Agam dá	Almighty Power is son of the Unknowable.*

Another version is that Bhárthá, Sadhará, Parátná and Purba were four Brahman brothers, and when their cow died they made Purba, the youngest, drag away the carcase, first promising to help him in his task, but eventually out-casting him for doing it. In Dera Ghází Khán Urga, Bhárga, Sidhra and Frástá, also called Chhaumpṛa, are given as the four brothers, and the following verses are current :—

(*i*) *Alláh chiṭṭhí ghalli hai, sab khol bián,*	God sent a letter, setting forth all things :
Ithé giá manké hun, kiún karin abhmán ?	'Hereunto you submitted, why do you repine
Gokhrí té aike sabí kardí aryán.	The cow was cast out by one of you, why then do you plead,
Asán Brahman janam dé gal jamé tanyán.	That "we are Brahmans by birth," ye who wear the *jámá*† tied with strings.'

The last couplet is also given thus :—

Gókhrí uté daké kardé aryán,	'They are all arguing over the cow :—
Asán Brahman janam dé gal jámé tanyán.	(Saying) "We are Brahmans by birth, though we wear the *jámá* fastened with tags." '

Further these two verses are sometimes added :—

Ute charkhane dóréli laryán,	Wearing too the chicken cloth,
Rabbá ! Sáde bha di gallán mushkil banián.	O Lord ! 'We are in great distress.'
(*ii*) *Alaf Alláh nún yád kar bandián we dhun surjanhár,*	'Remember God, O Man ! Praise be to him, the Creator and Protector of mankind !
Chugdi chardí gokhrí ho pái murdárá,	The cow fell dead while grazing
Hue deote akaṭhe jáke karin pukárá,	The gods assembled and exclaimed :—
Tusín Brahman zát de ki bangaí bhárá,	"Ye are Brahmans by caste, yet in what distress are ye fallen !
Tusáḍe pichhón kaun hai jisdá maqsad bhárá,	Who is there among ye, of high purpose ?"
Sáḍe pichhún Chhaumpṛá jisdá maqsad bhárá,	"Chaumpṛá is of us and his purpose is high."
Hukm hógiá Chhaumpṛe 'jásaté murdára,'	Chaumpṛá was bidden to cast away the carcase.
Usne dhanak chaṛhái, gokhrí já pái pichhwárá.	He drew his bow and the cow was thrown far away.
Ayá gókhrí satke kahe : 'dió bachan hamárá.'	After throwing it away he came back and said :—"Now fulfil your promise."
Chaukión sádión dúr hó terá nich utárá.	(But they said :—) "Begone from our hearths, thou art now an out-caste."

The following stanza is also current in Dera Ghází Khán :—

(*iii*) *Tún, Sáhib, ghar Báhmanán merá janam deói.*	Thou, God, hast given me birth in a Brahman's house.
Kháke sánpal piá, ekó thálí rasói.	I was brought up with others, eating together with them in the same dish.
Chaumpṛá age Rab de kare rajói :—	Chaumpṛá prays before God :—
Khabrán ghallín toṛdián, ho múnh ḍharói.	'Thou hast sent me tidings from afar—now come before me.
Merá janam dió nich ghar men, sun bandnawázá.	Thou hast given me birth in a low house, hear me, my Lord.

* *Cf.* the genealogy given at p. 530 of *The Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. III.
† The *jámá* is the long over-garment, fastened with tags instead of buttons

Nále ummat bakhsh, nále bakhsh janázá.	Grant me followers and grant me funeral prayers—(or Forgive my followers and also forgive us for not having funeral prayers).
Hindú neṛe áwan na dewen, Musalmán na paṛhen janázá.	The Hindus do not allow us to come near them, and Muhammadans will not read our funeral prayers.
Merí kaun siffát bharegá, sun gharíb-nawázá.	Who will bear me up—hearken! O Lord!'
Alláh ákhe Chaumpṛiá tún ho syáná.	God says: 'Chaumpṛá! be wise!
Do mazhab de nim dá main daryáo vagáná.	I will make two rivers to flow of the things which are forbidden by the two religions (*i.e.*, one of the carcases of cows and the other of the carcases of pigs).
Pár jannat banáké sahmná vikháná.	I will make heaven across them and show it to you.
Rám te Rahím ne chhip chhip bahná (?)	Rám (Hindus) and Rahím (Muhammadans) will conceal themselves.
Sawá neze din lákar há'ú dózakh ḍháná.	A great fire will be burnt in hell at about 10 A.M. (*i.e.*, when the sun is 1¼ bamboo high).
Alláh ákhe Chaumpṛiá ummat terí nún vich jannat pahúncháná.	God says: 'Chaumpṛá, now will I send thy followers to Heaven.'
Alláh chiṭṭhí likhí he, hath Chaumpṛe phaṛái.	God has written a letter and given it in the hands of Chaumpṛá:—
Túnhí ishó saṭná jí tainún ái.	'Thou hast to carry out this carcase—it is your fate.'

ORIGINS.

Various legends have been invented to explain the origins of the Chuhṛa caste as a whole and of its different groups. Most of these carry its history back to Bálmík as its progenitor, or, at least, its patron saint. Hence it is necessary to recount, in the first instance, what current tradition has to say of Bálmík.

One legend avers that Bálmík used to sweep Bhagwán's courtyard, and that the god gave him a robe, which he did not put on but buried in a pit. When asked by Bhagwán why he did not wear it, Bálmík went in search of it and found in it a boy whom he took to Bhagwán. The god directed him to rear the boy, who was named Lál Beg.

Bálmík is said to mean, 'born of the *balni*,' or serpent's hole. Bálmík was a Bhíl, a race of mountaineers, who used to rob and kill travellers passing through the forest. One day seven Rishis journeyed by, and when Bálmík attacked them, they asked him why he did so, as they had nothing worth stealing. He replied that he had vowed to kill all whom he found in the forest. The Rishis then enquired if he had friends to assist him if captured. Whereupon he asked his parents and wife if *they* would help him in case of need, but they declared they would not. Bálmík then told the Rishis he was friendless, and they urged him to give up his evil ways, and to repeat '*mará, mará,*' continuously. But rapidly recited '*mará, mará*' sounds like 'Rám, Rám,' and as he thus repeated God's name, his sins were forgiven him. By the end of 12 years his body was covered with dust and overgrown with grass, the flesh being decomposed. Once more the seven Rishis passed by and heard a faint voice repeating 'Rám, Rám,' under a covering of clay. This they removed, and, having re-clothed his bones with flesh, called him Bálmík, as one who had come out of a serpent's hole.

1. TABUS AND TOTEMS.

The Gil will not eat *batáún*, the egg-plant (*bhatá bart*): the Lúté do not eat hare or rabbit: the Kanaré (?) abstain from cloves: the Sabótré refuse to look on a tiger; at marriages, however, they make the image

of a tiger which the women worship: the Bhaṭṭí will not sit on a bench of boards or bricks: no Chuhṛá will eat *seh*, or hedgehog.

The Sárwán Chuhṛas do not dye cloth with *kasumba*, saffron, and will only use thatch for their roofs. In the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha they also wear no gold ornaments, thinking this *tabu* to be imposed on them by their *satí*. In Dera Gházi Khán the different sections reverence different animals, *i.e.*, the Sahótá respect the lion, the Athwál or Uthwál the camel, and one section the porcupine, while bricks are said to be revered by the Gil, men bowing and women veiling their faces before them. Thus the Sindhu *muhin* or *got* respects indigo: the Kandiára respects the horned rat; while the Khokhar *got* is said to avoid eating *bharta*, *i.e.*, anything roasted on a fire.* The Khokhar *got* is also said to abstain from the flesh of dead animals as well as from eating the heart, which all other Chuhṛás will eat.

The flesh of the hare is also avoided by Chuhṛas generally—a *tabu* explained by the following legend:—Once a Chuhṛa by chance killed a calf, and hid it under a basket, but its owner tracked it to the Chuhṛa's house. The Chuhṛa declared that the basket contained a hare, and when it was opened it was found that the calf had turned into a hare—so from that time all the Chuhṛas have given up eating hare. Some, however, do not abide by this rule. In Káṅgṛa it is said that once a hare sought Bálmík's protection, and thus the *tabu* arose. In Montgomery the avoidance of hare's flesh is ascribed to the influence of the Makhdúm Jahániáu of Sher Sháh, those who are not his followers disregarding the prohibition. In Dera Gházi Khán the current legend is that once Bálá Sháh, the ancestor of the Chuhṛas, and Mulláh Núr, the Mírásí, were in God's *dargáh*, or court. The latter asked Bálá Sháh not to sweep, whereupon a quarrel arose and Bálá Sháh struck the bard with his broom, knocking out his right eye. Mulláh Núr appealed to God and produced a hare as his witness—so now the sweepers do not eat hare's flesh. In Gurgáon, however, the prohibition is said to be confined to the Sus Gohar *got*, or, according to another account, to the Bulgher *got*. In Máler Kotla it is confined to the Sahota *got*. About Leiah, women are said to eat the hare, but not men.

2. Governing Body.

Their representative assembly, or governing body, is the Painch, Panch, Pancháyat, the members of which are chosen by the people, and the head of which, *i.e.*, the Pír Panch or Sar Panch, is selected by the other members. I have heard them speak of a *kharpanch* too, *i.e.*, the most troublesome member of the *panch!* The office of the *pír panch* is held permanently, and is even in some cases hereditary. If the *pír* is unable to preside at the meetings his place may be taken by a *sarbaráh*, or substitute, for the time being. The *painch* settles disputes of all sorts, having to interfere especially in matters of marriage and divorce; it also looks after the poor. It punishes offenders by excommunication, *hukka páni band*, and also by imposing fines of 20, 40, 100 rupees, or even more. The punishment of excommunication, of being *barádari sé judá*, is a heavy one, pointing to the fact that the people, valuing so highly the opinion of their fellow-men,

* This seems impossible. *Bhaṛthá* is possibly intended. It is a preparation of the *brinjal* (*batáún*) made by roasting it in hot ashes: Maya Singh's *Panjabi Dictionary*: s. v.

are amenable to the rules of their society by reason of sanctions affecting their standing in the society. All over the Punjáb the dearest thing to a Panjábí is his *'izzat, i.e.*, the estimation in which he is held by his fellows. In the south-east of the Province the Chuhṛas have *chabútras* or places of assembly at several towns, such as Hánsi, Hissár, Barwála, Sirsa and Bhiwáni. Each *chabútra* is under a *chaudhri*, who in Gurgaon is styled *mihtar*. The *chaudhrís* preside over *pancháyats* at which all kinds of disputes are decided, and also act at weddings as *mukhias* or spokesmen. In Nábha the *chaudhrís* are indeed said to exercise supreme authority in caste disputes.

3. Rules of Intermarriage.

They do not marry within their own section, but they take wives from all the other divisions. Marriage with a wife's sister is permitted after the death of the wife. Marriage with the wife's mother, or wife's aunt, is not allowed. Two wives are allowed; the former of whom is considered the head, and has peculiar rights and privileges. The wives live together in the same house. Marriage takes place when the girl is about 7 or 8, and even 5 years of age.

Marriages are arranged by the *náí* (barber), the *chhímbá* (washerman), and the *mírásí* (village bard and genealogist). The consent of the parents is necessary in all cases, except when the woman is a widow, or independent of her parents. Girls are never asked whom they will marry, or if they are willing to marry. They would not give an expression of their wishes, as they say, *sharm ké máré*, for shame. There is no freedom of choice in the case of young persons marrying.

A price is paid by the bridegroom's family, the amount of it being settled by the two contracting parties. It becomes the bridegroom's property after marriage. An engagement to marry may be broken off in the case of a defect or blemish in either the man or the woman, and divorce may be obtained after marriage by a regular "writing of divorcement." Divorced wives marry again. Children of different mothers inherit on equal terms, and all assume the father's section.

Widows remarry, but they have no price. The widow of an elder brother may marry a younger brother, and the widow of a younger brother may marry an elder brother. A widow marrying out of her husband's family takes her children with her.

4. Food.

It is difficult to say precisely what animals the Chuhṛas really avoid, and probably the prohibitions against eating any particular animal are loose, varying from place to place and under the pressure of circumstances. Chuhṛas in Gujrát will eat dead animals, *i.e.*, those which have died a natural death:* also the *sahna* (lizard) and wild cat, but not the jackal, fox, *goh* (lizard), or tortoise: yet one group lives chiefly on the tortoise and is called *kuchemáṇda*. Hence the Chuhṛas are superior to the Sánsís who eat jackals, etc., and inferior to the Musallis who have given up eating the flesh of animals which have died a natural death. In Siálkoṭ the Chuhṛás are said to avoid pork and only to eat flesh allowable to Muhammadans, but they may eat *harám* flesh as well as *halál*.

* Thus in Montgomery it is said all Chuhṛás, except the Khokhars, will eat the flesh of dead animals

II.—DOMESTIC CEREMONIES.

Birth and Pregnancy.

In accouchement the woman sits, with one woman on each side of her, and one behind her. The *dái*, or midwife, sits in front. No seat is used. When the child is born the midwife places her head on the stomach of the mother to press out the blood, and with her feet and hands presses (*dabáti*) the whole body. The *dái* and women relations attend during and after confinement.

As an expression of joy at the birth of a child a string of *shírín*, or acacia leaves, is hung across the door. Green symbolises joy and blessing, *mubárikbádi*. The leaves of the *akk*, a plant with poisonous milky juice, are thrown on the house to keep away evil spirits. If the child is a boy, born after two girls, they put the boy in a cloth, which they tie at both ends as a sort of cradle, and then they lift the child through the roof, while the nurse says :—*Trikhal ki dhár á-gai, i.e.*, 'the third time thrives.' *Guṛ* is given to the friends, and ten days after that a dinner, to which the relatives are invited. At the end of 21 days the mother is over her separation, and resumes cooking.

Adoption.

Adoption of children is common, but with no special ceremonies.

Initiation.

A man of any other caste can be admitted into the Chuhṛa caste after the following initiatory rite has been performed :—The would-be convert asks the Chuhṛa headman of the place to fix a day, on which all the Chuhṛas assemble at the *thán* of Bálmík. At the time and date appointed the *ḍháḍhis* of Bálmík go there, prostrate themselves and sing praises to God and Bálmík, with accompaniments on the *rabána* and *dotára*. The *khidmatgár*, or attendant at the shrine, lights a *jot*, or large lamp filled with *ghi* and *gogal* at the candidate's cost, as well five ordinary lamps filled with *ghi*. He also prepares *chúrmá* of wheat or other grains according to the candidate's means, with *ghi* and *guṛ* in the name of God and Bálmík; boiling, too, 1¼ *sers* of rice in an iron pan in the name of Bálmík's orderly. When all these things are placed in front of the *thán* in Dera Ghází, the Chuhṛas assembled say :—

Siháhe! Báli dián karin karáhián, le áwín thán de age,
Jo koi mane tainú nál sidaq de usnú har shákhá phal lage.
Aweṅ dekh nahín bhulná oh roze bage,
Teri matti dá buki maniá dhar dargáh de age.
Baki ute main deván brátán jiwen banayán din te rátán.
Bolo momno 'ek sach paun dhaní.'

"Make *halwa*, O Siháhas (Chuhṛás) in Báli's honour, and bring it before his shrine,
Whosoever adores thee in sincerity, prospers in every way.
Be not misled by whited domes,
A handful of his (or thy) earth is acceptable to the Almighty.
I will bring thee offerings on a camel's back as often as day follows night,
Declare, ye believers in God, that the One True God is Master of the Winds."

The candidate is then admitted into the caste. He is made to eat a little *chúrmá* and rice out of the *karáhi*, drink some water and smoke. The rest of the *chúrmá* is distributed among the other Chuhṛas and he is declared a member of the caste.

In Rohtak Bálmíki sweepers admit a man of any caste into the Chuhṛá ranks, except a Dhának, a Sánsi or a Dhía. The recruit is merely required to prepare 1¼ *sers* of *malída* and, after placing it under Bálmík's banner, worship the saint. The followers of Nának admit converts of every caste into their ranks.

In Gurgaon the rite of initiation is a revolting one and is thus described:—

Over a rectangular pit is put a *chárpái*, and beneath it the candidate is seated in the pit, while the Chuhṛás sit on the *chárpái*. Each bathes in turn, clearing his nose and spitting,* so that all the water, etc., falls on to the man in the pit. He is then allowed to come out and seated on the *chárpái*. After this all the Chuhṛás wash his body and eat with him, and then ask him to adopt their profession.

An initiate appears to be called Bhangi, or in Gurgaon Sarbhangi. The latter, it is said, may smoke and eat with the Chuhṛás, but are not admitted to intermarriage with them.

Betrothal.

When a betrothal takes place, the *lági*, the marriage functionary and go-between, goes to the house of the boy's parents, taking with him sugar and dates for the inmates. He states the purpose of his visit, and there is placed before him five or ten, or more, rupees, of which he takes *one* and goes. If the people are very poor they intimate to the *lági* how much he should take out of the heap. Returning to the house of the girl's parents he makes his report, describing the boy, his prospects, circumstances, and so on.

A *lági* now goes from the boy's residence, carrying clothes and jewels for the girl. He himself is presented with a turban (*pagṛí*) and songs are sung by the womankind. The binding portion of the ceremonies is where the turban is given to the *lági* before witnesses.

In two, three, four, or five years, the girl's parents send the *lági* to say that it is time for the marriage. If the parents of the boy find it convenient, they declare that they are ready, and instruct the *lági* to ask the other house to send a *nishán, bahóchá, bahoṛá*, which is a present of three garments, one to the *mirási*, one to the *nái*, and the third to the *chuhṛá* who lights the fire. There is *guṛ* also in the basket containing the clothes, and this is distributed to the singing girls and others. The *lági* receives a rupee or two, and goes back with the news that the *bahóchá* has been accepted. Then a *tréwar*, a present of seven garments, is prepared, and sent from the girl's residence, a white *phulkári* (embroi-

* Chuhṛás think that the dirt of their own bodies purifies others and they so remove it with their own hands. If a man follows their occupation but does not undergo the ordeal described above they do not treat him as a Chuhṛá or effect any relationship with him.

dered shawl), a *chób* or *chóp* (a red cotton shawl with a silk embroidered edge), a *chóli* (bodice), a *kurtá* (jacket), a *dariái* (narrow silk cloth), a *lungi* or *sáya* (a check cloth or petticoat), two *pagṛís* (turbans) and one *chádar* (sheet or shawl). The jacket has a gold button, *bíṛá*, and three silver ones called *alliáṅ*, and *góṭá*, or gold and silver lace, with the figure of a man embroidered on the right breast or shoulder. This present is sent to the boy's residence, where the garments are spread out on a bed to give the inmates and friends an opportunity of seeing them. The *lági* takes with him also *guṛ*, *patássé* (sweets), and a rupee as *rópná*, which he gives to the bridegroom. This *rópná* may be seven dried dates, and other things. The boy's hands are dyed with *maindi* (henna) to signify joy. Again rupees are placed before the *lági*, of which he takes as many as he has been instructed to take. He then says that such and such a day has been fixed for the wedding and goes back to tell the bride's friends that the day is appointed. On this occasion songs are sung by the boy's sister and mother.

Eight or nine days before the wedding they have what they call *nái páná*, that is, they take *ghungniáṅ* (wheat roasted in the husk) to the quantity of five or six *parópí*, which they put in the boy's lap. This he distributes with *guṛ* to his friends, of the same age as he is, seated on a basket. Wheat is distributed to the other friends, perhaps as much as four or five maunds, with *guṛ*. The boy is anointed with oil as many times as there are days before the marriage, and a song is sung by his friends.

The *nái* anoints the bridegroom to make him sweet. The ointment is made of the flour of wheat and barley, *kachúr* (a drug), *ḳhardal* (white mustard), *chaihal charílá* (a scent), and oil. This preparation is called *baṭná*.

When the boy is taken off the basket they bind a *gáná* (ornament) or *kangná* (bracelet) on his wrist, which consists of an iron ring, a cowrie, and a *manka* (string) of *kach* (glass) beads. They put a knife into his hand at the same time. All this is to keep off the evil spirits. The same operation is performed on the girl by her friends; only she puts on a *kangní* (wrist ornament) or *chúṛí* (bracelet of iron), instead of taking a knife in her hand.

Betrothal takes place at any time from five years of age and upward, the consent of the parents only being necessary. If the betrothal is cancelled, the *painch* arranges the amount to be repaid, and recovers it.

When the wedding day approaches, a big dinner is given in the boy's home on a Wednesday, the entertainment extending to Thursday morning. This is called *mél*.

The *bharjái*, or some other relative, with his wife, goes to the well for a jar of water, which they carry between them. With this water the *nái* washes the bridegroom on a basket. His hair is washed with buttermilk and oil. Seven *chapniáṅ* (unburnt earthen plates) are placed before him. These he breaks with his feet. His uncle on the mother's side gives him a cow, etc., and the bride's uncle gives the same to her. The bridegroom puts on his new clothes, the old

ones being appropriated by the *nái*. After his uncles have sung, his sister sings and gives him his clothes.

He is then dressed on a rug after his bath; the *sáfá* or turban is placed on his head, over which the *sehrá*, or garland of flowers, is thrown and saffron is sprinkled on his clothes.

A tray is put down with a rupee in it, representing 101 rupees. On the rupee *guṛ* is spread, while they say, *Jagat parwán supri só dharm, Ikótr sau rupaiá ghar dá*; "According to the custom which binds us like religion, We lay before you 101 rupees of our own house."

Then into the tray is put the *tamból* or *néundrá*, *i.e.*, the contribution given by wedding guests to defray the expenses of the festival. At each succeeding marriage one rupee more is given, or the same sum is given each time, if it is so arranged. *Néundrá* is given in the girl's home as well. This custom of giving at each other's wedding is a very binding one. Whoever receives *néundrá* from his guests must pay back in *néundrá* one and half or double the amount at their wedding feasts.

The party now gets ready to go to the bride's home. The bridegroom is seated on a mare, or, if poor, he goes on foot. He is accompanied by the *sarbáhlá*, or bridegroom's friend, generally seated behind him on the same animal. On their way they give a rupee to the headmen of the villages they pass. This is for the poor. Fireworks blaze as they proceed, while the drums and other noisy instruments of music announce the coming of the bridegroom, who sits under a paper umbrella, or canopy, which has been made by the fireworks-man. This last-named individual gets money also on the way—a rupee or so. As they approach the bride's village the women and girls of the village come out, singing, to surround the whole party with a cotton thread, as if they had made prisoners of them all.

Meantime the bride has been dressed, and songs have been sung by her friends.

Having arrived at the village they rest in a garden, or go to the *dárá*, or traveller's rest-house, while dinner is being prepared. A large tray is brought out (*changér lál*) with sugar in it. The *lágis* put some into the bridegroom's mouth, the rest being divided among the guests. The *sarbáhlá*, or bridegroom's friend, and the others prepare to go to the bride's house with the beating of drums. The two parties meet and salute one another. The bride's father gives a cow or a buffalo, but if he is poor he gives a rupee, which the *mírási*, or village bard, gets. Nearing the house they find the way obstructed by a stick (*kuddan*) placed across the path by the *mehtars*, or *ág bálnéwálé*, (fire-lighters). They must be paid a rupee before the party can proceed. They reach another gate formed by a red cloth held by women. This is *chunní*. The bride's sister receives a rupee at this stage. The *máchhi*, or *jhíwar* (water-carrier), brings a vessel of water, and says, "*Méré kumb dá lág deo*, Give the price of my earthen water jar." He also receives a rupee.

The marriage party now dine, while the women of the marriage party sing.

While the party dines outside, the *láṛá* (bridegroom) and the *sarbáhlá* (friend) go inside the house. A *chhánaní* (a sort of sieve for cleaning flour or wheat) is placed over the door with a light burning in it. The bridegroom strikes this with a sword or knife seven times, knocking it down, light and all, with the seventh stroke. The *sarbáhlí*, or bride's friend, comes with a handful of oil and *guṛ* which she holds firmly, while the other girls tell the bridegroom to open the hand with his little finger. This he tries to do, but the *sarbáhlá* advises him to use his thumb and press more forcibly. When her hand is opened, she rubs the bridegroom's face with the mixture. The young lady also spits rice in his face—*phurkrá.* The bridegroom is then drawn into an inner room by means of a pair of trousers (*píéjáma*) twisted round his neck. He has to give the girls a rupee before they let him go. They place a small tent made of reeds (*ghóróbérí*) like a tripod, on a *píṛí* (stool), and in it *kujíáṅ* (small lamps and vessels) made of dough. One of these is lit, and the bridegroom is asked to put cloves into the little *kujíáṅ*.

They then take a tray and put it on a cup (*kaṭórá*). This they call *tilkan.* All the girls press down the tray on the cup with their hands one above another, telling the bridegroom to lift it up. He tries to do so but cannot, and the *sarbáhlá* with his foot overturns it. This is the signal for the girls to give *gálí* (abuse) to the *sarbáhlá :* they pull his hair, slap him, push him about, and generally ill-treat him until the bridegroom at his cries for help asks them to desist.

They deny having beaten him, and treat them both to sweets (*laḍḍú* and *parákríáṅ*) and sugar which they call *béjwárí* or *hájirí.* The bride is now admitted and seated. They throw bits of cotton wool on her, which he picks off. He takes off her troubles, as it were. They throw them on him also. During these observances the girls sing at intervals.

The bridegroom now walks seven times round the bride, and the bride seven times round him. He lays his head on hers, and she hers on him, after which she kicks him on the back. The others follow suit. It goes hard with the unhappy bridegroom then. They seize his *chádar* (shawl), and tie two pice in it. The bride then fastens it tightly round his neck, meaning by this that he is captured and is *hallan jógí nahín* (unable to move). He recites the following couplet :—

Main khatángá, tún kháin.	I will earn money, and feed you.
Merí galón paṭká láhín.	Remove the shawl from my neck.

The bride then takes off the *chádar,* but they tie it to the bride's shawl (*ganḍ chattrává*), meaning that they are now one.

The girl is bathed, the barber's wife (*naín*) braids her hair, then she sits on a (*ṭókrá*) basket under which is a light. Two pice are placed under her feet. The one that gives the bath gets the pice. The uncle gives the girl a cow, etc. Of the earth wetted with the water of the bath some is thrown to the ceiling. The mother passes before the girl a large basket made of reeds seven times. This is called *khárá langái,* and she then sings :—

Khárá chiltaṛ machittar,	The basket is of divers colours,
Khárá aḍḍiyá,	And I sit on the basket.
Kháre tón utár,	Take me off the basket,
Mámmá vaḍḍhiyá.	Great uncle.

The girl is taken away, and the bridegroom gives the barber's wife a rupee.

The *lágí* is now sent to bring the clothes that the bridegroom has brought for the bride. Jewels also he brings, and she is fully dressed. These jewels are various—for the nose, *bulák, laung, nath*; ear, *ḍanḍián, pattar, chaunké, bálé*; neck and throat, *hass, hamél, takhtíán*; forehead, *chikkán, chaunk, phúl*; arm, *ṭádán, bówaṭṭá, chúṛá, gókhrú, kangan*; fingers, *chháp* or *chhallá, ársí*; foot, *panjébán, kaṛián*.

The bride is now ready and comes to be married. She is seated and the Brahman (or the Maulaví) is called. Four poles are stuck in the ground fastened together, with green branches above. The Brahman (or Maulaví) reads a service, and two pice are handed seven times. The Brahman says: *Suṭṭó; éki, méki, néki téki, páó dhangá,* and snaps the pice.

The bridegroom goes round the bride seven times, and she round him seven times under the green canopy. The Brahman gets four annas in pice, and one rupee. The married pair sit on a bed or seat, while the bride's people bring him clothes, which he puts on over the ones he has. The *mírási* seizes his turban, and retains it until it is redeemed with a rupee. The parents are next called, and water is brought to be sprinkled over the hands of the married pair. She is thus given over to him. They rise from the *chárpái*, and go inside, throwing backward over their heads barley and cotton seeds which had been placed in their laps. They do not take away all the blessing.

A *tréwar* (21 or 12, etc., pieces) of clothes is now given (*khaṭ*), all shown to the assembled guests, and vessels also seven, *viz., thál* (platter), *chhanná* (metal drinking vessel), *lóh* (large iron baking pan), *karáhí* (frying pan), *dégchí* (pot), *karchhí* (ladle), *ḍhakná* (lid). There are 21 *kaḷlé*, or scones, placed in the basket of clothes. The *lágís* who take this away receive presents of money. The bridegroom's father gives alms to the poor at this point, and there is much crying and weeping as the bride prepares to leave her home.

The bride is put into the *ḍólí* (palanquin), and the bridegroom's father throws money on it, which goes to the poor.

The bridegroom's party return home carrying the bride with them. At the bridegroom's house all the women sing at intervals. When they reach the house the mother is at the door.

The mother has a cup of water in her hand, which she waves round the heads of the married couple. She then attempts to drink it seven times, the bridegroom preventing her. At the seventh time she drinks. Then they enter the house, and the bride is placed on a mat. All the bridegroom's relations are called, and a large vessel called a *parát* is brought, in which is a mixture of rice, *ghí* and sugar cooked. This is *gótkunálá.* The women seat themselves and of this they take a morsel and each puts a little in the bride's mouth. She, *sharm ké máré* (out of shame) refuses to take it, but they insist as they are her relations.

The women all partake. They call this *bharmdálá, i.e.,* union with the family. If they do not have this meal, they do not admit the other party to family privileges.

After this the bride remains two days more in the house, and on the third and fourth day the women again gather. They take a *parát* (tray) in which they put water and milk, or *kachchí lassi,* and in another vessel they put *áṭá* (meal). In the meal they put *guṛ* and *ghi,* mixing them together (*gulrá*). Into the tray of milk and water they make the bride put her heel, and in it the bridegroom washes her foot. The bridegroom now puts in his foot, and she is told to wash it. This is *shagun.* The bride unties her *gáná* (wrist ornament), which is so securely fastened that they sometimes draw it over the hand, while they sing. It is thrown into the *parát* of milk and water. Then the bridegroom unfastens the bride's *gáná.*

It is placed in the vessel next. They are fastened together. The *nain* (*lágin*) takes both and turns them round in the water seven times. She drops them in the water seven times, the bride and the bridegroom grabbing at them. The one that succeeds the oftener in getting hold of them first wins—the caste therefore wins. This is done amid great laughter. Only women are present, besides the bridegroom.

The flour, *ghi* and sugar are then divided amongst them. Other songs are sung when the bride first comes to the house. The girls also express their opinion of the dowry in a song.

Mukláwá, or the Home-coming of the Bride.

Next day the bride goes back to her father's house, and there is sent after her *kachchi pinni,* or *kachchi bháji,* which is rice flour with sugar. She returns to her husband's home in six months, or two years, or three, when there is *mukláwa,* as sending home a wife is called. She brings a suit of clothes for her husband, one for her mother-in-law, and one for her father-in-law. She wears *kach, i. e.,* glass bracelets, because she is still *kachchi* (unripe); not *pakki.* She now resides in her husband's, her own house. Various songs are sung on this occasion.

A few branches of the Chuhṛás, including the Sotarwála, celebrate marriages by the Muhammadan *nikáh,* but the great majority observe the Hindu *phera.* The following is a specimen of the songs (*chhand* or *shlok*) sung at a *phera*:—

Pahlán smirán ek Unkár,
Duje gurú Ganesh,
Tije smirán ádh Bhiwáni,
Sat dip nu kund jáni.
Atván ke dil táni sanwáre,
Tin log ke káraj sáre;
Magh pati pith panchami,
Kaho bed ke sáj.
Jis din gaurán ar náye,
Chanda charhe ugás;
Nám lijiyo Ganesh ká,
So sájan nistár.
Gayára din se lagan chaláya,
Le hokar gurúdwáre pati sab parwár;
Ghar ghar turi mewa bichár,
Do Páṇḍi bakhshísh.

One or two customs observed by the Chuhṛás at marriages deserve notice :—

On the evening when the bridegroom sets out for the bride's house, his mother cooks 10 *sers* of rice sweetened with *gur,* and invites all the women of the community to eat each a mouthful of it. They then ask her to give them a *chháj* (a sieve for winnowing grain) and a *ḍoi* (wooden spoon), and she at once does so. Two or three of the women, one of whom is wearing a *ghaghrá* (the lower part of a petticoat) instead of a frock, get on top of the house with the *chháj* and the *ḍoi,* and the woman in the *ghaghrá* sings an obscene song at the top of her voice, beating the *chháj* after every stanza so violently that it is broken to pieces. This custom is termed *phaṛuhá* (foolery). It is an indispensible observance at a wedding.

Last but not least comes the rite of admitting the bride into the bridegroom's *got* which is done in this wise :—

Two or three days after the bride's arrival her mother-in-law prepares a maund and ten *sers* of sweet rice and serves it up on a large tray. Seven *sohágans* (women whose husbands are alive) are invited, and they eat with the bride out of the tray. Unless this is done she is not considered a real member of the *got.*

Bigamy is permissible, that is to say, a man whose wife is barren or who only gives birth to girls, may take a second wife. But he cannot, at least in Máler Koṭla, take a second wife if he has a son, under penalty of excommunication, nor can he take a third wife while the other two are with him.

Divorce is practised.

DEATH AND BURIAL.

The Chuhṛás generally bury their dead. When a person is dying they call in the Muhammadan priest to read the *sahíni,* but if it is in a Hindu village where there is no *mulla* nothing of this nature is done, except that in some cases they lift the sick man on to the ground.* This they call *satthar.*† The dead are carried to the grave on a bed, bound in a shroud made of cloth, which is tied at the head and the feet like a sack, and in the middle. The body, after being washed with soap and water, is dressed in a jacket, a cap, and a sheet, or in two sheets, and is sprinkled with rose water. In the grave the shoulder is placed towards the pole star, and the feet to the east. If it is that of a young person they put a black blanket over the bier, if of an old person a red one. This is called *khés.* The priest sits on the west side and looks towards the east. He recites a prayer, and they repeat it after him. This is *janáza.* One rupee, called *askát,*‡ is given to the priest

* In Máler Koṭla the Chuhṛás bury the dead, like Muhammadans, but on their way to the grave the carriers of the bier change places as among Hindus. And on their return they pick up straws and break them, saying, 'God bless the dead and protect those left behind', while the *faqír,* who usually accompanies the parties, recites verses of Guru Nának, like a Sikh. Three days later the deceased's nearest relative feeds the men who carried the bier, and on the 17th day he distributes food to the poor and to unmarried girls.

† *Satthar,* lit., a couch.

‡ *Askát,* probably for *zakát,* alms.

on the Qurán. A cloth called *jáé namáz* is also given. The blanket becomes the property of the *mírási*. The face of the dead is not placed downwards.

If a very old person dies, his friends make a mock mourning: but their grief is really very great for a young person.

They (the women)* stand in a circle; the *mírásan* (wife of the family bard) stands in the centre. She sings mournful tunes, the other women following her. They beat their legs, breasts and forehead with their hands in time to the dirge. Nothing could be sadder. The woman that leads repeats the *aláhní*, and the other women beat the breast, thus making *siápá*.

PURIFICATION RITES.

After child-birth a woman is unclean for 21 days. In the period of menstruation she does not go to a well, and after it she washes her clothes and bathes. After a funeral all who may have touched the dead body or the grave must bathe.

Many Chuhṛás reverence *sanghar*,† in order that *sanghat* or trouble may be averted.

Sanghar ká vart.—They have a special favour for Vaishnu Déví. They put *mehndi* on girls' hands, and tie a *maulí*, or cotton bracelet, round their wrists, feeding the girls also in the *déví's* name, that the children may be preserved.

Déví dá vart.—On Thursday night they have *darúd*,‡ praying for the dead. They pour water into a cup, and take bread in their hands. They eat a little, drink a little, and give the remainder to a child. They have no special days.

III.—RELIGION.

(*a*).—THE DEDICATION OF A TEMPLE TO BÁLÁ SHÁH.

The principal goddesses or *dévís* of the Hindus, *e.g.*, Kálí Déví, appear to be of low caste. This is especially noteworthy.

When a shrine is made to Bálá, the Chuhṛás make a mound of earth in which they bury a gold knife, a silver knife, a copper knife, the head of a goat, and a cocoanut, all bound in $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards of red cloth. Having levelled the mound, or rather dressed it and made it neat and tidy, they raise on it a sort of altar of mud, in which they make three niches for lamps. Having put oil in the lamps and lighted them they place them in the niches. Goat's flesh is cooked, of which part is eaten and part distributed to the poor. A *chela* performs the sacrifice, after which they all eat together.

The order of religious ceremony is as follows:—A basket (*changérá*) is placed near the mud altar, which resembles a raised grave more than anything else, and in the basket there is *chúrmáṅ*, made of flour, butter and sugar. In front of the altar the *chela* burns *ghí* with spices, such as camphor. He sprinkles the assembled company with *lassí*

* The women go half-way towards the graveyard weeping and wailing.

† *Sanghar* is the pod of the *jand* tree, which is used as a vegetable by the poorer classes, especially in times of scarcity.

‡ *Darúd fátia*—obsequies.

(butter milk or rather whey) for cooling purposes. Five pice are put in the *ghí,* which become the *chela's,* as a fee. Silver or gold is put in a cup of water and the water is sprinkled on the people. This is called *chandá.* The *chela* stands before the altar, the people standing behind him, while he recites a dedicatory litany.

The Chuhṛás have a lofty conception of Bálmík, and believe that when he honoured the earth with his existence all the regions of heaven and earth were illuminated as described in the following verses, current in Máler Koṭla :—

Uṭh Mátá Mainâwanti sutie, Bábe Bále liá autár.*	Arise, mother Mainâwantí, from slumber, Babá Bálá has been incarnated.
Dhamak paṛí Paitál men : chhuṭi gard ghobár.	A trembling has come upon Paitál, the dust has come off.
Charián ái Kumbá te Khwájá di pukár !	Armies have come from Kumbá† shouting for Khwájá !
Kuhián, machh, chiṛhore, uḍ uḍ mange más tandue.	*Kuhián,*† *machh, chiṛhore* and *tandue*‡ fly and demand flesh.
Chheṛ chhiṛí Ganesh dí Derá Ghází Khán.	The war of Ganesh has been declared at Derá Ghazi Khán.
Jotán jalen akás uḍ uḍ baiṭhke jagá lie masán.	The heaven was illuminated with lamps, the burnt dead have been revived.
Munh kajiale (kandiale=curb) sár de kakki keli de aswár.	Riding on a brown mare with iron curb in her mouth.
Án khare Godhan tapashi Darbár.	Godhan, the hermit, has come at the door.
Kunde san de lagám die, ankan sankan kán.	The bridle of the mare is of hempen rope and her ears decorated with *ankan sankan.*§
Án kharote Godhan tapashi band kharotá háth.	Godhan, the hermit, is standing with his joined hands.
Chherán de agwán úbal mange, hun bal mange sandeh dá.	The leader of the armies applies for more strength.
Dhián kaṛáhi churma aur bakre-sakre wahi ik !	I offer *karáhi churma*‖ and goats. He is the One !

The two following songs¶ are sung in honour of Giljhaprá, one of the titles by which Lál Beg is known :—

Bism illáhir Rahmán-ir-Rahím !	In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate !
Sir par dast Pír Murshid dá, sábit rahe yaqín.	Be on thy head the hand of the priest, the spiritual guide ; be thy faith perfect.
Karm to Karíma !	Bounty (springs) from bountiful God !
Rám to Rahíma !	Compassion** from the Compassionate !
Nekí tán Nekáhíl dí.	There is no goodness like that of Níkáhíl.††
Azmat tán Azázíl dí.	There is no glory like that of Azázíl.‡‡
Dauṛ tán Isráfíl dí.	There is no swiftness like that of Isráfíl.§§
Zamín de daliche : asmán de samete : simat simal tú.	Even beneath the earth, even on the summit of the heavens : thou art found everywhere.
Bádsháhat Muhammad dí ujmo barkat deo !	Empire is Muhammad's, the Bestower of greatness and blessing !
Ap itiqád de málik, zikar sune the sáre.	Thou art the sole master of the faith, who hadst heard everything.
Khair tán Alláh Ta'ála dí, Nis Ta'álá dí.	Welfare comes from God, the Most High.

* Mother of Gopichand.

† Probably the name of a place.

‡ These are animals, but of what kind is not known.

§ An ornament worn by horses.

‖ A kind of sweet cooked food.

¶ The first of these songs is clearly a variant of the Dedicatory Litany given by Dr. Youngson.

** "Rám," a corruption of "Raham" "compassion."

†† Níkáhíl, for Míkáíl, the archangel Michael.

‡‡ Azázíl, the fallen angel, now called Shaitán.

§§ Isráfíl, the archangel who will sound the trumpet to destroy the whole world on the last day.

Dáman Bíbí Fátima de.
Chhatar tán Dilli dá.

Tabá tán Makke dá.
Ajmer tán Zindá Khwájá Mauj Dín di.

Hazrat Káti Katalmín manukh tan de.
Awwal amán ik nastu.
Dom amán do nastu.
Tiáram amán ta nastu.
Cháram amán lip nastu.
Awwal Pír Ásá.
Dom Pír Hazrat Khwájá Khásá.
Som Pír Safá.
Cháram Pír Dádá Giljhaprá.
Peṭ nun roṭí tan nun kapṛá!
Nezá to damáun!
Sadá sadá bánkrá jáun!
Pír merá jamiá: sab pírán laṛ páyá.

*Jhaggá topí Mái Gaurjá** leke pahnáyá.*
Yeh mubárki Alláh Nabí nun ái.
Wáh wáh ji mere sháh di sámali, bel bahut sí baṛhái.
Bále Sháh Nuri.
Haidar Sháh Nurí.
Habbut Ta'álá Nurí.
Maula Mushkil-kushá Dákhdákh Nurí.
Takht bakht Rabbul Almín Nurí.

Bálá Sháh Nurí kihde beṭe?
Amír Sháh Nurí de beṭe.
Amír Sháh Nurí kihde beṭe?
Haidar Sháh Nurí de beṭe.
Haidar Sháh Nurí kihde beṭe?
Habbut Ta'álá Nurí de beṭe.
Habbut Ta'ála Nurí kihde beṭe?
Maulá Mushkil-kushá Dákhdákh de beṭe.

Maulá Mushkil-kushá kihde beṭe?
Takht bakht Rabbul Almín Nurí de beṭe.
Wáh wáh ji Sat Jug men ki bhándá baṛtáyá?

Sonne dá ghaṭ, sonne dá maṭ:
Sonne da ghorá, sonne dá jorá,
Sonne di kunjí, sonne dá tálá, sonne de kiwáṛ

Dakkhan munh morí, uttar munh díwár
Láo kunji kholo kiwáṛ
Le mere sachche Dádá Pír de didár
Shahansháh be parwáh,
Wohí ik Alláh,
Tere nám dá pallá,
Tu záhir nám ik Alláh
Wáh! wáh! ji! Tretá men kyá bhándá baṛtáyá?
Chándí dá ghaṭ, Chándí dá máṭ:
Chándí dá ghorá, Chándí dá jorá,
Chándí dí kunjí, Chándí dá tálá, Chándí dí kiwáṛ

The skirt* of Fátimá (is most trustworthy).
There is no crown like that of the Delh empire.

There is no *tabá*† like that of Makká.
Ajmer belongs to the ever-living Khwájá Maujdín.‡

Hazrat Kátí Katalmín of *manukh tan*.†
The first faith is the first *nastu*.†
The second faith is the second *nastu*.
The third faith is the third *nastu*.
The fourth faith is the lip† of *nastu*.
The first Pír is Ásá.§
The second Pír is His Majesty Khwájá Khásá ||
The third Pír is Safá.¶
The fourth Pír is father Giljhapṛá.
Bread is to the belly, clothing to the body.
I bend the spear!
I go joyfully for ever and ever.
My Pír has been born and committed to the charge of all the Pírs.

Mother Gaurjá put on him a *jhaggá* and a cap.
Congratulation to God and the Prophet.
How excellent it is, my Lord! Thou hast greatly increased my Saint's progeny.
The god-like Bále Sháh.
The god-like Haidar Sháh.
The god-like Habbut Ta'álá.
The god-like Maula Mushkil-kushá†† Dákhdákh.
The Heavenly Preserver of the Worlds, (Lord of) throne and wealth.

'Whose son is Bálá Sháh Nurí?'
'(He is son) of the god-like Amír Sháh.'
'Whose son is the god-like Amír Sháh?'
'Of the god-like Haidar Sháh.'
'Whose son is the god-like Haidar Sháh?'
'Of the Heavenly Habbut Ta'álá.'
'Whose son is the Heavenly Habbut Ta'ála?'
'Of the god-like Maula Mushkil-kushá Dákhdákh.'

'Whose son is Maula Mushkil-kushá?'
'Of the Heavenly Preserver of the Worlds.'
How excellent, sir! How was a vat used in the Sat Jug?

Golden waterpot, golden dome:
Golden horse, golden clothes,
Golden is the key, golden is the padlock, and golden are the door-leaves.

Entrance to the south, wall to the north!
Bring the key and open the door.
Behold my true Father Saint,
The independent King of Kings,
He alone is the one God,
In Thy name is my refuge,
Thou art evidently one God.
How excellent, sir! How was a vat used in the Treta?
Silver waterpot, silver dome.
Silver horse, silver clothes,
Silver is the key, silver is the padlock, and silver are the door-leaves.

* Lit. skirt, so 'protection.'
† Meaning unknown.
‡ The correct name is Muín-ud-Dín Chishti.
§ Ása=Isá, Jesus Christ.
|| Khwájá Khizr.
¶ Safá, it is not known who this Safá was.
** Párbati, wife of Shiv.
†† Remover of difficulties.

Uttar munh morí, dakkhan munh díwár,	Entrance to the north, wall to the south,
Láo kunjí kholo kiwaṛ,	Bring the key and open the door,
Le mere sachche Dádá Pír de dídár,	Behold my true Father Saint,
Sháhansháh be parwáh,	The independent King of Kings,
Wohí ik Alláh.	He alone is the one God.
Tere nám dá pallá,	In Thy name is my refuge,
Tu záhir nám ik Alláh.	Thou art evidently one God.
Kíjo khairsalá.	Grant us welfare.
Jumlá fuqron ká ishq Alláh.	All the saints love God.
Wáh ! wáh ! jí ! Dwápar Jug men kyá bháná bartáyá ?	How excellent, sir ! How was a vat used in the Dwápar Jug ?
Támbe dá ghaṭ, támbe dá maṭ :	Brazen water-pot, brazen dome :
Támbe dá ghoṛá, támbe dá joṛá,	Brazen horse, brazen clothes,
Támbe dí kunji, támbe dá tálá, támbe de kiwáṛ	Brazen is the key, brazen is the padlock and brazen are the door-leaves.
Purab munh morí, pachham mukh díwár,	Entrance to the east, wall to the west,
Láo kunjí kholo kiwáṛ,	Bring the key and open the door,
Lo mere sachhe Dádá Pír de dídár,	Behold my true Father Saint,
Sháhansháh be parwáh,	The independent King of Kings,
Wohí ik Alláh.	He alone is the one God.
Tere nám dá pallá,	In Thy name is my refuge,
Tu záhir nám ik Alláh !	Thou art evidently one God !
Wáh ! wáh ! jí ! Kal Jug men kyá bháná bartáyá.	How excellent, sir ! How was a vat used in the Kal Jug ?
Miṭṭí dá ghaṭ, miṭṭí dá maṭ :	Earthen water-pot, earthen dome :
Miṭṭí dá ghoṛá, miṭṭí dá joṛá,	Earthen horse, earthen clothes,
Miṭṭí dí kunjí, miṭṭí dá tálá, miṭṭí de kiwáṛ.	Earthen is the key, earthen the padlock and earthen the door-leaves.
Pachham munh morí, purab munh díwár,	Entrance to the west, wall to the east,
Láo kunjí kholo kiwáṛ,	Bring the key and open the door,
Lo mere sachhe Dádá Pír de dídár,	Behold my true Father Saint,
Sháhansháh be parwáh,	The independent King of Kings,
Wohí ik Alláh.	He alone is the one God,
Tere nám dá pallá,	In Thy name is my refuge,
Tu záhir nám ik Alláh !	Thou art evidently one God !
Wáh ! wáh ! jí ! Lálo Lál karenge nihál	How excellent ! Lálo Lál will exalt us,
Ghaṛí ghaṛí de káṭenge kál.	(He) will remove the difficulties of every moment.
Lál ghoṛá, lál joṛá :	Red is the horse, red are the clothes :
Lál kalghí, lál nishán,	Red is the plume, red is the standard,
Lál tambu, lál pahilwán,	Red is the tent, red is the wrestler,
Lál maidán,	Red is the field,
Sonne dí ṭokrí ; rupe dá jhaṛú : gal phulon de hár.	Of gold is the basket, of silver the broom : garland of flowers on the neck.
Já khaṛe hote sachhe Sáhib de Darbár	(He) attends the court of the True Lord :
Kíjiye chhuṭkárá.	Release us.
Alí sáhib Paighambar Duldul sangárá :	The prophet Ali equipped his Duldul :*
Khabar hui Dánon nu kítá dilkárá.	The giants heard of it and made a noise.
Yá Pírjí, merá bhí dil kartá hai jang men chalúngá karárá.	O Lord ! I too have a desire, I will certainly march bravely in the battlefield.
Chúngi to niwálá.	Chungi to niwalá.†
Sarsabz rahe dumálá.	May the *dumálá* remain green.
Arash pe kurush men dhuní pá baiṭhe, Nurí Sháh Bálá.	By the Throne of God on the Arsh the god-like Bálá Sháh lighted fire and sat there (extorting compliance with what he wanted from God).
Arash te uttará ghará wa piálá,	From Heaven came down a pitcher and a cup,
Hukm huá Samálí Beg nu pí gayá, huá matwálá.	An order being given to Sámali Beg, he drank it up and was intoxicated.
Siṛaṛiá, Ugaṭiá, sahná bídá karná ik kinárá.	O ! Siṛaṛia ! Ugáṭia ! Dismiss and avert our difficulties.
Sár dí chhaṛí Multán dí kumán, inḍal hastí zard ambárí.	Of *sál*.‡ the stick, the bow from Multán ; the tuskless elephant, and yellow (golden) seat with the canopy.

* The name of Ali's horse.
† Meaningless phrase.
‡ The *sál* tree is the *shorea robusta.*

Ai Dádá Lál Beg sachche Sat Gur Wali di sawárí,	Came riding on the Father Lál Beg, the true Saint and Prophet,
Ao Miyán Lál Khán Darbárí.	Welcome. O Lál Khán, thou courtier.
Sattar do bahattar balá tumháre panje tale márí!	Seventy *plus* two, *i.e.*, seventy-two evils (were) destroyed under thy hand!
Chhánunge dudh dá dudh, páni dá páni.	Thou wilt separate water from milk.*
Toshá wa kaláwá, bheṭ hai tumhárí; kuchh kijo madad hamárí.	Provisions and a silk skein are offered to thee, vouchsafe us a little help.
Sháh de takht, Multán di kumán, indal hasti, zard ambárí,	On the royal throne, with the Multán bow, in a golden *howdah*, on a tuskless elephant,
Ai Dádá Lál Beg sachche Sat Gur Wali di sawári.	Came the Father Lál Beg, the true Saint and Prophet.
Áo Miyán Lál Khán Darbárí,	Welcome, O Lál Khán, *darbárí*,
Sarwar di shahidi Hazrat dá kalimá pák.	By the testimony of Sarwar, by the holy Kalimá of Muhammad.
"*Lá iláha ill-illáho; Mohammad-ir-Rasúl-ul-laho.*"	None is worthy of being worshipped but God; and Muhammad is His Prophet.

(2). Another runs as follows:—

Awwal Pír Ásá.	The first Pír is Ásá.
Dom Pír Khásá.	The second Pír is Khásá.
Som Pír Sáfá.	The third Pír is Sáfá.
Cháram Pír Giljhopṛá.	The fourth Pír is Giljhapṛá.
Hare dá mal, jité dá pahilwán, sarjan ummat pai!	The friend of the defeated, the hero of the victorious, (he) has followers of repute!
Sachche Shahe kalá tikái.	The true saint has done this miracle.
Jis din Mirán Sháh janamiá, chaudán tabaq hoi rushnái!	When Mírán Sháh was born the fourteen regions were illuminated!
Thápi mili Muhammadon!	He received a pat from Muhammad!
Baḍái mili Paighambron!	He was glorified by the Prophet!
Jhoṭá jamiá ban-khande men; chhuṭá phirá Dargáh wich maqtúlon báng sunái,	The male-buffalo† was born in the wilderness and strayed in God's court: from the slain a call was heard,
"*Kholo báwan ṭopí chírá*": *hurán mangal gái.*	The virgins of Paradise sang joyfully "*Kholo báwan topí chírá.*"‡
Tale bage jindá Dariyáo, jithe pire ashnán lagái.	Below flows the life-giving river where the saint bathed.
Uchche daliche satranjián, jithe pire mál pái.	Above were spread carpets and rugs whereon the saint was seated.
Sone di ṭokrí; rupe dá jháṛú,	Golden is the basket; silver is the broom,
Ki khandi hai ṭokrí; ki khandi hai jháṛú?	What says the basket; what says the broom?
Tokri khandi hai "pák dar pák:"	The basket says "pure and clean":
Jhárú khandi hai "khák dar khák."	The broom says "dirt and dust."
Jháṛú jhaṛmián dil kar safá!	Sweep with the broom, clean the heart!
Le boriá uh de dere ná jáe.	Take the mat and go to his dwelling.
Kás di kunjí? Kás dá tálá?	Of what is the key? Of what is the lock?
Kaun hai kholnewálá?	Who is the opener?
Ishq di kunji, prem dá tálá,	Of 'love' is the key, of 'love' is the lock:
Jibráil hai kholnewálá;	Jibráil is the opener;
Wohí ik hai.	He is the One.

All now seat themselves, and then the *ghí* having been burnt and *hom* thus offered, the *chúrmán*, made of flour, sugar and *ghí*, is distributed to the worshippers. The *changerá*, or basket, is carried round. Some of the *chúrmán* is given to the dogs, some to the crows, some to the cows, some to the old women, and then the people eat, beginning with the most wealthy and respectable. The wrestler for Sháh Eli gets a share. The remainder is given to friends in the neighbourhood who are absent. A collection of money is also taken.

While they are seated, two stools are placed by the altar, and near them four cakes of dried cowdung are lighted, so that the drummer

* To separate water from milk, *i.e.*, to administer the highest justice.

† The male-buffalo denoting Lál Beg.

‡ This phrase means "spread the 52 turbans."

may dry his *rabbána* (tambourine) when it becomes limp. It being evening the two *chelas* sing to the *rabbána* (tambourine) and the *dotára* (fiddle). The drum is heated until it gives a ringing sound when beaten, the *dotára* goes (as one of the men expressed it) *bin, bin, bin, bin,* the *rabbána, gham, gham, gham, gham,* and all are ready. Bulanda comes and says, " Pir Bashk is here and so is Nának, but where is the lame man ? He is lying in the house, is he ? What will he be able to tell to-morrow morning ?" The farmers gather round and ask them what they are singing. They answer : " Let us sing the five attributes of God, and then we shall have leisure to speak to you."

The *chelas* get their fees and go. Every year after the crop is gathered in Hár, they go through this service, with the exception of the making of the shrine, the *butti* on the *thará* (the altar on the platform).

IV.—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

(*a*).—PRIESTS.

With respect to their priests, whose names are Bálá Sháh, Márkhaṅde. Míáṅ Súrá, Lál Beg, Bálmík, Jhaumpṛá, Pír Jhoṭá, Gungar Beg, Áil Malúk, they look on them as *autárs* (incarnations) of the one Bálá, Jhaumpṛá in one of these traditions is called by Alif Chéla, the tenth incarnation.

The priests are called *pír*, and do duty at marriages and funerals. At marriages the *mirási* (bard) places a *dívá*, lamp of *áṭá* (dough) in a clean place and the people bow before it, while he says that the *jôt*, or light of their ancestors, is being burnt.

Their *faqírs* or *sádhús* are Sháh Madárí, Nausháhiyá, Nangesháhiya, Yatímsháhiya, Bairágí. The Sháh Madáríya has a *liṭ*, or *bodi*, and a rosary. The Nangesháhiya have long hair plaited with *boṛ ká dudh* (the milk of the banyan tree) and washed with earth. They bind it round the head with a cord of wool, and wear over it a turban of yellow cloth. They wear a large bead over the forehead. They go naked for twelve years, having the person smeared with ashes.

The Bairágí is dressed much like the Nangesháhiya, but he carries a *bairágaṅ*, or prop, on which he sits.

The Nausháhiya has the hair united. He wears a rosary, and on the wrist an ornament called a *gajrá*. His clothes are yellow—whatever he has of clothes.

The Yatímsháhiya is like the Bairágí.

The *faqírs'* work is to expel evil spirits with their *mantras* (incantations).

(*b*).—ARTICLES OF FAITH.

The tenets of their religion are especially—

1. Sin is a reality. 2. There is one God. 3. Bálá is a mediator.

Sáddí kúk teré aggé,	Our cry is to thee ;
Terí kúk dhur Dargáé.—Amín.	Thy cry reaches the presence of God.

4. They sacrifice an animal, and also present offerings of corn, *guṛ, ghi.* It is cooked and placed on the shrine. It is called *kaṛáhi.*

The *gyání, chéla* or priest, stands in front, the congregation behind him. When the *gyání* (knowing one) says, '*Bolo, momino, sarbgati,*' they say, '*Amín, sarbgati,*' *i.e.*, 'let all have salvation.' The victim sacrificed is a fowl or a goat according to their means. It is called *Alláh dá Nám* (God's Name). The food is distributed and eaten, and the *panj sifateṅ* (five attributes) are sung.

5. The spirit returns to God.
6. There will be a resurrection of the body.
7. There will be judgment.
8. There are angels.

The priests of the Chuhrás are recruited from various sources. Thus in many parts of Gurgaon weddings are performed by *pádhas*, who will eat with Chuhrás, though they are probably degraded Brahmans by caste, like the Chamarwá. See also Lálbegi.

(*c*).—Shrines.

The shrine in a village always faces the east. Its shape is a dome, or, as they say, *gáo dum ki shakal* (like a cow's tail), upright. There are only lamps in it, no idols. The name of the shrine is Bálá Sháh.

(*d*).—Rites.

They have no secret rites. Their shrine is worshipped on Thursdays, sacrifices are offered, and also *chúrmán* (a sweetmeat made of bread crumbs mixed with butter and sugar), and the *gyání* prays. It is only at the consecration of a new shrine that the head of the animal sacrificed and knives are buried under the shrine. The shrine is built on the sacrifice and sacrificial weapons, as a foundation.

There is no ceremony for admission among the Chuhrás, except participating in the *karáhí*.

(*e*).—Sacrifices.

The animal sacrificed is a fowl, a goat, and perhaps a cow.

The *gyání*, or a Muhammadan *mulla*, offers the sacrifice.

The sacrifice is offered not near the shrine but at a little distance from it. It is cooked and eaten. They also burn *ghi*, *rál* or scented resin,* and *guggal* (a gum, used as incense). This is called *hóm*.

When a child is born, he is brought on the twenty-first day and offered or consecrated to Bálmík, and called Bálmík *ká bór*. He is a *nazar*, or offering.

(*f*).—Fetishism.

Belief in spirits is general. A spirit may attach itself to a roof and break it, or to a well and throw a man in, or to animals and they will attack and injure man. A *bad rúh* (an evil-spirit) may meditate mischief and God sends a warning. This is called *sabháwak* (of good intent).

Good spirits attach themselves to wood and other things, especially cooking vessels. They bring blessings.

Fields are haunted and may accordingly be barren.

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* *Rál*, resin of the *Shorea robusta.*

(*g*).—Ancestor-worship.

The Chuhṛás fear the spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth, because she has become a *churel*, a witch that is to be dreaded. *Faqírs* have power over spirits and receive information from them of the designs of the spirit world.

Bad dreams come from the *dabái* (the pressure) of an evil spirit. To drive the evil spirits away Bálmík's name is taken. Sickness is caused by *bad rúh ká sáyá* (the shadow of an evil spirit). *Faqírs* and *pirs* drive away spirits with *jháṛá* karauṇá, jháṛ phúnk*† (conjuring).

Ghosts of the dead haunt houses, burial grounds, etc. They come as little boys with white hair. Not long since in this neighbourhood two children strayed from home in the grey dawn and were seen by some of the villagers, who, not recognising them as children of the village, were terrified at the sight of them, believing them to be ghosts. I understand that the children ran some risk of being treated harshly, if not killed, as evil-intentioned ghosts.

Churels have their feet pointing backwards. They have long paps which they throw over their shoulders. Their hair is long, and face beautiful. A dyer was returning home one day, when he met a *churel*, who accompanied him to his house. She was very attractive, for she concealed the marks by which he would have recognised her. But at night, when it was time to put out the light, she did it with her hand, which she stretched to such a distance that the dyer in terror found he had a *churel* by his side. He would have given the alarm, but she threatened him and gave him a rupee. The *faqír* found her out, however, being set to do it by the dyer's friends. *Usne use qábú karliyá* (he caught her). She then asked for her rupee and disappeared.

If a woman dies before giving birth to her child, she certainly becomes an evil-spirit. When they bury her, they put a nail through her hands and her feet, and put red pepper on her eyes. They place a chain round her ankles and so bury her. On the way home they sow *seti saroṅ* (white mustard) that it may blind her. They have *túná* for her, *i.e.*, charms, otherwise she would come and hurt every one in the house. "This is a fact," said my informant emphatically!

At a certain stage of the incantations the *chelá* says, "Are you going?" The spirit says, "Yes, but I want a fowl, a goat, a piece of cloth, etc." This is given, and the bad spirit goes.

There are several kinds of spirits, *churel, bhút, khavis, jinn, deó, pari.* The *churel* we have described. The *parís* are *churels* when they come in companies. A *faqír*, who dies within his twelve years of *faqíri*, becomes a *bhút*, or a *khavis*, or a *jinn*, or a *deó*. If he dies in his forty days of fasting, when he comes to eat one grain a day, he becomes a *khavís* or a *jinn*, or a *deó*.

Totems.

Lauṅg (clove)‡ is the name of one of the ancestors in the clan of Goriyé. It is especially revered.

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* *Lit.* 'sweep away.'

† *Lit.* 'blow away.'

‡ Also a nose stud or ornament.

Among the Gils, the *baingyañ* (egg plant) is particularly noticed. The chief's name was Parth, so they do not eat the *part** (rind) of the *baingyañ*.

Women never take the name of their *zát* (caste) on their lips.

V.—SUPERSTITIONS.

Omens and Names.

If a Chuhṛá goes on a journey and meets a *mirási*, he goes back. If some one calls after him he goes back. The braying of a donkey meeting him is a good omen. If a washerman meets a man beginning a journey, it is sufficient to send him back, certain of failure if he goes on. Some men are known to carry good fortune, and are sent out to meet travellers.

A Chuhṛá never steps over a broom. The broom that is used to sweep corn is hung up on a nail in the house. That for ordinary use is placed on a grave, but never upright.

Children are frequently given names arising out of superstitions: thus, Káká is used as a first name. Ghasíṭá means dragged, that is, dragged over a dust heap, *rúṛi*. Rúṛá has the same meaning. As the name is one of dishonour, the evil-eye will not fall on the children that bear it. Líkaṛ means having half of the head shaved, and the other not; this is to keep the child alive. Nathú means having a ring in the nose, to hold him and keep him from going away, *i.e.*, dying.

Oaths, magic and witchcraft.

The oath by Bálá Sháh is used.

The practice of magic arts is confined to *faqírs* and *pírs*. It is the *sauhrie*† that bring evil-spirits. A person possessed is cured in the following manner:—The *faqír* takes a drum, a *tháli* or platter and a *ghaṛá* or earthen jar. The platter is placed over the jar, and the whole is called *ghaṛiál*.‡ The *faqír* beats the drum, another person beats the *ghaṛiál*, and others sing. The sick person shakes his head, and when the music (?) ceases they ask him questions: "Who are you?" "I am so and so," he replies. "How did you come into this state?" "Such and such a one put me into this state." "Who bewitched you?" "So and so." "What did he get for doing it?" "So many rupees." "For how long are you sick? "I have to be sick so many days, and then die." They play and sing again. After a time the sick man perspires and recovers. The evil-spirit goes with the perspiration.

A curious and repulsive cure is used among Hindus and probably others. It is called *jaṛí* or *masáñ*. An unmarried person dies, and his or her body is burnt at the burning *ghát*. A *faqír* takes some of the ashes from the burning pile, goes to the hills for a certain plant, and makes bread of these two ingredients on a grave. The bread is made into pills, one of which is given to a naked childless woman. She gives the pill in a drink to her enemies, and herself has a child. Her barren condition was caused by an evil-spirit. *Masáṇ* means demon, and burning-place among Hindus.

* *Part* is the form given in Maya Singh's *Panjábi Dictionary*, p. 877.
† *Sauhrá,—i*, lit. (1) parents-in-law; (2) simpleton, wretch.
‡ *Ghaṛiál*, lit. a gong.

Jhundá is an iron whip which a *faqír* beats himself with for the sake of another, so that the evil-spirit in him may be troubled and flee. They also burn oil in a *tavá* (iron dish). The *faqír* puts his hand in the hot oil and pours it on his person. The evil-spirit feels it, but the *faqír* does not. The *faqír* also beats his body with a millstone. After the sick man recovers, the *faqír* takes a fowl, kills it, dips a string in its blood, knots the string, blows on it, and finally binds it round the sick man's neck, assuring him that the evil-spirit will not come again. If the man goes where there is impurity (*sútak*) the virtue in the string disappears.

Dreams are from evil-spirits, and the Chuhras fear them. To dream that a person who is dead is cutting flesh, is an intimation that there will be a death in the house. Muhammadan Sayyids give the *ta'wís* (a charm) to keep away dreams.

The evil eye is universally believed in. Some men are very injurious in this way. If a man with the evil eye looks at any one taking food, sickness follows. To cure this, the sick person asks a bit from the evil-eyed man when *he* is at a meal. The morsel given acts as a cure. When a cow is sick, and gives no milk, they give her a bit of the evil-eyed (*bad nazr*) man's food.

Sorcerers and witches act on their victim by making a figure of him and torturing the figure by inserting a needle into it. The torture reaches the person who is personated. Nails and hairs are carried away to be subjected to pain that the original owners may be tormented. They are carefully thrown away when cut off, lest any enemy should get possession of them. Women are especially careful in this particular.

Sickness is caused by evil spirits.

Ceremonial prohibition or taboo.

The Chuhṛás never touch a Gagṛa, or a Sánsí, gipsy. Women and children do not go near graves. The daughter-in-law never mentions the father-in-law's name. Chuhṛás do not eat monkeys, or snakes, or jackals, or rats.

Agricultural superstitions.

Crops are cut on a Sunday, Monday, or Friday, and sown on a Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

If the Chuhṛás burn a *súp* (winnowing sieve or fan) in a village, the farmer is injured. It is a curse—the curse of the poor.

Social customs.

The household eat together, but the women eat after the men. If men eat after women they are injured, because women are weak of intellect.

'*Yá júṭh ya jhúṭh, dónóṅ nuqsán pahuchánde:*' 'Food touched by others and falsehood are both injurious.' They use *sharáb* (strong drink), opium (*afím, post, bhang*) and *charas.* Drunkards are despised.

Customs of social intercourse.

In salutation, they say *pairíe pań* to the great, the answer being *terá bhalá kare Khudá.* Also *mathá ṭekná, salám.*

CUSTOMS BEARING ON SOCIAL STATUS.

They eat *pakki* among themselves, and *kachchi* with Gagṛe and Sánsís. They smoke only among themselves. No caste above them eats with them.

VI.—OCCUPATION.

THE ORIGINAL WORK OF THE CHUHṚÁS.

They were the tanners of the village communities, and used to live in huts at a distance from the village, the walls of which were made of bones, and the roof of skins. When an animal died, the Hindus beat a drum to let them know that they must come and carry off the dead body. Five rupees was the fee given and also a shroud. The Chuhṛás took off the animal's hide and ate its flesh. Sweeping was also their work.

Formerly, when a Hindu died, the Chuhṛás received a sheet or *kafan* (shroud), and they still receive clothes. In the old days they got five rupees at the Hindu burning-place, and exacted it with clubs. If a cow dies on a Hindu's land they call it *dúshná*, and the Hindu who takes the cow's tail to the Ganges to be purified is beaten there by a Chuhṛá with a shoe.

VII.—RELATIONS TO LAND.

Nowadays their work is farm service. They are landless day-labourers on the farm. They are divided into—

(1) The *áthrí*, who gets a maund of wheat for every *máṇí* at the harvest; also odds and ends. He has *ghunḍiáṇ*, *pír de dáṇe*, the barley that is sown in a strip round the wheat field; wheat sown by the water-course; bread twice a day; clothes and shoes twice a year; tobacco; vegetables and wood:

(2) The *sep khullí*, who receives three-quarters of a maund for every *máṇí*, and bread daily if he goes to a distance to work; and

(3) The wife, who takes away dung from the farmyard, and receives half a maund of corn.

It was cow-burying that led to their isolation. They say the Máchhí, the Jhíwar, the Chuhṛá, the Changaṛ, and the Mirásí are all of the same caste, but have different occupations.

There is a story told of the Chuhṛás by Muhammadans and others that does not reflect to their credit. They are believed to be inclined to be uppish and to forget past favours, being ungrateful, and are supposed to work best when they are well beaten, otherwise they take advantage of the kindness of their masters. I give this only as the opinion of their neighbours.

The story is that once on a time the king of the Chuhṛás met Moses, who was on his way to talk with God.* The king of the Chuhṛás asked Moses to carry a petition to God from him, that he might be enabled to take the usual tax from people passing through his territory. Moses accordingly presented the king's petition, but God said, " Moses, you do

* They and others call Moses Mihtar Músá; *mihtar* being a title of distinction, although used mostly for the Chuhṛás.

not know what you are doing, you do not know this people. They will turn on you, and dishonour you in the end." But Moses persevered, and obtained for the Chuhṛá king what he desired, *viz.*, that he should levy taxes on travellers. The next time Moses passed that way he was accosted in a most humiliating manner. "Oh Músrí, are you the man that carried a petition for me? You must pay the dues." "Did I not tell you, Moses," said God, "that you would bring dishonour on your head. They have no gratitude."

IX.—THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHUHṚÁS.

The Chuhṛás have oral traditions which they recite at their gatherings. If a Chuhṛá wishes to learn them, he becomes the disciple of some one who is in possession of them, *i. e.*, who can repeat them from memory. I heard, however, that there was a book of the Chuhṛás in Gujránwálá District, but I was unable to obtain it, as the owners had the idea that I would use it to their disadvantage.

CHUNIAN, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

CHURÁHI is the generic name for the people of the Churáh *wizárat*, in Chamba State, who include Brahmans, Rájputs, Ṭhákurs, Ráthis, and the following low castes:—Hálís, Kolís, Sippís, Barwálas, Lohárs, Chamárs, Dúmnas, Riháras, Chanáls, Meghs, etc. The low castes are all endogamous.

Tradition makes the Ṭhákurs descendants of the old Ránás, or petty chieftains, who held Chamba, prior to the foundation of the State by the Rájás, and the Hális, its oldest inhabitants. It also makes the Brahmans immigrants from Brahmaur and the Rájputs from the plains; but the Ráthis preceded these two castes, having been expelled from the Dugar country by Gugga Chauhán—a curious legend.

Marriage among the Churáhis is adult, and women are allowed every license before marriage. Three degrees on either side, counting from the grandparents, are avoided, but otherwise there are few restrictions, Brahmans intermarrying with Ráthis, by both forms of marriage, and also with Rájputs and Ṭhákurs. Polyandry is not recognized, but polygamy is, and the first or head wife (*bari lári**) is given Rs. 6 when a second wife is admitted into the house. This fee is called *jethwágh*†.

The observances at betrothal are simple. The initiative is taken by the boy's people, and the binding rite consists in the boy's agents placing eight Chambá coins, worth nearly 2 annas, in the plates used for entertaining the bride's *rubárús* or representatives, and giving one rupee for ornaments to the girl.

Marriage is of three kinds. In the superior form, called *janái*‡, the perliminaries are as follows:—Some six months before the wedding the boy's father or brother goes to the girl's house with one or two friends and gives her father Rs. 7 and a goat as his *lág*§. A rupee is also given to the bride to buy ornaments, and this is called *bandhá dená*‖. If the parents

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* *Lári* = wife.

† *Fr. jetha*, elder and *wágh*, a share.

‡ *Janái* (*jáni* = marriage), *janái* appears to be a diminutive.

§ *Lág*, a customary due.

‖ *Bandhá* = jewellery.

agree, an auspicious day is fixed for the wedding, and a day before it two messengers (*dhámu**) from the bride's house come to fetch the boy, who worships the family *deva* or *devi*. Next day, accompanied by a few friends and one of the *dhámu*, he goes to the bride's house. One of the boy's menial Hális accompanies him, carrying the *badhái*†, a present of two *mánis*‡ of grain, to her father. This Háli is called *putriár*§. On his arrival at the entrance the boy worships the *kumbh*|| (a vessel full of water); throwing two copper coins into it and then seating himself on a blanket placed near the wall. The bride's sister now has a mimic fight with him and does not let him sit down till he has paid her two annas. This is called *bishk*¶. She then fetches the bride and seats her by the boy whose future brother-in-law brings a vessel of boiled rice which he and the boy's brother scatter over the floor. This is called *bhát chingána***. The pair are then seated, as are the guests, and a feast with songs and dancing follows. The bride's dowry called *suáj*†† is then given to her by her parents. In the afternoon the boy's party returns to his house with two or three of the girl's friends, and the bride herself and other men and women of the bride's party. Before leaving the threshold of the bride's house the ceremony of *árti*‡‡ is performed, a lighted lamp being waved four times round the head of the pair by a priest, who recites verses from the Suklámber and Deo Lilá. At the boy's house this observance is repeated, and the *kumbh* worshipped by the bride and bridegroom, at the door. Then the boy's mother lifts up the bride's veil and presents her with a rupee or half a rupee according to her position. This is called *ghundu*§§ *khará karná*. After this a feast is eaten and another feast given on the following day, and songs and dances performed. The binding portion of the ceremony is when *árti* is waved round the couple's heads at the boy's house. At his wedding the boy wears a high peaked cap like a Gaddi's, but not a *sehra*||||.

Within a month after the marriage the married pair pay a visit to the wife's parents and make them a small present. This observance is called *har-phera*¶¶.

Widow remarriage is recognised. Formerly the widow was obliged to marry one of the deceased husband's brothers, but now this is not the practice. She can choose h[illegible] husband within her own caste or sub-division. This union is [illegible]nized by an inferior form of marriage called *sargudhi****. There are no *dhámu*, and the bridegroom simply goes to the woman's house with his *putriár* and brother. The *bandhá* is given as at a regular wedding, but *árti* is not performed, and there is less feasting and the cost is much less. The binding ceremony in this form is when an ornament is put on her, usually a nose-ring.

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* Dhámu, fr. *dham* a feast: *dhámu* = guest.

† *Badhái*, fr. *barhna*, to increase.

‡ *Máni*, a measure.

§ *Putriár*, from *putr*, a son.

|| *Kumbh* = a new *ghará* full of water.

¶ *Bishk*, fr. *bishná* = *baithná*, to sit down.

** *Chingána*, to scatter.

†† *Suáj*, dowry: fr. *suá*, red.

‡‡ *Arti*, to swing round anything from right to left.

§§ *Ghundu-chádar*, a bride's head-dress.

|||| *Sehra*, bridegroom's head-dress.

¶¶ *Har-phera*, fr. *Har*, God, and *pherná*, to go; to visit in the name of God.

*** *Sargudhi*, fr. *sar*, head (hair) and *gudhna* or *gundhná*, to plait.

A quiet form of *sargudhi* marriage is called *garíb chára**. The *lág*, etc., are all rendered as in the other form, but on an auspicious day the bridegroom accompanied by his sister simply goes to the bride's house, and at the entrance worships the *kumbh*. He then seats himself on the blanket in the usual way, and the girl is seated next him by her mother. After eating the couple take leave of the girl's father and proceed to the boy's house where the *kumbh* is again touched. This second worship of the *kumbh* makes the marriage binding.

The third and lowest form of marriage is the *bandhá luánᆠ*in which a widow, who is to marry her husband's brother, is married to him on the *kiria* day, *i.e.*, 7th to the 11th or 13th day after the first husband's death. She puts aside her late husband's ornaments and puts on his brother's, in token that she accepts him. A he-goat is sacrificed at home to the deceased husband and a small feast usually given. The widow's parents need not attend, but they are entitled to a *lág*, called *bakrá*, as being the price of a goat. If the widow wishes to marry a stranger, he must pay the *bakrá* of one rupee, and Re. 1-8 or Rs. 3 as *chadyáli*‡ to her parents. An auspicious day after the *kiria karm* period is ascertained from a *jotshi*,§ and the ornaments changed as described above.

Lastly a man who elopes with a girl can, after a certain interval, open negotiations with her father, and if he assents, pay him Rs. 7 and a goat as compensation. This observance is termed *lág rít*|| and operates as a valid marriage.¶

The custom of *gharjawántri* or service in lieu of a money payment for a wife, is common among all castes in the State, especially in the Churáh and Sadr *wizárats*. The term of service is usually three or seven years, and the marriage may take place at any time if the girl's father is agreeable.

A husband may divorce his wife if he cannot get on with her. The divorce is complete if the husband receives back his ornaments and says: "I have divorced you, *Rájá kí durohí***," *i.e.*, on the Rájá's oath. The husband also breaks a stick in her presence. Divorced wives can remarry if they like.

In succession all sons, even bastards, if recognized by the father, succeed on equal terms, but the eldest son gets the best field as his *jethwágh*; the second son gets a special implement, sickle, sword or axe as his *hathiár*, while the third gets the family house as his *mulwáher*.

The son (*rand put*) or daughter (*rand dhiá*††) of a widow born in her husband's house has all the rights of her deceased husband's own children. It is, however, essential that the widow should continue to live in her husband's house and the child be begotten therein.

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* 'The custom (*chára*) of the poor.'

† *Luáná* = to put on as a dress.

‡ *Chadyáli*, fr. *chadná* = *chorna*, to let go.

§ *Jotshi*, an astrologer.

|| *Rít* = custom.

¶ Marriage customs differ considerably in the eastern and western portions of Churáh, and the above description chiefly applies to the eastern half. In the western half the *byáh* or full marriage rite, according to orthodox Hindu custom, is the rule, and the *janai* is uncommon; but the other forms are as above.

** *Durohí* = oath.

†† *Rand* = widow, and *dhiá* = daughter.

All dead Hindus except children not yet tonsured are burnt. The head is placed towards the north and the hands on the chest, the face being turned skyward. The Hindu rites are, in essentials, observed, but the place of the *acháraj* is taken by the Bháṭ.

For seven, nine or thirteen days mourning is observed, only one meal a day, called *upás**, being eaten, and on the day on which mourning is to cease, a suit of good woollen clothes (which are prepared beforehand in anticipation of death and worn on festival days) is given to the priest who presides over the obsequies. Sixteen balls of rice are prepared and offered to the deceased's ancestors and finally removed and thrown into the nearest stream. The relations of the deceased also wash their clothes and a he-goat is killed. Then a feast is given to the relations and the mourning ends. This feast is usually given by the deceased's wife's parents. Ceremonies are performed and balls made and offered after one, three and six months, a year and four years, to the deceased. At the latter, *i. e.*, at the end of the fourth year, called *chubarki*, the ceremonial is done on a big scale.

The obsequies of any man who dies childless are done in the same way, but if he brings any calamity on the household an effigy is made and placed near a spring or on the roof of the house or in some good place and worshipped by offering him a cap, bread, and an earthen pot of *ghí* which are finally worn and eaten by the man who is supposed to have been affected by him. The spirit of the person who dies a violent death is appeased by taking an earthen pot full of boiled *ghi*, a pitcher full of water, and a goat to the spot where he met his death, and the goat is killed there and his head and the vessels rolled down the hill. This is done on the *paniyáru*, *i.e.*, on the *kiria karm* day. The people perform *sarádh*. Ceremonies are also performed for the propitiation of ancestors in general.†

The Churáhis are *zamíndárs* and hold land on two forms of tenure. Those who pay half its produce are called *ghárá*‡ and those who pay a fixed share of grain, etc., are called *mudyári*.§ The half share is alone divided after deducting the seed for the next crop. Occupancy tenants are not allowed any special privilege in the shape of remission of rent or favourable rates. The Churáhis are primarily and essentially cultivators, but many of them own flocks of sheep and goats with which, like the Gaddis, they visit Pángi in summer and the low hills in winter.

The Churáhis worship the deities on the following days :—

Shiv—Sunday, Monday and Thursday.
Sakti—Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.
Nag or *Mahal*—Thursday and Saturday.
Kailu—Thursday.
Kyelang—Sunday and Thursday.
Sitla—Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday.
Chaund—Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

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* *Upás* = fast.

† Men who have died childless are propitiated by putting garlands of flowers d a red woollen cap on their effigies on the *Sankránt* and *Uáns* days.

‡ *Fr. ghár* = half.

§ *Fr. muda*, a fixed amount.

To Shiv are offered a *chola* or woollen coat, a sheep, charms of silver oblong in shape worn round the neck, a *nádi* (a silver-arch ornament shaped like a drum). These offerings are taken by the head of the family, and the ornaments are worn by him out of respect for Shiv and to avert his wrath. To Sakti Devi are offered, as elsewhere, a goat, trident and cakes. The offerings to a Nág are an iron mace (*khanḍa*), a crooked iron stick (*kundi*), (these are left at the shrine), a sheep and cakes (these are divided among the priest, *chela* and worshipper, and eaten). To Kailu are offered a red cap, an iron mace and a kid. The cap and part of the kid go to the priest, the rest to the worshipper. Kyelang's offerings are a mace, a goat and a red cap. Sitla's offerings are a goat and cakes like the Devi's. Chaund gets cakes, and occasionally a goat is also sacrificed at her shrine.

Churáhis make a pilgrimage to Manmahesh in Bhádon or in Asuj, on the Drub Ashtami day.

Blocks of wood or stone which are supposed to possess some supernatural attributes are worshipped. When a deity is to be set up for the first time and consecrated, a Brahman's presence is necessary. The priests preside at shrines; and in dwellings the elder members of the household. Priests are not selected from the Brahman class only, but from all the other castes except low castes. Brahmans, Rájputs, Ráthis and Ṭhakkars are eligible to hold the position of a priest.

The following are some of the festivals observed in Churáh :—

1. Biswá, on 1st Baisákh, at which *pindri* or balls of grain are eaten with honey and *ghi* or *guṛ*. People also collect together for singing and dancing, this being the Hindu New Year's Day.

2. Patroru ki *sankránt** on 1st Bhádon, held in memory of their ancestors. Flour is mixed with water, salt and spices and spread on *bhuji* leaves, called *patroru,* and eaten.

3. Másru, held on the same day as the Drub Ashtami at Manimahesh in honour of Shiva—that is, on the eighth day of the light half of Bhádon. It is accompanied by dancing.

4. Several of the ordinary *melas* observed in the capital, such as Holí, Diwáli, Lohri, etc., are also held in Churáh.

5. *Chhinj,* or wrestling matches, associated with the Lakhdáta cult, are held annually in every *pargana* of Churáh.

Chubera, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Chúrígar : (1) a maker of bracelets, called in the west Bangera or Wangrígar. Also called sometimes Kachera or glass-worker, the Chúrígar generally makes bracelets of glass or lac, which are sold in the east by the Maniár, and in the west by the Bangera. The Chúrígar also makes bracelets of bell-metal or any other material except silver or gold. The term is probably merely an occupational one, and in the east of the Punjab practically synonymous with Maniár. (2) A Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* *Sankránt* = first day of the month.

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DABB, ḌAB, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and Sháhpur.

DABERAH, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

ḌABGAR, a low caste who make *kuppís* for oil and *ghi*. They prepare the raw hides themselves. The term is, at least in these Provinces, a purely occupational one, but the *ḍabgars* are principally recruited from the Chamár caste, and, in Siálkoṭ, from the Khojás and Chuhṛás also. By metathesis the term becomes *badgar*.

DABKAYÁ, DAHAYÁ, *cf.* Katayá, a gilder, a beater of wire.

DACHCHI, a clan of the Bhaṭṭis of the Sándal Bár, who are said to marry with the Chaddrars, but not with the Bhagsiri or Jandrákes, though the latter also are both Bhaṭṭi clans.

DADD, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

DADDUKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

DÁDÍ, a sept of Rájpúts, descended from Chhatar Chand, 3rd son of Pára Chand, 31st Rájá of Kahlúr or Biláspur State.

DÁDI, see under Dáwai.

DADPOTRA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán (doubtless Dáúdpotra, *q. v.*).

DADRA-BHAṬṬÍ, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

DÁDÚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DÁDÚPANTHÍ.—Founded by Dádú,* a Gaur Brahman, who died in 1703. The Dádúpanthi sect is usually divided into three orders:—

(*i*) Nágas,† found in the villages about Jaipur: they wear the *choti* or scalp-lock, and ornaments, and are wrestlers, fencers, and on occasion warriors;

(*ii*) the Viraktas,‡ who wear ochre-coloured garments and do not live in houses;

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* Dádú was born at Ahmadábád in Guzerát, whence he migrated to Naráina, 50 miles south-west of Jaipur and now the head-quarters of the sect. At the *gurúdwára* here the Dádúpanthís assemble in Phágan and thence go to Sámbhar where a fair is held on the anniversary of Dádú's death. Regarding his birth, tradition avers that an aged Brahman had no son, but one day God, in the guise of an old man, told him in response to his prayers, that he would find floating on the river a box containing a male child, sucking its toe. He did so, and his wife's breasts miraculously filled with milk, so that she was able to suckle the child. When the boy was 10 years old, the aged man again appeared to the boy and gave him some betel from his own mouth, whereby all secrets were revealed to him, and the old man then named him Dádú Jív, bidding him remain celibate and found an order of his own. Dádú then exclaimed; *Dádú gaib mahin gur dev milá, páyá ham parshád, Mastak meri kar dharyá dekhá agam agád.* "By chance I found a *gurú*; he gave me *parshád* and laid his hands upon my head, whereby all secrets were revealed to me." Dádú's death is assigned to Sbt. 1760 (1703 A.D.); but he is also said to have been 6th in descent from Rámánand. If so he flourished in 1600 A. D. Other accounts make him contemporary with Dárá Shikoh, others with Govind Singh. According to Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, VI, p. 140, the Dádúpanthís place Dádú's death at the same time and place as Kabír's.

† Nága is said to be derived from Sanskrit *náguaka*, naked, but there is the usual play on the words *nanga* (naked) and *nág*, snake. The Nágás are mercenary soldiers in Jaipur and other States of Rájputána but are not known in the Punjab. See below also.

‡ Virakta simply means ascetic. Mr. Maclagan says the *celibates* of to-day wear white, shave the beard and moustache, and wear necklaces, with white round caps, to which is attached a piece of cloth which hangs down the back—clearly the *kapálí*.

(*iii*) the Uttrádhas, who shave the head with the beard and moustache,* wear white clothes, and generally practise as physicians; besides

(*iv*) the secular Dádúpanthís, who are called Bistardhárís.

Dádú is said to have had 52 disciples who established as many *deras* or resting places.† The head of each *dera*, the *deradár*, presents contributions to the *gaddí-nashín* or incumbent of the *gurú-dwára* at Naráiná, who is elected by a conclave of the *deradárs*. The sect is recruited from the Brahman, Kshatriya, Rájput, Ját and Gújar castes, but never from those of menial rank.‡ As a rule children are initiated.

Dádú composed a book called the Dádú Báni, of 5,000 verses, some of which are recited by his followers, after their ablutions every morning. In the evening *árti* is performed to it by lighting lamps and reciting passages from it.§ Dádú forbade idolatry, built no temples,|| and taught the unity of God. In salutation his votaries use the word Sat Rám, the "True God." But, in spite of Dádú's denunciation of idolatry, his hair, his *tumbá* (cup), *cholá* (gown) and *kharsun* (sandals) are religiously preserved in his cave (*guphá*) at Sámbhar.¶

Before a *gurú* admits a disciple the privations and difficulties of *jog* are impressed upon him, and he is warned that he will have to remain celibate, live on alms, abstain from flesh and stimulants, and uphold the character of his order. In the presence of all the *sádhus* the *gurú* shaves off the disciple's *chotí* (scalp-lock) and covers his head with the *kapáli* (skull-cap), which Dádú wore. He is also given a *kurta* of *bhagwá* (ochre) colour, and taught the *gurú-mantra* which he must not reveal. The rite concludes with the distribution of sweets.

On a *gurú's* death the usual Hindu rites are observed, and on the 17th day a feast is given to the *sádhús*. A fine tomb is sometimes erected outside the *dera*, in memory of the deceased, if he was wealthy.

Although the Dádúpanthís proper are celibate, both men and women are admitted into the community, and a great many have taken to marriage without ceasing to be Dádúpanthís. These form the *bistar-dhárí* or secular group, which should probably be regarded as a separate caste. Many of them are merchants, especially in grain, and wealthy.

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* The Uttrádhi have a *gurú* at Rathia in Hissár. See below.

† Of these 52 disciples, Raijab, Gharíb Dás and Sundar Dás were the chief. Raijab was a Muhammadan; it is said that Muhammadans who follow Dádú are called Uttrádhi in contradistinction to the Hindu Dádúpanthís who are called Nágí. But the Nágí is clearly the Nága already described, and Uttrádhi can only mean "northern."

The second, Gharíb Dás, composed many hymns, still popular among Hindus, but his followers are said to be mostly Chamárs, who cut the hair short and wear cotton quilting. Sundar Dás composed the *Sakyá*, a work resembling the Sikh *Granth*.

‡ But see the foregoing foot-note. The followers of Gharíb Dás, at any rate, clude Chamárs, and Mr. Maclagan adds that many adherents of the sect are found among the lower castes.

§ According to Wilson the worship is addressed to Ráma, the deity negatively described in the Vedánta theology.

|| Now temples are built by his followers who say that they worship "the book" in them.

¶ Mr. Maclagan adds: "In fact, the doctrine of Dádú is sometimes described as pantheistic. It is contained in several works in the Bhásha tongue which are said to include many of the sayings of Kabír. Accounts of the *gurú* and his followers are given in the *Janam-líla*."

DADWÁL.—The Rájput clan to which belongs the ancient ruling family of Datárpur, but said to take its name from Dáda in Kángra on the Hoshiárpur border. The Ránás of Bít Mánaswál, or tableland of the Hoshiárpur Siwáliks were Dadwál Rájputs, and the clan still holds the tract.

The Dadwáls are found in the neighbourhood of Datárpur, the seat of their former sovereignty, and on the south-west face of the Siwáliks in Hoshiárpur tahsil near Dholbáha and Janauri or Jánkapuri, its ancient name, which is still used. Jának was an ancient Súrajbansi ruler. The Dadwáls are a branch of the Katoch and do not intermarry with them, or with the Goleriás or Sibáyas on the ground of a common descent. They have an interesting local history which describes how they wrested the tract round Datárpur from a Cháhng *rání*.

The Dadwáls have several *als* or families, whose names are derived from their settlements, such as Janaurach, Dholbáhía, Datárpuría, Fatehpuría, Bhámnowália, Khangwárach, Narúria, Rámpuría, etc. Datárpur is their chief village, but they have no system of *chhats* and *makáns*. (For their history and the septs which intermarry with them see the *Hoshiárpur Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 48-9.)

DAFRÁNÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

DÁGAR, a Jáṭ tribe, numerous in Delhi and Gurgáon, and with a small colony in Rohtak.

DÁGÍ, DÁGHÍ, (from *dágh*,* a blemish; the word *dághí* is a term of abuse in Kullú), a generic term for an impure caste in Kullú. Koli is hardly a synonym, though, according to Ibbetson, these two words, together with a third, Chanál, are used almost indifferently to describe the lower class of menials of the highest hills. The Koli of the plains is easily distinguishable, by his locality, from the Koli of the hills. The former is probably nothing more than a Chamár tribe immigrant from Hindústán; the latter, of Kolian origin. The two would appear to meet in the Síwáliks. Cunningham believed that the hills of the Punjab were once occupied by a true Kolian race belonging to the same group as the Kols of Central India and Behar, and that the present Kolis are very probably their representatives. He points out that *dá*, the Kolian for water, is still used for many of the smaller streams of the Simla hills, and that there is a line of tribes of Kolian origin extending from Jabbalpur at least as far as Alláhábád, all of which use many identical words in their vocabularies and have a common tradition of an hereditary connection with working in iron. The name of Kullú, however, he identifies with Kulinda,

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* But according to the late Mr. A. Anderson :—" The popular explanation of the word Dágí is that it is derived from *dág* cattle, because they drag away the carcasses of dead cattle and also eat the flesh. If a man says he is a Koli, then a Kanet turns round on him and asks him whether he does not drag carcasses; and on his saying he does, the Kanet alleges he is a Dágí, and the would-be Koli consents. There are very few in Kullú proper that abstain from touching the dead. There are more in Saráj, but they admit they are called either Dágis or Kolis, and that whether they abstain from touching carcasses or not, all eat, drink and intermarry on equal terms. It is a mere piece of affectation for a man who does not touch the dead to say he will not intermarry with the family of a man who is not so fastidious. This is a social distinction, and probably also indicates more or less the wealth of the individual who will not touch the dead."

and thinks that it has nothing in common with Kol. Kolá, the ordinary name for any inhabitant of Kullú, is a distinct word from Koli and with a distinct meaning.

The names Koli, Dágí, and Chanál seem to be used to denote almost *all* the low castes in the hills. In the median ranges, such as those of Kángra proper, the Koli and Chanál are of higher status than the Dágí, and not very much lower than the Kanet and Ghirth or lowest cultivating castes; and perhaps the Koli may be said to occupy a somewhat superior position to, and the Chanál very much the same position as, the Chamár in the plains, while the Dágí corresponds more nearly with the Chúhra. In Kullú the three words seem to be used almost indifferently, and to include not only the lowest castes, but also members of those castes who have adopted the pursuits of respectable artisans. The interesting quotations from Sir James Lyall give full details on the subject. Even in Kángra the distinction appears doubtful. Sir James Lyall quotes a tradition which assigns a common origin, from the marriage of a demi-god to the daughter of a Kullú demon, to the Kanets and Dágís of Kullú, the latter having become separate owing to their ancestor who married a Tibetan woman, having taken to eating the flesh of the *yak*, which, as a sort of ox, is sacred to Hindus; and he thinks that the story may point to a mixed Mughal and Hindu descent for both castes. Again he writes: "The Koli class is "pretty numerous in Rájgiri on the north-east side of *pargana* "Hamírpur; like the Kanet it belongs to the country to the east of "Kángra proper. I believe this class is treated as outcast by other "Hindus in Rájgiri, though not so in Biláspur and other countries "to the east. The class has several times attempted to get the Katoch "Rájá to remove the ban, but the negotiations have fallen through "because the bribe offered was not sufficient. Among outcasts the "Chamárs are, as usual, the most numerous." Of *pargana* Kángra he writes: "The Dágís have been entered as second-class Gaddis, but "they properly belong to a different nationality, and bear the same "relation to the Kanets of Bangáhal that the Sepis, Bádis, and Hális "(also classed as second-class Gaddis) do to the first-class Gaddis." So that it would appear that Dágís are more common in Kángra proper, and Kolis to the east of the valley; and that the latter are outcast while the former claim kinship with the Kanet. (*Kángra Settlement Report*, § 67, pp. 65 and 62; 113 shows that in Kullú at least the Dágí is not a caste). Háli is the name given in Chamba to Dágí or Chanál; and the Hális are a low caste, much above the Dúmna and perhaps a little above the Chamár, who do all sorts of menial work and are very largely employed in the fields. They will not intermarry with the Chamár. See also Koli.

The late Mr. A. Anderson, however, wrote as to the identity of Dági and Chanál:—"In Kullú proper there are no Chanáls, that is, there are none who on being asked to what caste they belong will answer that they are Chanáls; but they will describe themselves as Dági-Chanáls or Koli-Chanáls, and men of the same families as these Dági-Chanáls or Koli-Chanáls will as often merely describe themselves as Dágís or Kolis. In Kullú Dági, Koli, and Chanál mean very nearly the same thing, but the word Koli is more common in Saráj and Ch--"

scarcely used at all in Kullú; but Chanáls are, I believe, numerous in Mandi, and in the Kángṛa valley. A Dági who had been out of the Kullú valley, told me he would call himself a Dági in Kullú, a Chanál in Kángṛa, and a Koli in Plách or Saráj, otherwise these local castes would not admit him or eat with him. Again and again the same man has called himself a Dági and also a Koli. If a Kanet wishes to be respectful to one of this low caste he will call him a Koli, if angry with him a Dági. A Chanál of Mandi State will not intermarry with a Kullú Dági. In some places as in Manáli *kothi*, Kanets smoke with Dágis, but this is not common in Kullú, though the exclusiveness has arisen only within the last few years, as caste distinctions became gradually more defined .... A Chamár in Saráj will call himself a Dági, and men calling themselves Kolis said they would eat and drink with him. They said he was a Chamár merely because he made shoes, or worked in leather. Most Dágis in Kullú proper will not eat with Chamárs, but in some places they will. It depends on what has been the custom of the families."

Dahá, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán, Kabírwálá tahsil, Ḍahá (Ḍáhá), also a Ját sept, found in Dera Ghází Khán. Like the Parhár(s) Jáṭs, and their Mírásís the Mongla and Sidhar, they are said to eschew the use of black clothes or green bangles.

Ḍahal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dahalo, Ḍahálo, two Jáṭ clans (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dahamráí, Dahamráyá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dahan, one of the principal clans of the Jáṭs in Karnál: head-quarters at Shahrmalpur.

Dahán, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Ḍahang, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dahar, a Jáṭ tribe, akin to the Langáh, found in Multán (agricultural).

Ḍáhar, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Dáhar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. In Baháwalpur they hold an important position. Their descent is traced from Rájá Rawan, ruler of Mirpur Mathila, near Ghot-ki, who was converted to Islám by Sayyid Jalál and was by him named Amír-ud-Dáhr, or "Ruler of the Age." Once rulers of part of Sindh, the Dáhr power decreased in the time of the Langáh supremacy, and in Akbar's time they were addressed merely as Zamíndárs, but the Náhars conceded many privileges to them and these were maintained by the Dáúdpotrás on their rise to power. The Dáhrs are closely connected with the Giláni-Makhdúms of Uch, to whom they have, it is said, given eighteen daughters in marriage from time to time. (For further details see the *Baháwalpur Gazetteer*.)

Ḍahár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Ḍahawá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dahba, a Muhammadan Jáṭ tribe found in Gujrát. It claims Janjúa Rájput origin and descent from one Khoga, a servant of Akbar who gave him a robe of honour and a gray (*dâhb*) horse—whence its name.

Dahíma, a group of Brahmans, found in Hissár.

Dahiyá—(1) A Jáṭ tribe found on the north-eastern border of the Sámpla and the adjoining portion of the Sonepat tahsíls of Rohtak and Delhi. They claim to be descended from Dahla, the only son of a Chauhán Rájput named Mánik Rai, by a Dhankar Jáṭ woman. This is probably the Mánik Rai Chauhán who founded Hánsi. Another account makes their ancestor Dhadhíj, son of Haria Harpál, son of Prithi Rája.* Another tradition derives the name Dahiyá from Dadhrérá, a village in Hissár, which it thus makes the starting place (*nikás*) of the tribe. The Dahiyá is one of the 36 royal tribes of Rájputs, whose original home was about the confluence of the Sutlej with the Indus. They are possibly the Dahiæ of Alexander.

(2) A faction, opposed to the Ahúlána, said to be named after the Dahiyá Jáṭs. These two factions are found in Karnál, as well as in Delhi and Rohtak. The Ahúlána faction is headed by the Ghatwál or Malak Jaṭs, whose head-quarters are Dher-ká-Ahúlána in Gohána, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rájputs, the accepted heads of the Jáṭs in these parts. Some one of the emperors called them in to assist him in coercing the Mandahár Rájputs, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dahiyá Jáṭs, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwáls and joined the Mandahárs against them. Thus the country side was divided into two factions; the Gújars and Tagas of the tract, the Jáglán Jáṭs of *thapa* Naultha, and the Latmár Jáṭs of Rohtak joining the Dahiyás, and the Húda Jáṭs of Rohtak, and most of the Jáṭs of the tract except the Jágláns, joining the Ahúlánas. In the Mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Mandahárs of the Nardak ravaged the Ahúlánas in the south of the tract. The Dahiyá is also called the Jáṭ, and occasionally the Mandahár faction. The Jáṭs and Rájputs seem, independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies. This division runs right through Sonepat and more faintly through Delhi tahsíl, and is so firmly rooted in the popular mind that Muhammadans even class themselves with one or the other party. Thus the Muhammadan Gújars of Pánchi Gújrán call themselves Dahiyás and so do all the neighbouring villages.

* In Delhi the legend is that Hariá Harpál, being defeated in battle by the king of Delhi took refuge in a lonely forest which from the number of its trees he called Ban auta—now corrupted into Barautá—in Rohtak. There he ruled and his son Dhadhíj after him. Dhadhíj one day in hunting chanced upon a certain pond or tank near Pogthalá in the same district where the Jáṭ women had come together to get their drinking water. Just then a man came out of the village leading a buffalo-calf with a rope to the pond to give it water. The animal either from fright or frolic bounded away from the hand of its owner, and he gave chase but in vain. Neighbours joined in the pursuit, which was nevertheless unsuccessful, till the animal in its headlong flight came across the path of a Játní going along with two *gharras* of water on her head. She quietly put out her foot on the rope which was trailing along the ground and stood firm under the strain which the impetus of the fugitive gave. The calf was caught, and Dhadhíj looking on with admiration, became enamoured of the stalwart comeliness of its captor. Such a wife, he said, must needs bear a strong race of sons to her husband, and that husband, notwithstanding the fact of her already being married he forthwith determined to be himself. By a mixture of cajolery, threats and gift-making he obtained his desire—and the Játní married the Kshatri prince. By her he had three sons—Tejá, Sahjá, and Jaisá. Dhadhíj gave his name to the Dahiyás, and his children spread over the neighbouring tracts, dividing the country between them—Tejá's descendants live in Rohtak; Sahjá's partly in Rohtak and partly in 12 villages of Delhi; while Jaisá's descendants live in Rohtak and in 16 villages in Delhi.

The Ahúlána tradition traces their origin to Rájputáná. Their ancestor was coming Delhi-wards with his brothers, Móm and Sóm, in search of a livelihood. They quarrelled on the road and had a deadly fight on the banks of the Ghátá naddí. Móm and Sóm, who were on one side, killed their kinsman and came over to Delhi to the king there who received them with favour and gave them lands: to Sóm the tract across the Ganges where his descendants now live as Rájputs. Móm was sent to Rohtak, and he is now represented by the Jáṭs there as well as in Hánsi and Jínd. The Rohtak party had their head-quarters at Ahúlána in that district, and thence on account of internal quarrels they spread themselves in different directions, some coming into the Delhi district.

ḌAHKO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAHLOLÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAHO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAHOKA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

ḌAHON, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DAHONDA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAHRÁLA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAHRÍJA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

ḌÁÍR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

ḌAK, ḌAKAUT, ḌAKOTRA: see under Brahman.

ḌÁL, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DALÁL, a Jáṭ tribe found in Rohtak. It claims Ráthor Rájput origin, and its traditions say that, 28 generations ago, one Dhanna Rao settled at Silauthi, and married a Baḍgújar Jáṭ woman of Sankhaul near Bahádurgarh, by whom he had four sons—Dille, Desal, Mán and Sahiya.* From these sprang the four clans of Dalál, Deswál, Mán and Sewág† Jáṭs, who do not intermarry one with another. The Daláls are hereditary enemies of the Dahiyá Jáṭs.

DALÁNÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DALEL, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DALEO, a small Jáṭ clan, found in Ludhiána. They say that Jagdeo had five sons: Daleo, Dewal, Ulak (Aulak), Malangh‡ and Pamar. Now Rájá Jail Pangal promised a Bháṭni, Kangalí by name, 10 times as much largesse as Jagdeo gave her. But Jagdeo cut off his head. The Bháṭni, however, stuck it on again. Still, ever since this clan has had small necks!

DALLÁWÁLIÁ, the eighth of the Sikh *misls* or confederacies, which was recruited from Jáṭs.

DALO, ḌALO, two (?) Jáṭ clans (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* Or Dalla, Desu, Mán and Sewa were the sons of Khokhar, a Chauhán Rájput who married a Jáṭ wife, according to the Jínd account.

† Or Sawal in Jínd.

‡ ? Bailang.

DAMAI, a Gurkhá clan in the Simla Hill States, who do tailor's work, and are thought a very low caste.

DAMMAR, (m.) a tribe of Jáṭs, originally called Láṛ, immigrants from Sind. They affect the Sindhi title of Jám and claim to be superior to other Jáṭs in that they do not marry daughters outside the tribe; but the rule is often broken.

DAṆDAN, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

ḌANḌI, (i) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found [illegible]án, (ii) also a Sanvásí sub-order.

DANDIAL, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

DANḌIWÁL, a Jáṭ clan, claiming Chauhán descent, which emigrated from Delhi *via* Jaisalmír to Sirsa: found in Hissár, and also in Jínd State. In the latter it affects the *jathera* and *jandián* worship, and has as its *sidh* a Pír whose shrine is at Beluwálá, in British Territory. At the birth of a son, they offer to his *samádh* a piece of *guṛ*, a rupee and some cloth which are taken by a Brahman.

DÁṆGARAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

ḌAṆGARIK, lit. 'cow-people': (i) a small tribe, confined to four villages in Chitrál and said to speak a language cognate with Shina. Though long since converted to Islám, the name Daugarík would seem to show that they were Hindus originally; (ii) a term applied to all the Shina-speaking people of Chitrál and the Indus Kohistán generally, because of the peculiar aversion of the SHINS, which is only shared by the Ḍaṇgaríks and Kálásh Káfirs, for the cow and domestic fowls.—Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 64 and 113.

DAṆGE, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DANNA—see Wargara.

ḌÁṆWAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DÁOLÍ, a hill caste of Dúmná status who work for gold in streams in the low hills (*e.g.*, about Úná); in the high hills (*e.g.*, Káṇgṛa) called Sansoi, and corresponding to the Khírs who are the goldworkers of the plains. *Cf.* dáula, ḍáula, a washer for gold.

DARAH, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DARAIN, DREN, see Malláh.

DARD, a term applied by the MAIR to the tribes of the Indus Kohistán who live on the left bank of that river: Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 12.

DÁRGARE, wooden bowl makers, see Chitráli.

DARGH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DAROL, DAROLÍ, a sept of Rájputs descended from Mián Kela, a son of Sangar Chand, 16th Rájá of Kahlúr.

DARTOCHE, carpenters, in the valley below Chitrál, and in the Gilgit and Indus valleys: see Chitráli.

DÁRÚGAR, a maker of gunpowder. This term and its synonyms include various castes; always Muhammadans.

Darvesh.—Darvesh means one who begs from door to door (*dar* "door"). But the Darvesh of our Census returns are a peculiar class found mainly in Batála and Paṭhánkoṭ and in Amritsar and Kapúrthala. They cultivate a little land, play musical instruments, beg, make ropes, go to a house where there has been a death and chant the praises of the deceased, hang about mosques, and so forth. They are hardly ascetics, yet the small number of women seem to show that they have not yet formed into a separate caste, and are still recruited from outside. Elsewhere, *e. g.* in Gujrát, they are poor scholars who seek instruction in mosques and live on alms or by begging from door to door, resembling the *tálib-ul-ilm* of the frontier. Sometimes they are employed as *bángis* at mosques, or in other minor posts.

Darvesh Khel.—The Utmánzai and Ahmadzai clans (descendants of Músá Darvesh) of the Wazír Paṭháns (*q. v.*).

Darzi.—Hindi syn. *súji*, a purely occupational term, there being no Darzi caste in the proper acceptation of the word, though there is a Darzi guild in every town. The greater number of Darzís belong perhaps to the Dhobi and Chhímba castes, more especially to the latter; but men of all castes follow the trade, which is that of a tailor or sempster. The Darzis are generally returned as Hindu in the east and Musalmán in the west.

Dás(á)—(*a*) Sanskrit *dásá*, a mariner; according to the *Purán*, begotten by a Súdrá on a Kshatriyá. The *Sástrá* and *Tántrá* give a different origin (Colebrooke's *Essays*, p. 274); (*b*) Dás, the appellation common to Súdrás. *cf. Karan.*

Dasa, fr. *das*, 'ten,' as opposed to Bísa, fr. *bis*, 'twenty': half-caste, as opposed to one of pure descent—see under Bánia. In Gurgaon the term is applied to a group, which is practically a distinct caste, of Tagas who have adopted the custom of widow remarriage, and so lost status, though they are of pure Taga blood: *Punjab Customary Law*, *II*, p. 132.

Dashál, fr. Dashwál, 'of the plains,' is a group of Rájputs found in the Simla Hills. To it belong the chiefs of Ghúnd, Theog, Madhán and Darkoṭí, four baronies feudatory to Keonṭhal State. It is asserted that the Dashála once ranked as Kanets, wearing no sacred thread and performing no orthodox funeral rites; and a fifth Dashá sept is still only of Kanet status. This latter sept gives its name to Dashaulí, a village in Púnar *pargana* of Keonṭhal.

Dashti, once a servile tribe of the **Baloch**, now found scattered in small numbers through Deras Ghází and Ismáíl Khán and Muzaffargarh. Possibly, as Dames suggests, from one of the numerous *dashts* or tablelands, found throughout the country.

Ḍaspál, **a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.**

Dasti, **Dashti** (from *dasht*, 'wilderness').—**A Baloch tribe of impure descent.** *See* **under Baloch.**

Da-tong-kar-po, Dhongrú-kárú: *See* **Cháhzang.**

Dátye, a Labána clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DÁÚDPOTRA.—The sept to which belongs the ruling family of Baháwalpur. It claims to be Abbássi* and is practically confined to Baháwalpur and the neighbouring portions of Multán, part of which was once included in that State.

The Dáúdpotra septs trace their descent from Muhammad Khán II, Abbási, 10th in descent from Dáúd Khán I. Muhammad Khán II had three sons:—

(1) Fíroz or Pirúj Khán, (2) Árib (or Arab) Khán, ancestor of the Arbáni sept, and (3) Ísab Khán, ancestor of the Isbáni or Hisbáni sept.

The descendants of Pirúj Khán are known as Pirjánis, Fírozánis or Pir Pirjánis and to this sept belongs the family of the Nawábs of Baháwalpur. A sub-sept of the Pirjánis is called Shamáni, from Sháh Muhammad Khán.

The Arbánis have five sub-septs: Músáni, Ruknáni or Rukráni, Rahmáni, Jambráni and Bhinbráni, all descended from eponyms (Músá Khán, etc.). The Músáni have an offshoot called Kandáni. The Isbánis have no sub-septs.

A large number of sub-septs also claim to be Dáúdpotra though they are not descended from Muhammad Khán II. Thus the Achránis claim descent from Achar, a son of Kehr. Kehr was brother to the wife of Channi Khán, father of Dáúd Khán I, and founded the Kehráni sept, which has seven main branches:—

Achráni.
Haláni.
Bakhsháni.
Jamáni.
Mundháni.
Marúfáni.
Tayyibáni.

(Bakhsháni, Jamáni, Mundháni, Marúfáni, Tayyibáni:) These five are known† collectively as Panj-páre.

A number of other septs also claim to be Dáúdpotra, but their claims are often obscure, disputed or clearly untenable. Such are the Noháni, Zoraia, Karáni (who claim to be Kehránis), Ronjha or Ranúhja (a sept of the Sammas), and Chandráni (who intermarry with the Arbánis and therefore are presumed to be Arbánis). The Wisráni,‡ Muláni, Thúmra,§ Widáni, Kálra, Jhúnri, Bhanbháni, Hakrá and Kat-bál|| are spurious Dáúdpotras.

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* For the origin of this title see the *Baháwalpur Gazetteer*.

† *-páre*, is said to mean '-fold,' but *cf*. the Panj-páre among the Paṭháns, also the Panj-pao of Multán.

‡ The Arbáni and Isbáni Dáúdpotras do not recognise the Wisránis. The former declare that four families of the Abra (*q. v.*) tribe migrated from Wísarwáh in Sindh in the time of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II. The Abras gave one daughter in marriage to Baláwal Khán, Pirjáni, a second to an Arbáni family, and a third to an Isbáni, and asked their sons-in-law to admit them among the Dáúdpotras, so that they might be entitled to all the privileges which the Dáúdpotras enjoyed. This was granted and they were called Wisráni Dáúdpotras (from Wísharwáh).

§ The story goes that once Muhammad Baháwal Khán III happened to see one Núrú Kharola with his head shaved. A shaven head being generally looked down upon, the Nawáb remarked in Sindhi (which he always spoke), *ho disso thora*, 'look at that bald head,' and so they were nick-named Thumra. They are really Kharolas (converted sweepers) by caste.

|| Originally Jáṭs of low status (there is still a sept of Mohánas which is known by this name). They give their daughters in marriage to any tribe while the Dáúdpotras are particularly strict in forming alliances.

For a full account of the Dáúdpotra septs, whose modern developments illustrate the formation of a tribe by descent, affiliation and fiction, reference must be made to the *Baháwalpur Gazetteer.*

Dáúdzai.—The Paṭhán tribe which occupies the left bank of the Kábul river as far down as its junction with the Bára. Like the Mohmand, the Dáúdzai are descended from Daulatyár, son of Ghorai, the progenitor of the Ghoria Khel. Dáúd had three sons, Mandkai, Mámúr, and Yúsuf, from whom are descended the main sections of the tribe. Mandkai had three sons, Husain, Nekai, and Bálo, of whom only the first is represented in Peshávar. Nekai fled into Hindústán, while Bálo's few descendants live in parts of Tíráh. Kalíd-i-Afghání, pp. 167, 168, 179, 182. A. N., p. i., iii.

Daúl, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Daula, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Daulat Khel.—One of the four great tribes of the Loháni Paṭháns* which about the beginning of the 17th century drove the Marwats and Mían Khel out of Tánk. Their principal clan was the Katti Khel; and under their chief, Katál Khán, the Daulat Khel ruled Tánk in Dera Ismáíl Khán, and were numerous and powerful about the middle of the 18th century. They accompanied the Durráni into Hindústán, and brought back much wealth. But since that time the Bhiṭanni and other tribes have encroached, and they are now small and feeble. The Nawáb of Tánk, the principal *jágírdár* of the District, is a Katti Khel. Raverty described them as *íláts* or nomads dwelling to the north of the Sulaimán Range from Daraban town on the east to the borders of Ghazni on the west, along the banks of the Gomal, each clan under the nominal rule of its own *malik*. Though their principal wealth consisted in flocks and herds they were engaged in trade, importing horses from Persia and *majítha* into Hindustán, and taking back with them piece-goods and other merchandise for sale in Kábul and Kandahár. They used to pay *ushr* or tithe to the dynasty at Kábul, but were not liable to furnish troops.

Dauleke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Dauṛá, a messenger : *cf. Baláhar.*

Dauri, *see* Dáwari.

Dautannj, Dotanni, a Paṭhán clan, numbering some 700 fighting men, which inhabits the Wáno valley and the country between the Wazírí hills and the Gúmal. Their lands are comparatively fertile, growing rice and cereals. They are on good terms with the Wazírs, and are well-to-do, carrying on a profitable trade with Bokhára. They bring down *postíns, chakmas,* and *charras.* They have three *kirris* in British territory, near Katmalána and in the Káhiri *iláqa.* About a third of them are *káfila* folk and have no *kirris.* They own about 3,500 camels. They leave their flocks behind in the hills. They come and go along with the Mián Khels, though forming separate caravans.

Dáwari.—Living on the fertile alluvium of the Tochi valley in Northern Wazíristán, the Dáwaris or Dauris have no necessity to culti-

* Really only a clan of the Mímá Khel, the Daulat Khel practically absorbed that tribe and gave its own name to it.

vate very strenuously or to migrate. Hence they are lacking in military spirit,* unenterprising and home-staying, and a Dáwari, even when outlawed, will not remain away from the valley for more than a couple of years.

Their descent is thus given:—

DAWAR, EPONYM.

- Tappizai.
- Mallizai.

Haidar Khel and Ippi — Isori — Dalat Khel — Tappi — Arghund — Míran Shah — Boya — Hassu Khel — Mosakki — Urmuz — Zerrakki — Khaddi — Hakim Khel — Mubárak Sháhi — Darpa Khel.

There are also two disconnected sections, Malakh and Amzoni. The Idak sub-section also does not claim descent from either of the main branches. The Malakh are a mixed division, including the Muhammad Khel, Idak Khel, Pai Khel, Dihgans, Land Boya and Ghazlamai. The latter sept includes three or four Sayyid houses which claim descent from Dangar Sáhib. The Dihgans are quite a distinct sept, coming from Afghánistán. The origin of the Malakh is the common Afghán story of a foundling. Some Durránis abandoned a boy in a box, and as Dangar Pír found him he brought him up, calling him Malakh because he was good-looking.

The Amzoni comprise the following septs:—Chiton, Umarzai, Kurvi Kalla, Raghzi Kalla, Urmur Kalla, Ahmad Khel, Ali Khel, Fath Khel, Bai Khel, Khatti Kalla, Kharri Kalla and Aghzan Kalla.

Amzon, the ancestor of these septs, is said to have been a Shammai Khostwál who mixed with the Dáwaris. But the Fath Khel and Bal Khel are known to be Wazírs, and the Urmur Kalla are by origin Urmurs of Kániguram.

The Darpa Khel consist of Darpa Khels, Panakzai and Khozi, and of these the Panakzais are Momit Khel Dáwaris while the Khozis are Akhunds. As regards Darpa Khel himself it is said that he was a Khostwal, but others say that he was a Dum of Tanis.

The Idak sub-section is composed of three different septs, Taritas, Madira, and Malle Khels, who agreed to settle in one village on the Íd day, whence the village was named Ídak. The Malli Khel are Turis, the Taritas are Kharotis, while the Madiras are Katti Khels.

The Isori are stated to be Khattaks. Of the Hassu Khel, the Shinki Khel are the offspring of a baby found near the Shinki Kotal or pass. The Mosakkis are said to be Bangash Haidar Khels. Urmuz and

* But to this rule the Malakh form an exception, being much like the Wazírs, pastoral, migratory and not keeping their women secluded.

Shammal are descendants of Tir who was an Isakhel, but another story is that he came from the Wurdak country. All the rest of the septs are Dáwarís proper.

Personal appearance.—The use of the spade in cultivating the stiff soil of the valley has made the Dáwari a very broad-shouldered, muscular man, not very tall, with thick legs and arms, heavy in gait and slow in his movements.

Personal habits.—The vices of the Dáwarís are sodomy and *charas*-smoking. The latter habit is said to be on the increase. The Dáwaris are by repute the laziest and dirtiest of all the Wazíristán tribes. Cut off from the outside world, they had no inducement to cultivate more land than would ensure a supply of grain till the next harvest and their habit of greasing their clothes with *ghi* makes them filthy to a degree. There are no professional washermen in the valley.

The Dáwarís used to be famous for their hospitality, which took the form of washing a guest's hands, spattering his clothes with *ghi*, and scattering the blood of a goat or sheep ostentatiously on the outer walls of the house as a sign that guests were being entertained. They were also steadfast supporters of their clients' or *hamsáyas'* rights and true to their engagements. They are now said to be losing these qualities.

Ornaments.—Dáwari men used to dye the right eye with black antimony and the left with red, colouring half their cheeks also in the same way.* The men (but not the women) used also to wear coins sewn on the breast of their cloaks as is commonly done by Ghilzai women.

Medicine.—The only treatment in vogue is the common Paṭhán one of killing a sheep, the flesh of which is given to the poor, and wrapping the patient in the skin. This is the remedy for every disease and even for a wound. Its efficacy is enhanced by the prayers recited by a *mullah*, who also used sometimes to give amulets to, or sometimes merely breathe on, the sick man.

Cultivation.—Owing to the heavy nature of the soil the plough is not used, all cultivation being done by the *im*, a spade with a long handle. Wheat, barley, maize and inferior rice with, in a few villages, millet and *mung* are sown. Fruit-trees are grown only near the villages and trees and cultivation used to be confined to the area commanded by the firearms possessed by each village.

Crafts.—The Dáwarís practise the weaving of coarse cloth, rude carpentry and blacksmith's work, carpenters being the only artizans known. These are employed to make doors for the houses, which are mere huts, built by the people themselves.

Social organization.—The Dáwarís, as is usual among the southern Paṭhán tribes, are intensely democratic. The *maliks* or headmen have little influence unless they have a strong following among their own relations. The Dáwarís are fanatical and bigoted, and much under the influence of *mullahs* who exercise a powerful weapon in the right to exclude a man from the religious congregation and other ceremonies.

Marriage Customs.—As among the Wazírs, the Dáwari wedding customs are much the same as among other Paṭhán tribes. When the

* For a somewhat similar custom see the *Indian Antiquary*, 1906 p. 213.

parents are agreed that their son and daughter, respectively, are suited and shall be married, a day is fixed and the bridegroom's kinsmen go to the bride's guardian's house taking with them sheep, rice and Rs. 30 Kábuli with which to feast the bride's relatives and friends. The marriage contract is then ratified, the two young people are formally betrothed, and the price to be paid by the bridegroom for the bride is fixed. The bride's guardians may ask any price they like, as there is no fixed scale of prices in Dáwar, and unless the guardians are amenable and remit a portion of the money demanded, the sum demanded by them for the girl must be paid. The price thus paid is taken by the girl's guardian, who is of course her father, if alive—if not her brother, and if she has no brother, then by the relation who is by custom her *wáris.** The guardian, however, sometimes gives a portion of the price to the girl to fit herself out with ornaments, etc. Some few years ago a determined effort was made by the *maliks* and *mullahs* of Lower Dáwar to have the price of girls in Dáwar fixed at Rs. 200 for a virgin and Rs. 100 for a widow. This they did because they thought that many Dáwarís were prevented from marrying owing to the high prices demanded by guardians, which sometimes ran up to Rs. 1,000 and more, and showed a tendency to increase rather than decrease. The majority of the *maliks* were in favour of the proposal, and as a test case the *mullahs* attempted last year to enforce the new custom on the occasion of the marriage of the sister of the chief *malik* of Tappi. Public opinion, however, was too strong for the reformers and a serious riot was only prevented by the intervention of the authorities. The usual reference to the Political Officer on the subject was, of course, met with the reply that, although he was glad to hear of the proposal, yet he could not and would not interfere in what was a purely domestic question for the Dáwarís themselves to settle. The subject was then allowed to drop and now, as before, everyone can put what fancy prices they like on their girls. The husband has no claim on the girl until this ceremony (known locally as *lasniwai* or clasping of hands) has been performed.

The next ceremony is that of *nikah* which is the consummation of the marriage.

In Dáwar and Wazíristán boys and girls are betrothed at the ages of 8 and 6 respectively, and the marriage is consummated at their majority. Should the husband die after the *lasniwai* and before the *nikah,* the girl becomes the property of his heirs, and one of them can either marry her or they can give her in marriage elsewhere, provided that she is given to a member of the same tribe and village and that the parents consent. If the parents do not consent, then they can buy the girl back again by returning all the money received for her, and are then free to marry her to whom they please. Similarly a widow is married by one of the deceased's heirs, or they may arrange a marriage for her elsewhere. She must, however, be supported by them until she marries again, otherwise she is free to marry as she chooses, and they are not entitled to exact money

* No money is given to the mother of the girl, except when she is a widow and has been turned out by her late husband's heirs, and has alone borne the cost of the girl's upbringing.

for her. As a rule the bride and bridegroom are much of an age, but occasionally here as elsewhere some aged David takes his Abishag to his bosom. These are not as a rule happy marriages. The expenses of a wedding in Wazíristán are fairly heavy. A wealthy man will spend as much as Rs. 1,500 or even Rs. 2,000 Kábuli. An ordinary well-to-do man spends some Rs. 500 and a poor one Rs. 200 Kábuli. There are no restrictions on intermarriage between Dáwaris and Wazírs. They intermarry freely, and the majority of the bigger Dáwar *maliks* have a Wazír wife, and the Wazír *maliks* living in Dáwar have generally at least one Dáwari wife. As a rule Dáwaris do not give their daughters to those living far away, which is probably due mostly to the fact that those living far off do not come and ask for them, but content themselves with something nearer home. The Mullah Powindah who lives at Kamjuram has a Dáwarí wife of the village of Ídak, but this is an exception, and probably due to the fact that before our occupation and his rise to power, he used to live during the six months of the cold season in Ídak. There is no law or custom regarding marriage.

Inheritance.—The ordinary Muhammadan laws hold good in Dáwar with regard to inheritance.

CUSTOMARY LAW IN DÁWAR.

General.—With regard to offences against the human body, the general principle of the customary penal law in Dáwar may be said to be that of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." For murder the penalty is death; for bodily injury, bodily injury of a similar nature. Nevertheless the Dáwari, though like every other Paṭhán, has his price, whereby his wounded body or side may be salved; and for most offences a fixed sum is laid down by paying which the offender may satisfy the wrath of the party offended. The amount actually paid, however, depends largely on the strength and influence of the opposing parties, the weaker usually having to go to the wall, being mercilessly fleeced if the offending party, and having to be content with little or nothing if offended. As a general rule, for purposes of calculating compensation a woman is considered as equal to half a man, and a Hindu is equal to a woman. Children over two years old are considered men or women, according to sex, for purposes of assessing compensation. Customary law in Dáwar only takes cognisance of the actual deed accomplished and not the intention of the offender; for instance, there is no such thing in Dáwar, as *attempted* murder. If the man is merely wounded in the attempt compensation is only paid for the hurt actually caused. Again there is no such thing as letting a man off because he killed another man accidentally. Accident or no accident, the man is dead and the penalty must be paid either in cash or kind. The right of self-defence is recognised, but in no case does it extend to the killing or permanent maiming of the person against whom it is exercised, not even if he be attempting to commit murder. Should he be killed compensation must be paid to his kins, and if permanently maimed to himself. Revenge is, if possible, taken on the actual offender (*badidár*) while he lives. But after his death his brother inherits the feud and after him the murderer's other heirs. If he leave no such relatives, his section is

responsible, if the injured party belongs to another section. If the offended party kill a relation of the actual *badidár*, while he is still alive, Rs. 100 must be paid as compensation. If the offender and his brothers die without revenge having been taken, and the inheritance falls to a relation, that relation can, if he wishes to escape the feud, renounce the heritage with the feud attached to it.

The tendency among the Dáwarís as among the Wazírs is to exact the blood penalty, but if a man is afraid, he can get the village elders and go and kill a sheep before the house of the offended party (a ceremony known as *nánowati* and have the compensation assessed and the case settled in that way.

Murder.—In Dáwar, as far as the consequences of the deed are concerned, there is no difference between murder and the accidental killing of a man or woman. The penalty is the same in either case. The punishment is death at the hands of the murdered man's relations, or if they cannot inflict it themselves, at the hands of assassins hired by them.

A murder can, however, be compounded on the intervention of the village *jirga* by the payment of a sum varying from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 in cash. In some cases a woman is given in marriage to a relative of the murdered man by the murderer, in which case the price of the woman is agreed upon between the parties and deducted from the amount of compensation to be paid. If both of the parties do not compound the offence willingly, but one is forced to do so by the other, or both are forced to do so by the village or tribal *jirga*, then compensation is only paid in cash. The amount of compensation paid for a woman is in all cases half that of a man, and the amount paid for the murder of a Hindu is the same as that for a woman. There are four exceptions to the law that the death or hurt of a man or woman must be avenged by the relations, either by taking a life or by taking money in compensation. The exceptions are—

(*i*) If a man is accidentally killed or hurt in a *nandasa* (the name given to the local dance at the Íd): unless it can be proved that the man who killed the other had a feud or any grudge against the deceased.

(*ii*) If any one be accidentally hurt or killed in the stone-throwing which sometimes accompanies a wedding: provided always that there is no grudge or feud.

(*iii*) At a tent-pegging match if a rider warn the bystanders that his horse is unmanageable, no claim lies against him if any one is injured.

(*iv*) If a man cutting wood from a tree warn people sitting under the tree, he is not responsible for any accident that may occur from falling branches.

If a person is injured by a runaway horse or other animal, the animal is usually given in compensation. The burden of proof of any injury being accidental is on the party who inflicts it. A council of elders is summoned at his expense, and if he can satisfy them that it really was an accident, they assess the compensation as they think fit. All feuds are suspended while the parties are out with a tribal *lashkar* or *chigha*.

The rates of compensation for a female are the same as those for a male, as also are those for Hindus, but in the Malakh *iláqa* the rates for women are only half those for men, and Hindus are considered equal to women.

Under the custom the punishment for a hurt is a hurt of similar nature to that inflicted, *i. e.*, for the loss of a limb the punishment is the loss of that limb; for a wound, a similar wound; for a nose or ear cut, a nose or ear cut. There is, however, a scale of compensation* fixed by which nearly every form of hurt can be compensated. This scale is as follows :—

For the permanent total disablement of an arm or a leg, Rs. 500. If the disablement be not quite total then the compensation is Rs. 250, and if it be only slight Rs. 120.

	Rs.
For the loss of one eye	250
Ditto both eyes	500

*The rates for the loss of fingers are—

Thumb	50
1st finger	40
2nd „	35
3rd „	30
4th „	20

The compensation for cutting off a nose is from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600. Ears are paid for at Rs. 100 a piece. The compensation for a wound is Rs. 10 to Rs. 100 according to its nature, and that payable for teeth is—

	Rs.
Front, upper or lower	100
Further back	50
Back teeth	25

Adultery.—If the parties are caught in the act, both may be killed, but in the Malakh and Tappizai *iláqas* (where a woman is considered half

* In the Malakh *iláqa* the scale is somewhat different, though for permanent disablement of a limb it is the same.

	Rs.
For the loss of one eye	500
„ „ both eyes	1,000

Compensation for fingers :—

	First joint.	Second joint.	Third joint.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Thumb	130	250	...
1st finger	30	60	120
2nd „	65	30	15
3rd „	35	17-8	8-8
4th „	25	12-8	6-4

The compensation for a wounded nose is Rs. 85, or if cut off entirely Rs. 500.

A wound in the face more than one finger in breadth is Rs. 85, but if on any other part it is only Rs. 12-8 per finger breadth.

For teeth the compensation is—

	Rs.
Two front, upper or lower	100 each
Next two, „	80 „
Next two, „	60 „
Back teeth, „	50 „

a man) the woman alone can be killed and the man's foot cut off, and if the man is killed half the compensation for his murder must be paid. This is the invariable rule in the Malakh *iláqa.*

For rape the man may be killed, and for an assault with intent to outrage a woman's modesty he may be killed and half compensation paid, or his foot may be cut off. For house trespass in order to commit adultery the man's nose or ear may be cut off, and if the husband suspects his wife of being a consenting party, he may kill her.

The penalty for elopement or abduction is death or Rs. 1,000. Should a woman go wrong and become a bad character the husband may cut off her nose and divorce her. Should she then marry again he is entitled to no compensation.

Offences against property.—The punishments for burglary, robbery and theft are all much the same. The amount stolen, with compensation for the damage done and the expenses of the suit are recovered, plus a village fine of Rs. 40 to Rs. 200* according to the offender's means. If no damage is done and no property stolen, only the village fine is recovered.

Arson.—In cases of arson the risker is referred to the village *jirga* which, if the offence is proved, realises a village fine of from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. Compensation is also realised and paid to the offended party.† Should loss of life result from the fire, the penalty for murder who perishes in the flames, is exacted in addition, for every person.

Cutting of crops.—Compensation for the damage done is paid, as well as a fine of Rs. 5 if the offence is committed by night, and Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 if the offence is committed by day.

DÁWI, a tribe of Ghorgasht Paṭháns, descended from Dáwai, son of Dánai, and so akin to the KÁKAṚ, Nághar and Paṛni. The Dáwi live in the tract held by the last named, occupying Sangár or Sang-Mandáli, and the Zarghún Darra or 'green valley.' Dáwai had two sons, Domaṛah and Homaṛah and adopted three more, *viz.*, Khwardai, Zamar and Samar, according to the most authentic account, but other traditions omit the two last-named. The story goes that Dáwai espoused the widow of a Sayyid of Khujand, and adopted her son by him. His name was Hasan, but in his youth he was notorious as a robber (*ghal*). He repented, however, of his misdeeds and became the disciple of a saint of Multán, married a Paṭhán wife and had four sons, Musa, Ali, Sikandar and Balíl, whose descendants are known as Hasani or Khúndi (*lit.* protected), a corruption probably of Khujandi. The Hasani, being of Sayyid blood dwell among other tribes as their spiritual guide, and Shaikh Hasan Dáwi,‡ one of the most famous of them, attached himself to the Shaikh-ul-Islám Baha-ul-Haqq-wa-ud-Dín Zakaria§ of Multán, and was buried at a spot between Tul and Sambar. His tomb is still a place of pilgrimage and tales of his power of thought-reading are still told. Another Dáwi saint was Shaikh Neknám, and a third

* In the Malakh *iláqa* the fine is Rs. 60 and in Dangar Khel Rs. 100.
† In the Malakh *iláqa* double compensation is paid.
‡ Not to be confused with Hasan Dáwi, the progenitor of the tribe.
§ The 'Saint of Multán' who died in 1265-6 at the age of 100. He was disciple of the Shaikh-ul-Kámil, Shaháb-ud-Dín, son of Abú-Hifz, Umar-us-Saharwardi.

Shaikh Háji Abu Isháq, who was accounted an Afghán because his mother was an Afghán. He was a contemporary of Sultán Sher Sháh and dwelt at Kaithal.

DÁYÁ, a synonym for Máchhi in Multán, fem. *dái* (so called because women of the Máchhi caste act as wet-nurses). *Cf. Vaidehá.*

ḌAYÁL, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

ḌEḌHAṚ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

DEHGÁN, DIHGÁN, DIHQÁN, an Iranian (Tájik) tribe (or rather class, as the word means husbandman) which is represented by the SHALMÁNIS of the Pesháwar valley. Raverty says that the Chaghán-Sarai valley on the west side of the Chitrál river also contains several large Dihgán villages which owe allegiance to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ.

DEHIA, one of the principal clans of the Jáṭs in Karnál. It has its head-quarters at Ludhiána and originally came from Rohtak. Probably the same as Dahia.

DEHR, a Muhammadan Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

DEO,—(1). A title of several ancient ruling families, used as an affix, like Chand or Singh. It was thus used by the old dynasty of Jammú.

(2). A tribe of Jáṭs which is practically confined to the Siálkoṭ district where they regard Sankatra as one of their ancestors and have a highly revered spot dedicated to him, in the town of that name, in tahsil Zafarwál. They claim a very ancient origin, but *not* Rájput. Their ancestor is said to be Maháj, who came from "the Saki jungle" in Hindústán. Of his five sons, Sohál, Kom, Dewal, Aulakh and Deo, the two latter gave their names to two Jáṭ tribes, while the other branches dispersed over Gujránwálá and Jhang. But another story refers them to Rájá Jagdeo, a Súrajbansi Rájput. They have the same marriage ceremony as the Sáhi, and also use the goat's blood in a similar manner in honour of their ancestors, and have several very peculiar customs. They will not intermarry with the Mán Jáṭs, with whom they have some ancestral connection. Also found in Amritsar.

DEOÁNIÁ, a Jáṭ tribe found in Siálkoṭ and apparently distinct from the Deo.

DEORA, a sept of Kanets descended from a son of Tegh Chand, third son of Rájá Kahn Chand of Kahlúr.

DEOWÁNÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

ḌERÍJA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

DESÍ, (i) of the country, fr. *des*, country; (ii) of the plains, as opposed to *pahári*, of the hills: *cf.* P. Dicty., p. 287; (iii) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. *Cf.* Deswálí.

DESWÁL, 'men of the country,' a Jáṭ tribe, sprung from the same stock as the Dalál. They are most numerous in Rohtak, Gurgáon, and Karnál. In Mewár and Ajmer, Musalmán Rájputs are called Deswál, and are hardly recognised as Rájputs.

DESWÁLÁ, a territorial term sometimes applied to certain Jáṭ tribes as opposed to Pachhamwálá.

DESWÁLÍ, opposed to Bágṛí, *q.v.*

Dewá, a title given in Sirmúr to Kanet families which perform priestly duties in the *deotas'* temples. A Dewá will generally marry in a Dewá family and a Negí in a Negí family. The Dewás rank below the Bháṭs and above the Dethís, and are intimately connected with the *deotas*, whom they serve: *e.g.*, the temple of Mahásu must be closed for 20 days if there is a birth or death in the Dewá's family—see the *Sirmúr Gazetteer*, pp. 42–44. *Cf.* Karan.

The form of this designation in the Simla Hills appears to be *dínwáṇ*.

Ḍewal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dewála, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Ḍewar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dhaba, Dabha, Dhabí, Dibha, syns. of Dhobí, *q.v.*

Ḍhabba, a Khatri sub-division.

Dhadah, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Kapúrthala, whither it migrated from Delhi.

Ḍháḍhí, Ḍháḍí, a musician, singer or panegyrist; fr. *ḍháḍ*, a kind of tabor. In the Deraját, however, the Ḍháḍí only chants and never, it is said, plays on any instrument: he is also said not to intermarry with the Ḍúm. In Multán he is a panegyrist, if given alms; if not, he curses.

Dhakaṛ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhakkar, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Dhakkú, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur and Montgomery. Classed both as Rájput and Jáṭ in the latter district.

Dhakochi, a sub-caste of Brahmans in the hills of Hazára, which allows widow remarriage. It does not intermarry or eat with the Paháṛia, the other sub-caste of Brahmans in these hills.

Ḍhálá, a caster of metals.

Dhalán, a small Jáṭ clan found in Báwal (Nábha State). They derive their origin from Rájá Dhal, a Tunwar ruler of Hastinapur, who lost caste by marrying a foreign wife.

Dhalí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dháli, a tribe of Muhammadan Jáṭs, found in Gujrát, where its founder, a Bhaṭṭi Rájput, obtained a grant of land from Akbar in exchange for a fine shield, *dhál*, which he possessed.

Dhálíwál, see Dháríwál.

Dhalon, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhamáli, a class of Muhammadan *faqírs* (= Jalálí). fr. *dhamál*, leaping and whirling.

Dhamán, an endogamous occupational sub-caste of the Lohár-Tarkhán castes, fr. *dhauṇá* 'to blow' the bellows. The Dhamán are blacksmiths, as opposed to the Khaṭṭi or 'carpenter' sub-caste. The Dhamán is by far the largest group among the Tarkháns and forms a true sub-caste in Sirsa, in Hoshiárpur (in which district the Dhamáns and Khaṭṭis will not eat or smoke together) and probably throughout the eastern districts, as far north as Gujránwála. The Dhamáns include the Hindu Suthárs, *q.v.*

Dhamra, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Dhának, a caste, essentially of Hindustán and not of the Punjab proper, and confined to the south-east of the Province. Wilson derives the names from the Sansk. *dhanashka*, bowman, but the Dhánaks of the Punjab are not hunters and only differ from the Chúhrás in that they will not remove nightsoil, though they will do general scavenging. In villages they do a great deal of weaving also. The Chúhrás are said to look down on them, but they are apparently on an equality, as neither will eat the leavings of the other though each will eat the leavings of all other tribes except Sáŋsís, not excluding even Khaṭíks. There are, practically speaking, no Sikh or Mussalmán Dhánaks, and their creed would appear to be that of the Chúhras. The only considerable tribe the Dhánaks have returned is Lál Gurú, another name for Lál Beg, the sweeper Gurú. But they are said to burn their dead. They marry by *phera* and no Brahman will officiate. They also appear to be closely allied to the *Pasís.** See Lálbegi.

Dhánḍá, a small clan of Jáṭs, found in Jínd. Their *jathera* is Swámí Sundar Dás, at whose *samádh* milk is offered on the 12th *sudi* every month: beestings also are offered, and, at weddings, a lamp is lighted there.

Dhaṇḍsahar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Ḍhaṇge, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhaniál, a tribe of Rájput status which belongs to the group of hill tribes of the Salt-range Tract. It is from them that the Ḍhani country in the Chakwál tahsíl of Jhelum takes its name; and there appears still to be a colony of them in those parts, though they are now chiefly found in the lower western hills of the Murree range, being separated from the Satti by the Ketwál. They claim to be descended from Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. They are a fine martial set of men and furnish many recruits for the army, but were always a turbulent set, and most of the serious crime of the surrounding country used to be ascribed to them. Many of them are of Jáṭ status.

Dhaṇjon, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar. Also a Kamboh clan in that District and in Montgomery. In the latter it is both Hindn and Muhammadan.

Dhankar, a Jáṭ tribe of the same stock as the Ráthi. They are almost confined to Jhajjar tahsíl in Rohtak, and are perhaps nothing more than a local clan of the Ráthi tribe.

Dhanoe, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhanṛáí, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhaṇṛí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhari, a bard (Monckton's *S. R. Gujrát*, 53), doubtless=Ḍhaḍí, *q.v.*

* In Karnál they are regularly employed in weaving. But they also collect cow-dung and take it to the fields, and get a *chapátti* a day from each client's house and a little at harvest.

Dháríwál.—The Dháríwál, Dhání- or Dhálíwál, (or, in Karnál, Phor) Jáṭs, for the name is spelt in all three ways, are said to be Bhaṭṭi Rájputs, and to take their name from their place of origin Dháránagar. They say that Akbar married the daughter* of their chief, Mihr Mitha.† They are found chiefly on the Upper Sutlej and in the fertile district to the west, their head-quarters being the north-western corner of the Málwa, or Ludhiána, Ferozepur, and the adjoining parts of Paṭiála. Mr. Brandreth describes them as splendid cultivators, and the most peaceful and contented portion of the population of the tract. Akbar conferred the title of Mián on Mihr Mitha and gave him 120 villages round Dhaula Kángaṛ‡ in *jágír*. The Dháriwál have undoubtedly been settled in that part from an early period, and the south-east angle of the Moga tahsíl is still called the Dháliwál *tappa*. Mitha's descendants are still called Mián, but they are said not to have been converted to Islám though for several generations their leaders bore distinctly Muhammadan names. However this may be Mihr Mitha is now their *sidh* with a shrine at Lallawala in Paṭiála, and on the 2nd *sudi* of each month sweetened bread and milk are offered to it. In Siálkoṭ, however, their *sidh* is called Bhoi and his seat is said to be at Janer§ Fatta.

The Dháriwál are divided into two groups, Udhi or Odi and Moni or Múni (who alone are said to be followers of Mihr Mitha in Gujránwála).

Dharkhán, a synonym of Tarkhán (*q.v.*) throughout the South-West Punjab. In Jhang they are all Muhammadans and have Awán, Bharmi, Bhaṭṭi, Ḍháḍhi, Gilotar, Janjúhán, Kari, Khokhar, Saháraṛ, Sáhte and Siál septs. The latter when the first tonsure of a child is performed, cook 2½ *bhasarís* or cakes, each containing 1¼ *sers* of wheat-flour, and of these the eldest of the family eats one, the second is given in alms and the third (½) is eaten by the girls of the family.

Dharúkra, a group, practically a sub-caste, of Brahmans found in Gurgáon, who have become out-castes because they adopted the custom of widow remarriage.‖ The name may be derived from *dharel*, a concubine, or *dharewa*, marriage of a widow. They are Gauṛs.

Ḍhasí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhaul, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur, and, as Muhammadan Jáṭs, in Montgomery.

Dhaulká, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Dhauṇ (**Dhawan**), a Khatri *got*, see P. Dicty., p. 304.

Dhaunchak, one of the principal clans of the Jáṭs in Karnál, with its head-quarters at Binjhaul. Intermarries in Rohtak.

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* As her dower 100 ghumaos of land were given her at Kángaṛ and this land was transferred to Delhi and kept as the burial ground of the Mughal emperors!

† Mihr or Mahr, 'chief,' and Mitha, a name unknown to Akbar's historians

‡ Dhaula, the 'white' house or palace. Kángaṛ is in Paṭiála territory to the south-east of Moga.

§ Janer is described by Cunningham, Arch. Survey Reports XIV, 67—69.

‖ *Punjab Customary Law, II*, p. 132.

Dhaugri, see **Dhogri**.

Dhawna, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Dhed, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Multán, where they settled in Akbar's time.

Ḍheḍ, lit. a crow; a leather-worker.

Dheḍh, **Dherh**, **Dheḍ**, (see above). A synonym for Chamár. The term is, however, used for any 'low fellow,' though especially applied to a Chamár. In the Punjab the Dheḍh is not a separate caste, as it is in Bombay and the Central Provinces.

Ḍheṇḍye, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dher, a tribe of Jáṭs claiming Solar Rájput origin through its eponym and his descendant Harpál who settled near Kalanaur and thence it migrated into Siálkoṭ.

Dhesí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dhidha, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Dhiduána, a clan of the Siáls.

Dhílá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Ḍhillon, **Dhillhon**.—The Ḍhillon* is one of the largest and most widely distributed Jáṭ tribes in the Punjab, especially in the Sikh Districts. Their head-quarters would appear to be Gujránwála and Amritsar; but they are found in large numbers along the whole course of the Sutlej from Ferozepur upwards, and under the hills to the east of those two Districts. The numbers returned for the Delhi District are curiously large, and it is doubtful whether they really refer to the same tribe. Like the Goráya they claim to be Saroha Rájputs by origin, and to have come from Sirsa. If this be true they have probably moved up the Sutlej, and then spread along westwards under the hills. But another story makes them descendants of a Surajbansi Rájput named Lu who lived at Khármor in the Málwa, and held some office at the Delhi court. They are said to be divided into three great sections, the Báj, Sáj and Sánda.

Another pedigree is assigned them in Amritsar. It makes Lu (Loh Sain) son of Rájá Karn, thus:—

SURAJ (Sun).
|
Karn, born at Karn Bás in Bulandshahr.
|
Loh Sain. — Chatar Sain. — Brikh Sain. — Chandar Sain.
|
Dhillon.

Karn's birth is described in the legend that Rájá Kauntal had a daughter Kunti by name, who was married to Rájá Pándav. Warbháshá *rikhi* taught her a *mantra* by which she could bring the sun under her influence and by its power she bore Karn who became Rájá of Hastinápur. When Pándav renounced his kingdom after the battle at Kúrúchhetar and Rájá Karn had been killed in the battle, Dhillon

* Folk-etymology connects the name with *dhilla*, 'lazy.' It is also said to be derived from a word meaning 'gentle.'

left Hastinápur and settled in Wangar near Bhaṭinda, where his descendants lived for 10 generations. Karn is said to have a temple at Amb on the Ganges, where he is worshipped on the Chet *chaudas*. In Siálkoṭ the Dhillu *jathera* is Dáúd Sháh, and he is revered at weddings. The Bhangi *misl* of the Sikhs was founded by a Dhillon, Sirdár Ganda Singh. In Amritsar the Dhillon do not marry with the Bal because once a *mirási* of the Dhillons was in difficulties in a Bal village, and they refused to help him, so the Dhillons of the Mánjha do not even drink water from a Bal's hands; nor will the *mirásis* of the Dhillon intermarry with those of the Bal. In Ludhiána at Dhillon village there is a shrine of the tribal *jathera*, who is called Bábájí. *Gur* is offered to him at weddings and he is worshipped at the Diwáli, Brahmans taking the offerings.

DHINDSA, a Jáṭ tribe, which would appear to be confined to Ambála, Ludhiána and the adjoining portion of Paṭiála. They claim to be descended from Saroha Rájputs. In Jínd their Sidh is Bábá Harnám Dás, a Bairági of the 17th century, whose shrine is at Khaṛiál in Karnál. Offerings are made to it at weddings. In Siálkoṭ the Dhindsa also revere a *sati's* tomb.

DHÍNG, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

DHÍNWAR, DHÍMAR.—The word Dhínwar is undoubtedly a variant of JHÍNWAR,* while the term Dhímar is a corruption of it, with possibly, in the Punjab, a punning allusion to the custom described below. The Dhínwar is confined in the Punjab to the tracts round Delhi, where the word is also applied to any person of dark complexion. The Dhínwars are divided into two groups, one of which makes baskets and carries *pálkis*, works ferries and is in fact a KAHÁR. Many of this group are fishermen or boatmen, and call themselves Mallahs, while some are Bhaṛbhúnjás. The other group is so criminal in its tendencies that it was once proposed to proclaim the Dhínwars a criminal tribe, but violent crime is rare among them and though they wander all over the Punjab, disguised as musicians, begging, pilfering and even committing burglary or theft on a large scale, many of them are cultivators and some even own land. The Dhínwars of Gurgáon once used to marry a girl to Bhaironji, and she was expected to die within the year. The Dhímars do not own the Dhínwars as the latter are notorious thieves. No Hindu of good caste will take water from a Dhínwar's hands, though he will accept it from a Dhímar. (The latter caste appears to be the equivalent of the Jhínwar in the United and Central Provinces). See also under Jhínwar.

DHÍRMALIA, the second oldest sect of Sikhs. The Dhírmalia owe their origin to Dhírmal,† who refused to acknowledge Gurú Har Rai, his younger brother, as the Gurú. The sect has an important station at Chak Rám Dás in Sháhpur, where the Bháis descended from Dhírmal own the village lands. They have a considerable following, chiefly of Khatrís and Aroṛas. Bábá Bar Bhág Singh, another member of the family, has a shrine at Mairí, near Amb in Hoshiárpur. The sect has no special tenents differentiating it from the Nánakpanthís.

DHIRUKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

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* For *jh* = *dh*, cf. *rijha*, cooked, for *ridhi*: *bajha húá*, for *bándhá húá*, tied: *rujjha*, for *ruddhá*, busy, and other examples.

† Not the second son of Rámdás, the 4th Gurú, as sometimes stated, but of Gurditta, the Udási who never became Gurú.

Dhobi, perhaps the most clearly defined and the one most nearly approaching a true caste of all the Menial and Artisan castes. He is found under that name throughout the Punjab, but in the Deraját and the Multán Division he is undistinguishable from the Charhoa. He is the washerman of the country, but with washing he generally combines, especially in the centre and west of the Province, the craft of calico-printing, and undoubtedly in these parts the Dhobi and Chhímba castes overlap. The Dhobi is a true village menial in the sense that he receives a fixed share of the produce in return for washing the clothes of the villages where he performs that office. But he occupies this position only among the higher castes of landowners, as among the Jáṭs and castes of similar standing the women generally wash the clothes of the family. The Dhobi is, therefore, to be found in largest number in the towns. His social position is very low, for his occupation is considered impure; and he alone of the tribes which are not outcast will imitate the Kumhár in keeping and using a donkey. He stands below the Náí, but perhaps above the Kumhár. He often takes to working as a Darzi or tailor, and in Pesháwar *dhobi* simply means a dyer (*rangrez*). He is most often a Musalmán. His title is *barita* or *khalífa*, the latter being the title of the heads of his guild.

The Dhobi sections appear to be few. They include :—

1. Agrai.	5. *Kamboh.*	9. Rikhari.
2. Akthra.	6. *Khokhar.*	10 Lárli.
3. Bhalam.	7. Koháns.	11. *Lippal.*
4. *Bhaṭṭi.*	8. Mahmal.	

(Those italicised are also Chhímba *and* Charhoa *gots*, Nos. 1, 3 and 9 being also Charhoa *gots*). The Hindu Dhobis in Kapúrthala say they are immigrants from the United Provinces and preserve four of their original seven *gots, viz.*, Magia, Márwáir, Balwar and Kanaujia, while the Muhammadan sections are said to be Galanjar, Mohar, Role, Sangári, Saukhar and Satal.

Dhodá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Ḍhoḍi Bhanḍah, Khaṭar, Namonána and Wair, four Rájpút septs (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dhogri, the ironsmiths, miners and charcoal-burners of the Barmaur *wizárat* of Chamba State, where, when holding land as tenants, they are, like other low-castes, termed *jhumriálú, lit.* 'family servants'. In Kullú territory all say the term *dhogri* is applied to any Dághí or Kolí who takes to iron-smelting : *cf.* Chhazang for the Dhongru Káru in Spiti.

The name is probably connected with *dhaukní*, etc., 'bellows,' and *dhauna*, 'to blow the bellows.'

Dhol, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Kapúrthala, whither it migrated from the East, beyond the Jumna, after settling in Amritsar : see also Dhaul.

Dhorí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

Dhoṭ, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Montgomery—in the latter both Hindu and Muhammadan.

Dhotar, a Jáṭ tribe, almost entirely confined to Gujránwála. They are mostly Hindus, and claim to be descended from a Solar Rájput who emigrated from Hindústán or, according to another story, from Ghazni, some 20 generations back.

Dhuḍhí, Dhudhí, a tribe of Muhammadans found in Pákpattan tahsíl, Montgomery district, and akin to the Raths. In this district it is classed as Rájput, Jáṭ, Aráín, and in Sháhpur as Jáṭ. In Montgomery the Dhudhí Hutiána rank as Rájputs.

Dhudhial, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Dhudhi, a small clan of Punwár Rájpúts found with their kinsmen the Ráthor scattered along the Sutlej and Chenáb. Their original seat is said to have been in the Mailsí tahsíl of Multán, where they are mentioned as early as the first half of the 14th century. When the Delhi empire was breaking up they spread along the rivers. One of them, Háji Sher Muhammad, was a saint whose shrine in Multán is still renowned. They are said to be "fair agriculturists and respectable members of society."

Dhudi, a Jáṭ tribe found in tahsil Mailsi, district Multán, and formerly, in the 13th century, established in the extreme east of it.

Dhúl, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur and, as Rájputs, in Montgomery.

Dhul, one of the principal clans of the Jáṭs in Karnál, with its head-quarters at Pai.

Dhullu Bhattí, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Dhúnd, the Dhúnd with the Satti, and Ketwal, occupy nearly the whole of the Murree and Hazára Hills on the right bank of the Jhelum in the Hazára and Ráwalpindi districts. Of the three the Dhúnd are the most northern, being found in the Abbottábád tahsil of Hazára and in the northern tracts of Ráwalpindi, while below them come the Satti. Andwál appears to be one of the Dhúnd clans. They claim to be descendants of Abbás, the paternal uncle of the Prophet; but another tradition is that their ancestor Takht Khán came with Taimúr to Delhi where he settled; and that his descendant Zoráb Khán went to Kahúta in the time of Sháh Jahán, and begat the ancestors of the Jadwál, Dhúnd, Sarrára, and Tanáoli tribes. His son Khalára or Kulu Rai was sent to Kashmír, and married a Kashmíri woman from whom the Dhúnd are sprung, and also a Ketwál woman. From another illegitimate son of his the Satti, who are the bitter enemies of the Dhúnd, are said to have sprung; but this the Satti deny and claim descent from no less a person than Nausherwán. These traditions are of course absurd. Kuln Rai is a Hindu name, and one tradition makes him brought up by a Brahman. Colonel Wace wrote of the Dhúnd and Karrál: "Thirty years ago their acquaintance with the Muhammadan faith was still slight, and though they now know more of it, and are more careful to observe it, relics of their Hindu faith are still observable in their social habits." This much appears certain that the Dhúnd, Satti, Bib, Chibh, and many others, are all of Hindu origin, all originally occupants of the hills on this part of the Jhelum, and all probably more or less connected. Among the Punwár clans mentioned by Tod, and supposed by him to be extinct, are the Dhoonda, Soruteah, Bheeba, Dhúnd, Jeebra, and Dhoonta; and it is not impossible that these tribes may be Punwár clans. The history of these tribes is given at pages 592 *ff* of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Punjáb Chiefs*. They were almost exterminated by the Sikhs in 1837. Colonel Cracroft considered the Dhúnd and Satti of Ráwalpindi to be a 'treacherous, feeble, and dangerous population,' and rendered especially dangerous by their close connection with the Karrál and Dhúnd of Hazára. He says

that the Satti are a finer and more vigorous race and less inconstant and volatile than the Dhúnd, whose traditional enemies they are. Sir Lepel Griffin wrote that the Dhúnd "have ever been a lawless untractable race, but their courage is not equal to their disposition to do evil." On the other hand, Major Wace described both the Dhúnd and Karrál as "attached to their homes and fields, which they cultivate simply and industriously. For the rest their character is crafty and cowardly." Both tribes broke into open rebellion in 1857, and the Dhúnd were severely chastised in Ráwalpindi, but left unpunished in Hazára. Mr. E. B. Steedman said : "The hillmen of Ráwalpindi are not of very fine physique. They have a good deal of pride of race, but are rather squalid in appearance. The rank and file are poor, holding but little land and depending chiefly on their cattle for a livelihood. They have a great dislike to leaving the hills, especially in the hot weather, when they go up as high as they can, and descend into the valleys during the cold weather. They stand high in the social scale." In Hazára the local tradition makes two of the two main Dhúnd clans, Chandiál and Ratniál, descendants of two Rájpút chiefs who were descended from Gahi, ruler of a tract round Delhi. To this day they refuse to eat with other Muhammadans or even to allow them to touch their cooking vessels. At weddings they retain the Hindu custom, whereby the *barát* or procession spends 2 or 3 days at the house of the bride's father, and various other Hindu social observances. They rarely marry outside the tribe, but polygamy is fairly common among them.* Mr. H. D. Watson describes them as physically rather a fine race, and intelligent, but factious and unscrupulous.

Dhunia, a synonym for Penja (*q. v.*). See also under Kandera.

Dhúṇsar, Dhúsar, see under Bhargava Dhúsar.

Dhussa.—A daughter of Guru Har Rai married a Gend Khatri of Pasrúr, named Amar Singh, whose descendants are called *dhussas* or intruders, but no sect of this name appears in our Census tables.

Dihadrár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dilazák, an important Paṭhán tribe.

The Dilazák were the first Afghán tribe to enter the Peshávar valley, and the *Ákhúnd*, Darweza, avers that they came first into Nangrahár†

* E. Molloy, in *P. N. Q.* II, § 281.

† The Dilazáks first entered Nangrahár from the west or south-west and, prior to Tímúr's invasion, settled in the Peshávar valley, allying themselves with the Shalmánís. In Bábar's time and under Akbar they held Wálásau and the eastern part of Bájauṛ. They assigned the Doába to the Yúsufzais and Mandaṛs and they in turn to the Gagyánís, but the latter were defeated by the Dilazáks. Upon this the Khashis, headed by Malik Ahmad, the Mandaṛ chief, attacked the Dilazáks and drove them out of all their territories north of the Kábul river. The Khalíls and Mohmands then induced Kámrán to attack the Dilazáks and he expelled them from Peshávar and all their possessions west of the Indus (c 1533-4). Subsequently (c. 1549-50) Khán Kaju, Malik Ahmad's successor, formed a great confederation of Khashi tribes and defeated the Ghwária Khel, headed by the Khalíls, at Shaikh Tapúr in 1549-50. Khán Kaju's power may be gauged from the fact that he had at one time a force of 150,000 men under his command and his authority was acknowledged from Nangrahár to the Marígalla pass, and from Upper Swát to Pindi and Kálábágh. 'Ádam Khán Gakhar is said to have been his feudatory. Three or four years later in 1552 Humáyún reached Peshávar, which fortress he found in ruins, and appointed Sikandar Khan the Cossack (Qazák) its governor. Soon after 1552 Khán Kaju marched on Bágrám and there invested Sikandar, but having no artillery or other firearms was compelled to raise the siege. Khán Kaju's Mulla or chief priest and minister was Shaikh Mali who divided the conquered lands among the Khashis.

from the west and passed on eastward before the time of Tímúr. Entering the vale of Pesháwar they formed an alliance with the Shalmánís, who were then subject to the Sultán of Swát, and subdued or expelled, exterminated or absorbed the other tribes which held the valley. Thus they occupied the eastern part of Bájaur, and their territory extended from the Jinde river to the Kálápani and the hills of Swát. The Shalmánís held the Hashtnagar tract, but all the lands from Bájaur to the Indus north of the Kábul and south of it as far as the Afrídi hills, were Dilazák territory when the Khashi Paṭháns appeared on the scene. That branch of the Afghán nation had been expelled from their seats near Kábul by Mirza Ulugh Beg, Bábar's uncle, they applied for aid to the Dilazáks and were by them assigned the Shabkadr Do-ábah or tract between the two rivers.

Accordingly the Yúsufzai and Mandaṛ tribes of the Khashis settled in the Do-ábah, and some under the Mandaṛ chief, Mír Jamál Amánzai, spread towards Ambar and Dánishkol, while many Mandaṛs and some of the Yúsufzais pushed on into Bájaur. Then they came into collision with the Umar Khel Dilazáks, who held the Chandáwal valley, and defeated them with the loss of their chief, Malik Haibu. The Yúsufzai, Mandaṛ and Khalíl* then divided Bájaur among themselves, but soon fell out and in the end the Khalíls were crushed in a battle fought in the Hindu-ráj valley. The Khalíls never again obtained a footing in Bájaur.

Meanwhile the Gagiánís had attempted to set a footing in Bájaur but failed and besought Malik Ahmad Mandaṛ for aid. He assigned the Do-ábah to them, but they soon found cause of quarrel with the Dilazáks, and even with the Yúsufzais and Mandaṛs also. In 1519 the Gagiánís brought Bábar into the Hashtnagar tract, ostensibly against the Dilazáks, with whom the Yúsufzai and Mandaṛs left them to fight it out. In the result the Dilazák completely overthrew the Gagiánís. The former were elated at their victory, and thus aroused the jealousy of Malik Ahmad, who formed a great Khashi confederacy, including various vassals of the Yúsufzai and Mandaṛ. In a great battle fought in the Guzar Rúd, between Katlang and Shahbázgarhi, the Dilazáks were defeated with great loss, but in the pursuit Ahmad's son Khán Kaju chivalrously allowed the Dilazák women to escape across the Indus. He subsequently received the hand of the daughter of the Dilazák chief, and the political downfall of the Dilazák was thereby sealed. As good subjects of Bábar they were obnoxious to Mirza Kámrán, and this doubtless accounts for the failure of all their attempts to retrieve their position, since they were only finally overcome after much severe fighting. In alliance with Kámrán the Khalíls sought to despoil the Dilazáks of their remaining lands, and by 1534 they had obtained possession of the country from Dháka to Attock, together with the Khyber and Kaṛappa passes.

Díndár, 'possessed of the Faith': a term applied to a Chúhṛá, Chamár or any other low-caste convert to Islám. Better class converts are called Naumuslim, Sheikh or somewhat contemptuously, Sheikhṛá. *Cf.* Khojáh.

Dirmán, (a corruption of Abdur-rahmán) an Afghán sept of the Khagiani tribe.

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* The Khalíls had quarrelled with the other tribes of the Ghwária Khel and quitted th northern Qandahár territory to occupy the Láshura valley in Bájaur, some time previously*

DÍWÁNA.—The third oldest sect of the Sikhs. To Gurú Har Rai, or perhaps to Gurú Rám Dás, must be ascribed the origin of the Díwána Sádhs or "Mad Saints," a name they owe chiefly to their addiction to excessive consumption of hemp drugs. Founded by Bálá and Haria with the Gurú's permission the order is but loosely organised, and is recruited mainly from the Jáṭs and Chamárs. Its members are for the most part non-celibate. Outwardly these Sádhs keep the hair uncut and wear a necklace of shells, with a peacock's feather in the *pagṛí*. They follow the Ádi Granth and repeat the true name.* Sikh history relates that one of the sect who attempted forcible access to Gurú Govind Singh was cut down by a sentry, whereupon Ghudda, their spiritual guide, sent 50 men of the sect to assassinate him. But of these 48 turned back, and only two proceeded to the Gurú, without weapons, and playing on a *sarangi*; and instead of killing him they sang to him. He gave them a square rupee as a memorial. (Macauliffe: *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 218). They are mainly returned from Káṇgṛa district.

DÍWÁR, a family of *Gadhioks*, settled at Dalwál in Jhelum.

DOD, a Rájput tribe found in Hoshiárpur. The Dods are almost entirely confined to the Bít tract in the Siwáliks, their head being the Rána of Mánaswál†. The Dods are Jadav or Chandr-bansi by origin. Tradition avers that they once fought an enemy 1½ times as numerous as themselves, and so became called *Deoṛha*, whence Dod. The clan once ruled in Orissa, whence Deo Chand fought his way to Delhi, defeated its rulers, the Túrs (Túnwárs), and then conquered Jaijon:—

Orísa se charhiya Rája Deo Chand Baryáhan Tika ae,
Túr Rája auliyán jo thake fauj rachae,
Túr chhadde nathke jo mil baithe hai,
Dod Garh Muktesar men jo mile chäre tháon,—

'Rájá Deo Chand marched from Orissa. The Túr Rája collected a large army in order to meet him, but fled before him. The Dods occupied Garh Muktesar and the places round it.'

Thus Deo Chand came to Jaijon and ruled the Doába. His descendant Jai Chand gave his name to Jaijon. The Dod Rájá was, however, defeated by a Rájá of Jaswán, and his four sons separated, one taking Jaijon, the second Kúngrat, the third Mánaswál Garhi and the fourth Saroa. Jaijon and Saroa were subsequently lost to the Dods, and after their defeat by Jaswán they sank to the status of *ránas*, losing that of *Rájás*. Of the 22 villages dependent on Kúngrat, none pay *talukdári* to the *rána* who is a mere co-proprietor in Kúngrat, as the family lost its position during the Sikh rule. The Rána of Mánaswál, however, maintained his position under the Sikhs and holds most of the 22 Mánaswál villages (Bít = 22) in *jágír*, his brothers holding the rest.

Another account runs thus:—

Four leaders of the tribe migrated from Udaipur to Garh Mandál, 1,100 years ago, and thence to Garh Muktasar. Thence Jodh Chand seized Mánaswál, expelling Hira, the Máhton leader, whose tribe held the tract, 40 generations ago. Rána Chacho Chand, the 19th Rána, was attacked by the Katoch ruler, but his brother Tilok Singh (Tillo) defeated him at Mahúdpur in Una, and Tillo's shrine at Bhawáni is reverenced to this day. In Sambat 1741 Rána Jog Chand repelled a Jaswál invasion. Rána Bakht Chand annexed Bhalán, with 12 dependent villages, in Una. His successor, Ratn Chand, repelled a Jaswál army under

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* Maclagan, § 101. The Díwána Sádhs appear to be a sect of the Málwa with headquarters at Pír-pind in .

† But the *Manj* Rájputs have a *baiya* in Bít Mánaswál, according to Mr. Coldstream in Punjáb Notes and Queries I, § 465.

Bhagwán Singh Sonkhla who was killed, and in his memory a shrine at Kharáli was erected. A treaty now defined the Jaswál and Dod territories. Under Mián Guláb Singh, regent during Achal Chand's minority, Nádir Sháh is said to have visited the tract and ordered a massacre of the Rasáli people, but the Rana obtained from him a grant of Báthri, then a Jaswál village. Rana Jhagar Chand, however, espoused the Jaswáls' cause, when they were attacked by Sansár Chand of Kángra in 1804 A. D., and repulsed him. On Ranjit Singh's invasion of the Mánaswál plateau, the Rána was confirmed in his possessions, subject to a contingent of 15 horse. The rule of inheritance was primogeniture, mitigated by a system of lopping off villages as fiefs for younger sons, many of whose descendants still hold villages, thus reducing the size of the estate.

The Dods are also found as a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) in Montgomery.

DODAI, once an important BALOCH tribe, but not now found under that name. Its most important representatives are the Mirráni of Deras Ghází and Ismáil Khán, and Jhang, and the most important clans of the Gurcháni.

DODHÍ, a Gaddi milkman, in Gujrát.

DODI, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

ḌOGAR, fem. Dogarní.—The Dogars of the Punjab are found in the upper valley of the Sutlej and Beás above the lower border of the Lahore district, and have also spread westwards along the foot of the hills into Siálkoṭ. There are also considerable colonies of them in Hissár and Karnál. The Dogars of Ferozepur, where they hold the riverside almost exclusively from 20 miles below to 20 miles above the head-quarters of that District, were thus described by Mr. Brandreth :—

"In my account of the Ferozepur *iláqa* I have already alluded to the Dogars, who are supposed to be converted Chauhán* Rájputs from the neighbourhood of Delhi. They migrated first to the neighbourhood of Pák Pattan, whence they spread gradually along the banks of the Sutlej, and entered the Ferozepur district about 100 years ago. The Ferozepur Dogars are all descended from a common ancestor named Bahlol, but they are called Mahu Dogars, from Mahu the grandfather of Bahlol. Bahlol had three sons,† Bambu, Langar and Sammu. The Dogars of Ferozepur and Mullánwála are the descendants of Bambu; those of Khái the descendants of Langar; the descendants of Sammu live in the Kasúr territory. There are many other sub-castes of the Dogars in other districts along the banks of the Sutlej, as the Parchats, the Topuras, the Chopuras, etc. The Chopura Dogars occupy Mamdot.‡ Ferozepur Dogars consider themselves superior in rank and descent to

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* Francis (*Ferozepur Gazetteer*, 1888-9, pp. 15-16) gives a full account of the Dogar history in that District and on p. 56 he says that the Dogar claim to be Punwár, as well as Chauhán, and are probably a section of the great Bhatti tribe and closely allied to the NAIPÁL. The Manj traditions say that the Dogars are descended from Lumra (? fox) who, like Naipál, was one of Rána Bhuti's 24 sons. They thrust aside the Wattus to the west and the Naipáls to the east, and probably subdued the Máchhis, Malláhs and other inferior tribes, assuming the position of social superiors rather than that of actual cultivators, and affecting the title of Sirdár.

† Francis (*Ferozepur Gazetteer*, p. 56) gives a different account. He says that Mahu had two sons Sahlol (whose descendants live on the Kasúr side of the Sutlej) and Bahlol. From Bahlol sprang four branches, Khamki, Phaimaki, Ullaki and Kandarki. The Phaimaki hold Khai and will not give daughters to other branches which they consider inferior. Infanticide was formerly common amongst them.

‡ Francis says the sections mostly located in Mamdot are the Mattar, Chhini, Rupal, Dhandi and Khamma, as well as the Choprá,

the other sub-castes. They are very particular to whom they give their daughters in marriage though they take wives from all the other families. At one time infanticide is said to have prevailed among them, but I do not think there is much trace of it at the present day.

"Sir Henry Lawrence, who knew the Ḍogars well, writes of them that 'they are tall, handsome, and sinewy, and are remarkable for having, almost without exception, large acquiline noses; they are fanciful and violent, and tenacious of what they consider their rights, though susceptible to kindness, and not wanting in courage; they appear to have been always troublesome subjects, and too fond of their own free mode of life to willingly take service as soldiers. The Jewish face which is found among the Ḍogars, and in which they resemble the Afghâns, is very remarkable, and makes it probable that there is very little Chauhân blood in their veins, notwithstanding the fondness with which they attempt to trace their connection with that ancient family of Râjputs. Like the Gujars and Naipâls they are great thieves, and prefer pasturing cattle to cultivating. Their favourite crime is cattle-stealing. There are, however, some respectable persons among them, especially in the Ferozepur *ilâqa*. It is only within the last few years that the principal Dogars have begun to wear any covering for the head; formerly the whole population, as is the case with the poorer classes still, wore their long hair over their shoulders without any covering either of sheet or turban. Notwithstanding the difference of physiognomy, however, the Ḍogars preserve evident traces of some connection with the Hindus in most of their family customs, in which they resemble the Hindus much more than the orthodox Muhammadans."

Mr. Purser wrote that they are divided into two tribes, one of which claims to be Chauhân and the other Punwâr Râjputs, and he noted their alleged advent from Pâk Pattan, but not their previous migration from Delhi. If they ever did move from Delhi to the Montgomery district, it can hardly have been since the Ghaggar ceased to fertilize the intervening country, and the date of the migration must have been at least some centuries back; and the Ḍogars of Hissâr came to those parts from the Punjab, probably from the Sutlej across the Sirsa district. The Ḍogars of Lahore and Ferozepur are essentially a riverside tribe, being found only on the river banks: they bear the very worst reputation, and appear from the passage quoted above to have retained till lately some at least of the habits of a wild tribe. Their origin was probably in the Sutlej valley. They appear to have entered the Ferozepur district about 1760 A.D., and during the next forty years to have possessed themselves of a very considerable portion of the district, while their turbulence rendered them almost independent of the Sikh Government. In 1808 we recognised the Dogar State of Ferozepur, and took it under our protection against Ranjît Singh; but it lapsed in 1835.

The Râjput origin of the Ḍogars is probably very doubtful, and is strenuously denied by their Râjput neighbours, though Sir Denzil Ibbetson believed that Dogar, or perhaps Dogha̤r,* is used in some

* Dogha̤r means two waterpots, one carried on top of the other. The d is soft. In Dogar it is hard.

parts of the Province to denote one of mixed blood. Another derivation of the name is *doghgar* or milkman.* The Ḍogars seem to be originally a pastoral rather than an agricultural tribe, and still to retain a strong liking for cattle, whether their own or other people's. They are often classed with Gújars, whom they much resemble in their habits. In Karnál, Lahore and Ferozepur they are notorious cattle-thieves, but further north they seem to have settled down and become peaceful husbandmen. They are not good cultivators. Their social standing seems to be about that of a low-class Rájput, but in Sirsa they rank as a good agricultural caste, of equal standing with the Waṭṭús. They are practically all Musalmáns, but in Karnál their women still wear the Hindu petticoat; and in marriage the mother's *got* is excluded. In Jullundur they marry late, and are said to have marriage songs unintelligible to other tribes. Some of the largest Ḍogar clans are the Mattar, Chína, Tagra, Máhu and Chokra.

According to an account obtained from Kapurthala the Dogars were originally settled at Lakhiwál, near which was fought a battle between the Manj and Bhaṭṭi Rájputs, the Dogars siding with the latter. The Manj were, however, victorious and expelled the Dogars from Lakhiwál, but for generations no Dogar would drink from the hands of a Manj.

The Ḍogar septs in Kapúrthala are:—Dasal, from Lakhiwál: founded Dasal which was destroyed by the Sikhs, who had been plundered by the Ḍogars in their flight from Ahmad Shah Abdáli; Bájwa, or Ratrá, from Sunáru; Ripál, Nainah, Mattar, Asar all from Lakhiwál.

Other *gots* are the Sídhi, Banch, Dáre, Chhane, Khame, Mabhi, Máhú, Dadúd, Dhandí, Gug, Dher, Tote, Kohli, Pade, Sanápi, Jakhrá, Katwál, Chhohar, Chopṛi, Ghangi, Wali, Wisar, Khari, Sombar, Ilsar, Johde, Kotordal, Gosal, Saurai, Dhaurái and Gamload.

In Montgomery the Dogar -Khíwa, -Mahu and -Mittar rank as three agricultural Rájput clans.

Dogli.—A term applied to the offspring of a Rájput man by a Gaddi woman in Kángṛa. *Cf.* Dogalá, a mongrel. (The d is soft).

Dográ, a term applied to any inhabitant of the Dugar *des*,† whatever his caste, but more especially to the Hindu Rájputs of that region. Brahmans also are included in the term, as are Káthis and Thakkurs (as Rájputs), but not Ghirths or Kanets.‡

According to Drew (*Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 43 *et seq.*) there are two lakes near Jammu, the Saroin Sar and Mán Sar, and the country between them was called in Sanskrit Drígarhdesh or the country between the two hollows. This was corrupted into Dugar. Drew divides the Dogras of the Jammu hills into Brahmans, Rájputs (including the Miáns and working Rájputs), Khatris, Thákars, Jáṭs, Banyás and K(i)ráṛs (petty shopkeepers), Náis, Jíúrs (carriers), Dhiyárs (iron-smelters), Meghs and Dúms.

Dohli, a drummer (player on *dol*) in Gújrát.

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* In Hissár the Dogars have a vague tradition that they camefrom the hill called Dogar in Jammu.

† *Des* here does not appear to mean 'plain,' but simply tract.

‡ See Bingley's *Dogras* (*Class Hand-books for the Indian Army*, 1899).

Dolat, Dulhat, a clan of Jáṭs found in Nábha, Paṭiála and Ferozepore.* Rai Khanda, their ancestor, is said to have held a *jágir* near Delhi. His brothers Ragbír and Jagobír were killed in Nádir Sháh's invasion, but he escaped and fled to Siúna Gujariwálá, a village, now in ruins, close to Sunám, and then the capital of a petty state. He sank to Jáṭ status by marrying his brother's widows. The origin of the name Dolat is thus accounted for. Their ancestor's children did not live, so his wife made a vow at Nainá Deví to visit the shrine twice for the tonsure ceremony of her son, if she had one. Her son was accordingly called Do-lat (from *laṭ* hair).

Dolat, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Dom, Domb, fem. *dombáni*, Bal., a bard, minstrel; see Dúm. In Dera Ghází Khán the *ḍoms* or *mirásis* are a low class of Muhammadans who used to keep horse-stallions and still do so in the Bozdár hills.

Domarah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Dombkí, Domkí.—Described in ballads as 'the greatest house among the Baloch,' and of admittedly high rank, the Domkí are still called the Daptar (Pers. *daftar*) or recorders of Baloch genealogy. But owing to this fact and the similarity of name some accuse them of being Doms, and a satirist says: 'The Dombkís are little brothers of the Doms.' The name is however probably derived from Dumbak, a river in Persia. Their present head-quarters are at Lahrí in Kachhi.

Domṛá, a young bard: a term of contempt, but see Dúmṛá.

Dosálí, a small caste found in Hoshiárpur, but not east of the Sutlej.† Its members make dishes of leaves, often of *táwar* leaves for Hindus to eat of. At weddings their services are in great request to make leaf platters, and that appears to be their principal occupation. They sew the leaves together with minute pieces of dried grass straw, as is done in the Simla Hills by Dúmnas. The Dosálí is deemed an impure caste, and Rájputs, etc., cannot drink from their hands. But it is deemed higher than the Sarera, or the Bhanjrá, but below the Báhtí or Ghirth, and near the Chhímba. The Dosáli rarely or never marries outside his own caste.

Dotanni, see Dautanni.

Dotoen, see Thákur.

Doye, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Drakhan, Bal., a carpenter: contrast *drashk*, a tree.

Dren, see Mallah.

Drigs, a tribe of Jáṭs found along the Chenáb in Multán. They attribute their origin to Kech Makrán and were probably driven out of Sind late in the 15th century settling in Bet Kech in Akbar's time. They are entitled Jám.

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* But their Sidh and Pír is Didár Singh, whose shrine is at Mard Khera in Jínd.

† Ibbetson indeed describes the Dosáli as a hill caste, somewhat above the Chamár, or rather as an occupational group, deriving its name from *dusa*, the small piece of straw used to pin leaves together. But the Dosálís are also found in Amritsar where they have a tradition that their forebear used to carry a lantern before the emperor, whence he was called Missáli. This menial task led to his excommunication, and the name was corrupted into Dosáli.

DRÍSHAK, are the most scattered of all the BALOCH *tumans* of Dera Gházi Khán, many of their villages lying among a Jáṭ population on the bank of the Indus; and this fact renders the *tuman* less powerful than it should be from its numbers. They hold no portion of the hills, and are practically confined to the Ghází district, lying scattered about between the Pitok Pass on the north and Sori Pass on the south. The tribe belongs to the Rind section; but claims descent from Hot, son of Jalál Khán. Its sections are the Kirmáni, Mingwáni, Gulpádh, Sargáni, Arbáni, Jistkáni and Isanáni, the chief belonging to the first of these. Their head-quarters are at Asni close to Rájanpur. They are said to have descended into the plains after the Mazári, or towards the end of the 17th century.

DRUGPA, 'red-cap' (but see below).—A Buddhist order. Like its sister order the NINGMAPA, from whom they appear to be distinct, the Drugpa was founded about 750 A. D. by Padamsambhava, who is known in Láhul as 'Gurú' or Gurú Rinpoche. Padamsambhava visited Mandi, Ganotara, Láhul, Kashmir and both the Bangáhals, but died in Great Tibet.* One of his great doctrines was called Spiti Yoga, and he may have developed it in Spiti. A sorcerer and exorcist, he helped to degrade the faith by the most debased Tantraism, but he merits admiration as a great traveller.

The name Drugpa possibly means, according to Mr. Francke, the Bhutia order, the Tibetan for Bhután being Drukyül or Drugyül and for a Bhutia 'Drugpa.' The Bhután church is governed by a very great Láma, who is almost a Pope in himself.† In Spiti his title is given as Dorji Chang, but in Ladákh he is known as N(g)a(k)wang Namgiál. The Bhután Láma appears to rule the following religious houses in Western Tibet:—

(i) Dariphug and
(ii) Zatulphug in the holy circuit of Kailás,
(iii) Jakhyeb in Take Mánasarowar,
(iv) Khojarnáth,
(v) Rungkhung and
(vi) Do: in the Upper Karnáli river,
(vii) Garrdzong, near Gartok,
(viii) Iti.
(ix) Ganphug,
(x) Gesar and Sumor in the Daba *dzong*. According to a Spiti *manepa* (preacher) his lieutenant in Tibet is known as the Gangri Durindzin, or Gyalshokpa‡ and his influence is widely spread. He is or should be appointed for a term of three years.

In Láhul there are two distinct sects of the Drugpas:—

1. The Zhung Drugpas (Middle Bhuteas) or Kargiutpa (Tantraists). This sect has 3 Láhula communities all connected with the parent community at Hemis: only one Láhula house boasts an abbot (*khripa*), [pronounced *thripa*] and he is appointed by the abbot of Hemis. The head monastery is at Dechen Choskor near Lhassa.

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* Padamsambhava was an Indian monk who became a great friend of the Tibetan emperor Khrisiog bte btsau (pron. Treshing detsam), who extended his empire from the Chinese frontier to Gilgit.

† Sherring describes the curious Bhutea administration which rules one of the most sacred regions of Tibet independently, and sometimes in defiance of the Lhassa authorities; *Western Tibet*, p. 278.

‡ Dashok, according to Sherring, *op. cit.* and the Kangr Donjáu of the Gazetteer of the Kángra District, Part II.

But the Zhun Drugpas acknowledge the suzerainty of the pope or Dalai Láma of Bhuṭán, and in December 1909 the abbot of Hemis Skoshok Stag Tsang Ras Chen passed through Kulu to attend the Bhuṭán Dalai Láma's court.

2. Hlondrugpa, pronounced Lodrugpa (the Southern Bhuteas). There are no less than twelve houses of this order. All are subordinate to Stagna (pron. Taḳna) in Ladákh and that house again is subordinate to Bhuṭán. The abbot of Stagna appoints the abbot of the ancient house of Gurú Ghuntál or Gandhola which was founded by Gurú Rinpoche himself, and the Gandhola abbot appoints the other Lahula abbots of the order. He sends an annual tribute of Rs. 30 to Gangri Duriedzin through the abbot of Stagna. The Drugpas of Láhúl thus keep up their connection with Bhuṭán. Orders appointing or relieving an abbot are supposed to be signed in Bhuṭán, and when the ritual dancing at Krashis (Tashi) Dongltse (at Kyelong) was revised a brother was sent to Bhuṭán to learn the proper steps, instead of to the much less distant Drugpa monastery at Hemis in Ladákh.*

Like the Ningmapas the Drugpas are distinguished for their low moral standard and degraded superstitions which are little better than devil-worship. The brethren are allowed to marry and their children (*buzhan* or "naked boys") let their hair grow till they enter the community.

Dubír, a weighman, in Muzaffargarh.

Duhlau, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Dukpá, Lo-dukpá, the Buddhist sect to which all the monks in Láhúl and the monks of the Pín monastery in Spiti belong. Its peculiarity is that no vow of celibacy is required of, or observed by, its members, who marry and have their wives living with them in the monasteries. The sect wears red garments and is subject to the Dharma Rájá of Bhuṭán, in which country it is most numerously represented. The Nyingmá is the sub-division of the Dukpá sect to which the monks of Pín and the families from which they are drawn belong. The word merely means 'ancient,' and they appear to have no distinguishing doctrines. (Apparently the same as the Nyimapa sect of § 252 of Census Report, 1881). But see Drugpa and Ningmapa from Mr. Francke's accounts of those orders.

Dúm, or less correctly Dom: fem. Dúmni, dim. Dúmṛá. According to Ibbetson the Dúm is to be carefully distinguished from the Dom or Domrá, the executioner and corpse-burner of Hindustán, who is called Dúmná in the hills of Hoshiárpur and Kángra. But in Chamba the Dúmná is called Dúm and in the Hill States about Simla he is a worker in bamboo.† According to Ibbetson the Dúm of the plains is identical with the Mirásí, the latter being the Muhammadan, Arabic name for the Hindú and Indian Dúm. But though the Dúms may overlap the Mirásís

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* It is not, however, certain that *all* Drugpas are subject to Bhuṭán. Ramsay gives a separate sect called Hlondukpa (Hlo meaning Bhután) which includes the Stagna house. It was founded, he says, in the 15th century by N(g)a(k)wang Namgial: *Dicty. of Western Tibet*, Lahore, 1890, p. 83. Possibly there was a reformation from Bhuṭán in the 15th century.

† In Maya Singh's *Punjábi Dicty.* § Dúmná is said to = "a species of bee.

and be in common parlance confused with them, they appear to be, in some parts of the Punjab at least, distinct from them, and the Mírásís are beyond all question inextricably fused with the Bháṭs. In Gurgáon the Dúm is said to be identical with the Kanchan, and to be a Mírásí who plays the *tabla* or *sarangi* for prostitutes, who are often Mírási girls. Such Dúms are also called *bharwa* (pimp) or *sufardai*. Dúm women as well as men ply this trade. But another account from the same District says that the Dúm is the *mírási* of the Mírásís; and that he gets his alms from the menial castes, such as the Jhíwar, Dakaut, Koli, Chamár, Bhangi, Juláhá and Dhának. In Lahore too they are described as quite beyond the Mírási pale, as the true Mírásís will not intermarry with them nor will prostitutes associate with them, though, like the Bhands,* they sing and play for them when they dance or sing professionally. In fact they rank below the Chuhṛá. So too in Ludhiána they are distinct from and lower than the Mírási.

In Dera Gházi Khán the Dúm or Langá are said to be an occupational group of the Mírásís, and to be the *mírási* of the Baloch tribes. In other words they are identical with the Dom or Domb, whose name means minstrel in Balochi.

Dúmná.—The Dúmná, called also Domṛa, and even Dúm in Chamba, is the Chúhṛá of the hills proper, and is also found in large numbers in the sub-montane tracts of Kángṛa, Hoshiárpur and Gurdáspur. Like the Chúhṛá of the plains he is something more than a scavenger; but whereas the Chúhṛá works chiefly in grass, the Dúmna adds to this occupation the trade of working in bamboo, a material not available to the Chúhṛá. He makes sieves, winnowing pans, fans, matting, grass rope and string, and generally all the vessels, baskets, screens, furniture and other articles which are ordinarily made of bamboo. When he confines himself to this sort of work and gives up scavengering, he appears to be called Bhanjra, at any rate in the lower hills, and occasionally Sariál. The Dúmna appears hardly ever to become Musalmán or Sikh, and is classed as Hindu, though being an outcast he is not allowed to draw water from wells used by the ordinary Hindu population.

The Dúmná is often called Dum in other parts of India, as in Chamba; and is regarded by Hindus as the type of uncleanness. Yet he seems once to have enjoyed as a separate aboriginal race some power and importance. Further information regarding him will be found in Sherring (I, 400) and Elliott (I, 84). He is, Sir Denzil Ibbetson considered, quite distinct from the Dum-Mírási.

Dúmná, a low sweeper caste, also called Bhanjrá, in the hills and in Gurdáspur, Jullundur and Hoshiárpur. They make *chiks*, baskets, etc., of bamboo and do menial service. Apparently the term is a generic one, including Barwáláս, Batwáls, Daolis and Sansois. But in Lahore, where the Dúmná is also found, he is described as distinct from the Batwál, and as a Hindu who is yet not allowed to draw water from Hindu wells. Some of the Dúmnás will eat from a Muhammadan's hands. Their clans are Kalotra, Mangla, Pargat, Drahe and Lalotra. The word is probably only a variant of Dúm.

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* The Dúm ranks below the Bhánd also. The latter are skilled in *bhandár* a practise of which the Dúm is ignorant. It consists in absorbing all the water in a large bath and ejecting it through the ears, nostrils or mouth.

DÚMṚÁ, DOMṚÁ, dim. of Dúm, *q. v.* In the hills the term is applied to any low caste which works as tailors, masons or carpenters, or in bamboo.

DÚN, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Jínd, and so called from *duhná*, to milk, because they used to milk she-buffaloes.

DUND RAI, a tribe of Jáṭs which claims Solar Rájput origin through its eponym who settled in the Mánjha and his descendant Harí who migrated to Siálkoṭ.

DURRÁNÍ, see Abdálí.

DUSÁDH, Dosád, a Púrbia tribe of Chamárs. They are the thieves and burglars of Behár where also the *chaukidárs* have been drawn from this class from time immemorial.

DUSANJ, a Hindu Jáṭ tribe found in Ferozepur, whom tradition avers that Saroia, Jáṭ, had five sons, Sángha, Mallhi, Dhindsa, Dhillon and Dusanj, eponyms of as many *gots*.

DUTANNÍ, see Dautanní.

Dhogri, Dhaugri, dim. of Dhaugri, q. v. In the hills the term is applied to any low caste which works as tailors, masons or carpenters, or in bamboo.

Dohia, a tribe of Jats, found in Sindh, and so called from *dohna*, to milk, because they used to milk she-buffaloes.

Dholan, a tribe of Jats which claims Solar (Sûrajbansi) origin through its eponym who settled in the Mânjha and his descendant Hari who emigrated to Malkot.

Dhoriki, see Ahmadi.

Dhundh, Dhund, a Pachhâda tribe of Chamba. They are the Halis and Lohars of Bahâr where also the ... have been drawn from this caste from time immemorial.

Dhuri, a Hindu Jat tribe found in Ferozepur, whose tradition avers that Sarna, Jat, had five sons, Sahugra, Malli, Dhindsa, Dhillon and Dhuri, eponyms of as many gots.

Dhuriwal, see Dhariwal.

F.

FAIZULLAPURIA, the sixth of the Sikh *misls* or confederacies, which was recruited from Jáṭs.

FAQARTÁDARÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

FAQÍR, pl. FUQARÁ, 'poor,' a mendicant (Arabic). The term *faqír* comprehends at least two, if not three, very different classes, exclusive of the religious orders pure and simple. Many of these are of the highest respectability; the members are generally collected in monasteries or shrines where they live quiet peaceful lives, keeping open house to travellers, training their neophytes, and exercising a wholesome influence upon the people of the neighbourhood. Such are many at least of the BAIRÁGIS and GOSÁINS. Some of the orders do not keep up regular monasteries, but travel about begging and visiting their disciples; though even here they generally have permanent headquarters in some village, or at some shrine or temple where one of their order officiates. So too the monasterial orders travel about among their disciples and collect the offerings upon which they partly subsist. There is an immense number of these men whose influence is almost wholly for good. Some few of the orders are professedly celibate, though even among them the rule is seldom strictly observed; but most of the Hindu orders are divided into the Sanyogi and Viyogi sections of which the latter only takes vows of celibacy, while among the Musalmán orders celibacy is seldom even professed. Such, however, as live in monasteries are generally, if not always, celibate. The professed ascetics are called Sádhs if Hindu, and Pírs if Musalmán. The Hindus at any rate have their neophytes who are undergoing probation before admission into the order, and these men are called *chela.* But besides these both Hindu and Musalmán ascetics have their disciples, known respectively as *sewak* and *muríd,* and these latter belong to the order as much as do their spiritual guides; that is to say, a Káyath clerk may be a BAIRÁGI or a Paṭhán soldier a CHISHTI, if they have committed their spiritual direction respectively to a Bairági *guru* and Chishti *pír.* But the Muhammadan Chishti, like the Hindu Bairági or Gosáin, may in time form almost a distinct caste. Many of the members of these orders are pious, respectable men whose influence is wholly for good. But this is far from being the case with all the orders. Many of them are notoriously profligate debauchers, who wander about the country seducing women, extorting alms by the threat of curses, and relying on their saintly character for protection. Still even these men are members of an order which they have deliberately entered, and have some right to the title which they bear. But a very large portion of the class who are included under the name Faqír are ignorant men of low caste, without any acquaintance with even the general outlines of the religion they profess, still less with the special tenets of any particular sect, who borrow the garb of the regular orders and wander about the country living on the alms of the credulous, often hardly knowing the names of the orders to which the external signs they wear would show them to belong. Such men are mere beggars, not ascetics; and their numbers are unfortunately large. Besides the occupations described above, the Faqír class generally have in their hands the

custody of petty shrines, the menial service of village temples and mosques, the guardianship of cemeteries, and similar semi-religious offices. For these services they often receive small grants of land from the village, by cultivating which they supplement the alms and offerings they receive.

The subject of the religious orders of the Hindus is one of the greatest complexity; the cross-divisions between, and the different meanings of, such words as JOGI, SANIÁSI and SÁDH are endless. *See* also Bharai, Chajjupanthi, Dádupanthi, Jogi, Saniási, Udási, etc., etc.

FAQÍR MISKÍN, *see* under Chitráli.

FAQRÁKH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

FARUKA, an agricultural clan found in Shahpur.

FATTIÁNÁ, one of the principal branches of the Siáls of Jhang.

FEROZKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

FIRDÚSIÁN, a sect or order of the SÚFIS, founded by Shaikh Najm-ud-Dín Firdús.

G

GABARE, Gaware (also called Mahron, from their principal village), a group of some 300 families found in certain villages of the Kohi tract in the Indus Kohistán. They speak a dialect called Gowro and have a tradition that they originally came from Ráshung in Swát.—Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 10.

GABHAL, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GABÍR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GABR, or, as they call themselves Narisati,* a small tribe found in a few villages in Chitrál. Possibly the Gabrak of Bábar's *Memoirs*, their language differs considerably from that of the Gabare of the Indus valley. The Chitrális speak of them as a bald race, and they certainly have scanty beards. Sir G. Robertson describes them as all Musalmáns of the Sunni sect, who have a particular language of their own and are believed to have been anciently fire-worshippers.

The Gabr has no very distinctive appearance except that one occasionally sees a face like that of a pantomime Jew. There are one or two fair-visaged, well-looking men belonging to the better class, who would compare on equal terms with the similar class in Chitrál; they, however, are the exception.

The remainder, both high and low, seem no better than the poor cultivator class in other parts of the Mehtar's dominions, and have a singularly furtive and mean look and manner. The women have a much better appearance. They dress in loose blue garments, which fall naturally into graceful folds. The head is covered with a blue skull-cap from which escape long plaits of hair, one over each shoulder, and two hanging down behind. White metal or bead neck and wrist ornaments contrast well with the dark blue material of their clothes. At a short distance these women are pleasing and picturesque.

The Ramgul Káfirs are also spoken of as Gabars or Gaberik, but they have no relationship with the Gabr.

GADÁRAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GÁḌARÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GAḌARIA, the shepherd and goatherd of Hindústán. Almost confined to the Jumna zone in the Punjab, the Gaḍaria has, even in that part of the Province, almost ceased to be distinctively a shepherd, as the cultivating classes themselves often pasture their own flocks, and has become rather a blanket weaver, being indeed as often called Kambalia as Gaḍaria. The Gaḍarias are Hindu almost without exception.

GADDÍ, GÁDÍ.—(1) The Muhammadan Gaddís of Delhi, Karnál and Ambála are a tribe found apparently in the upper *doáb* of the Jumna and Ganges. Closely resembling the GHOSI, they are perhaps like him a sub-division or offshoot of the Ahírs,† and are by hereditary occupation milkmen,

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* Fr. Nursut, one of the so-called Gabr villages in the Kunár valley. It is also called Birkot, and by the Káfirs Satrgrán, Nursut being its Chitráli name.—*The Káfirs of the Hindoo-Koosh*, p. 265.

† There is also a Gaddi tribe among the Saínis.

but in Karnál, where they are most numerous, they have settled down as cultivators and own several villages, though they are poor husbandmen. (2) The Hindu Gaddís of Chamba and Kángra are hillmen. Like the Kanets, Meos and other congeries of tribes they are composed of several elements. Indigenous to the Brahmaur *wizárat* of the Chamba State they have spread southward across the Dhaula Dhár into the northern part of Kángra Proper, and they give their name to the Gaderan, a tract of mountainous country with ill-defined boundaries lying on both sides of the Dhaula Dhár, and their speech is called Gádi.

In Chamba they number 11,507 souls, but these figures do not include the Brahman and Rájput sections which return themselves under their caste names. The majority are Khatrís.

The Gaddís are divided into four classes: (*i*) Brahmans, (*ii*) Khatrís and Rájputs who regularly wear the sacred thread, (*iii*) Ṭhákurs and Ráthís who, as a rule, do not wear it, and (*iv*) a menial or dependant class, comprising Kolís, Ribárás,* Lohárs, Bádhís, Sipís and Hálís, to whom the title of Gaddi is incorrectly applied by outsiders as inhabitants of the Gaderan, though the true Gaddís do not acknowledge them as Gaddís at all.

Each class is divided into numerous *gotras* or exogamous sections, but the classes themselves are not, strictly speaking, exogamous. Thus the Jhúnún *gotar* of the Khatrís intermarries with (? gives daughters to) the Brahmans; and the Brahmans of Kukti regularly intermarry with the other groups. Similarly the *janeo*-wearing families do not object to intermarriage with those which do not wear it, and are even said to give them daughters (menials of course excepted).†

In brief, Gaddi society is organised on the Rájpút hypergamous system.

The Gaddís have traditions which ascribe their origin to immigration from the plains. Thus the Chauhán Rájputs and Brahman Gaddís accompanied Rájá Ajja Varma to Chamba in 850-70 A. D., while the Chauhán, Harkhán, Pakhra, Chiledi, Mangla and Kundail Rájputs and the Khatrís are said to have fled to its hills to escape Aurangzeb's persecutions. These traditions are not irreconcilable with the story that Brahmaur, the ancient Brahmapura, is the home of the Gaddís; for doubtless the nucleus of their confederation had its seats in the Dhaula Dhár, in which range Hindus have from time to time sought an asylum from war and persecution in the plains.

The Brahman, Rájput, Khatri, Ṭhákur and Ráthi sections alike preserve the Brahminical *gotra* of their original tribe. But these *gotras* are now sub-divided into countless *als* or septs which are apparently also styled *gotras*. Thus among the Brahmans we find the Bhaṭs from the Bhaṭṭiyát *wizárat* of Chamba, and Ghungaintu (*ghungha*, dumb), both *als* of the Kaundal *gotra*. The Brahman sept-names disclose none of those found among the Sárasut Brahmans of the Punjab

* A small caste or group of menials, employed as narrties. See footnote on page 259 below.

† It is indeed stated that no distinction is now made between families which do, and those which do not, wear the *janeo*; but in former times the Rájás used to confer the *janeo* on Ráthís in return for presents and services—and so some of them wear it to this day.

plains, so completely do the Gaddi Brahmans seem to have become identified with the Gaddi system. Many of the *als* bear obvious nick-names, such as Chadhu, cross-legged; * Dundú, one-handed; † Tanjú and Tandeṭú, cat's-eyed; ‡ Bhangreṭú, squinter; § Chutánbru, debauchee; ‖ Ghunain, one who speaks through his nose; ¶ Jukku, gambler; ** Marántú, one who fled to the plains to escape cholera, *mari;* Jirgh, dumb; †† Nansain, adopted by a *náni* or grandmother; Sasi, one who lived with his mother-in-law. Litkar, lame; ‡‡ Timareṭú, squinter; §§ Chupetú, reticent.

Other names denote occupations not by any means Brahminical: Sundheta, seller of assafœtida (*sundha*); Palihan, sharpener; ‖‖ Bardan, archer; ¶¶ Sáhdhrántu, once a *sáh* or wealthy man who became bankrupt (*dharantú*); Sipainú, tenant of a Sipi menial; Raneṭu, aRáná's tenant; Adhkáru, a physician who left his patients uncured (*adh*, half: *karu*, doer); Saunpolú, seller of *saunf*, aniseed; Langhe, ferryman; Jogi; Lade, a trader to Ladákh; Khuthlu, *kuth*-seller; Jhunnu, idler; *** Phangtain, dealer in *phamb*, wool.

Totemism does not exist, unless Guarete, 'born in a *guár* or cowshed,' and Sunhunu, from one who had a *sunnú* tree in front of his house, could be regarded as totemistic sections.

In Kángṛa one *got*—Paunkhnú—is said to provide *purohits* for all the other Brahman Gaddis. The Brahmans in Kángṛa, it is said, intermarry with the Jhúnú *got* of the Gaddi Khatrís.

Among the Rájputs we find the Ordián, 'ill-wishers': ††† Ranyán, 'squinters' ‡‡‡ and Misán, 'pig-nosed'; §§§ all *als* of the Bachar *gotar*: Kurralu, 'brown-haired,' ‖‖‖ and Dinrán, 'black,' ¶¶¶ *als* of the Dewal and Uttam *gotars* respectively. Very doubtful instances of totemism are Phagán 'bran (*phak*) eater' (Bhardwáj); Khuddú, 'eater of parched maize' (Sunkhyál); Ghoknu, 'shooter of doves'—*ghug* (Dewal); Rikhántu, 'bear-killer' (Atar); Chaker, 'purveyor of *chikor* to the Rájás (Ambak); Kadán, 'sower of *kadu* or pumpkins' (Bhárdwáj); Pakhru 'bird-shooter' (Bisistpál).

A few *als* refer to occupations; Charu, fr. *chár*, 'headman' (Bharduári); Garhaigu, 'keeper of a stronghold,' *garh* (Atar); Baidu, 'physician' (Kondal); Makrátu, 'boxer'; **** Ghingain, 'seller of *ghi*.'

Others again are fanciful: Tharrotu, from an ancestor who threatened to drag his adversary before the *thara* or court at Chamba; Dakiyán, from one who used to dance with *dákin*, Háli, women: or uncomplimentary, *e.g.*, Kholu, greedy; Jhurján, idle; Rohaila, noisy; Jhibián, mad; Chutrainya, debauchee; Mukhrán, stammerer; Gulrán, liar; Juár, liar; Kubainta, hunch-back; Kangru, scold; Jhirrú,

* Fr. *chudda*, buttocks: *cf.* chadha, 'sedentary,' also an *al* name.
† Fr. *dundá*, one who has lost a hand.
‡ Fr. *tandá*, cat's-eyed.
§ Fr. *bhingra*, squint.
‖ Fr. *chut*, debauchee.
¶ Fr. *gunna*, speaking through the *nose*.
** Fr. *juá*, gambling.
†† Fr. *firingar*, dumb.
‡‡ Fr. *lattá*, lame.
§§ Fr. *tíriá*, squint.
‖‖ Fr. *palná*, to sharpen.
¶¶ Fr. *bari*, arrow.
*** Fr. *jhúrná*, to idle or to meditate.
††† Fr. *orda*, evil.
‡‡‡ Fr. *rina*, a squint.
§§§ Fr. *misa*, snout.
‖‖‖ Fr. *kerra*, brown.
¶¶¶ Fr. *dinna*, black.
**** Fr. *muka*, fist.

tease; Amlaitu, opium-eater; Dharambar, pock-marked. In Kángṛa the Agásni *got* of Rájput Gaddis is said to be really an offshoot of the Jariál Rájputs.

Among the Khatrís, no trace exists of the section-names current in the plains. We find occupational names: Sáhnú, shopkeeper (*sáh*); Padhotarú, from one who lived on a plain (*padar*); Rusahri, cook; Charhain, climber; Nakletú, mimic; Sundhú, dealer in assafœtida; Bangete, a physician who powdered zinc (*bang*); Mogu, dealer in coral; Dhanchu, fr. one who lived with his flocks (*dhan*); Panjaru, wool-comber; Gharáṭi, water-miller: with two inexplicable names; Drudhain, one who recovers stolen millet from mouses' holes; and Druhru, one who so recovers walnuts—fr. *drudh*, *druhri*, a mouse's hole! Other Khatri *als* (so-called *gots*) in Kángṛa are: Bhundu, Bhakhu, Badán, Bhatelu, Bihán, Bihántú, Chadlu, Chaledi, Chapetu, Chugainu, Dagrán, Galoti, Koráru, Jhurain, Phátu, Magletu, Rahlu, Sálnu, Sundhu, Targain, Thakleq, Thosaru, and Thakru. None of these names are found among the Khatrís of the plains, as Barnes appears to have been informed. But just as among the Brahmans of the hills, *e. g.* in Chamba, we find the ancient *gotras* broken up into countless *als*, so too among the Gaddi Khatrís it may well be that the old sub-divisions have been forgotten among the crowd of *al* names. Other *als* found in Chamba follow.

Traces of totemism can hardly be said to exist in Gohaina, killer of a lizard (*goh*); Bersain, 'one who fetched *ber* trees for his flocks'; Potu, one who ate sheep's entrails (*pota*); Thapliag, one who ate wheat-cakes (*thoplu*); Sarwán, planter of a cypress (*Pers. sarú!*); Phakolu, one who was poor and ate *phak*, 'husks.'

One or two curious names are:—Sanglú, carrier of a sacred chain (*sangal*); Sanjúán, maker of offerings (*sanj*); Mangnesu, beggar.

Mere nicknames are Kalsain, Kaleṭu and Kalári, 'black'; Lateti, lame; Phingaletu, crippled,* Kiári,† blind; Ghusu,‡ boxer, Tatangru§ and Kachingar, dumb.

Among the Ráthís the *als* would seem in a few cases to be really totemistic: Marálotar, 'born under a *marál* tree,' the *ulmus Wallichiana*. Sinuri, 'born while it was snowing'; Salbainu, 'born while locusts were at Kugti'; Ráute, 'born under a *rai* or silver fir'; Jotain, born in the Surai pass, *jot*.

Most of the names are however merely nicknames, *e.g.*, Jamuhán, clumsy (*jam*); Tauán, deaf; Dhageta, cragsman; Dapher, lazy, etc. Some are derived from events, *e. g.*, Harokar, said to mean one ostracised for slaying a brother by his blood-kin (*har*, bone).

Religious names also occur: Japaintu, from *jap*, repetition: Faqir, beggar; Jogíán, from a *jogi* ancestor.

Occupational names are: Phakru, maker of combs for cleaning wool, Ghoru (royal) groom; Ghuletu, wrestler; Bhájretu,|| porter; Gáhri, Alpine grazier; Adápi, collector of blankets (*dáp*) in which part of the revenue was paid; Lunesar, salt-dealer; Káhngherú, trader in combs (*kánghú*); Palnu, sharpener¶ of sickles.

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* Fr. *phingola*, cripple.
† Fr. *kána*, blind.
‡ Fr. *guthú*, fist.
§ Fr. *tattá*, dumb.
|| Fr. *bhára*, load.
¶ Fr. *palná*, to sharpen.

In Kángṛa the Ráthi *als* are said to be Baṛjati, 'Kulái, Gharáti (a Khatri *al* in Chamba), and Sakhotru. The Rájás used to confer the *janeo* on Ráthis in return for presents and services, and this is why some of them still wear it.

Among the Thakkurs of Kángṛa are the Baráú, Harelu, Janwár, Marthán and Siúri *als*. Other *als* whose members do not wear the *janeo* (and are therefore presumably Thakkur too) are the Baghretu, Ghári, Tutári and Ugharetu.

The Gaddís are an interesting people, and offer a striking contrast in several respects to the other inhabitants of Chamba. The costume of the Gaddis, both men and women, is characteristic and striking. The old head-dress of the men is of a peculiar shape, with a flap round the margin, and a peak-like projection in the centre, said to represent the Kailás of Mani Mahes. The flap is tied up for ordinary wear, but let down over the ears and neck in time of mourning, as well as in severe weather. The front is often adorned with dried flowers or beads. But this head-dress is falling into disuse, save on special occasions its place being taken by the *pagṛi.* On the body a *pattú* coat called *chola,* reaching below the knee, is worn. It has a deep collar, which hangs loose in two lappets in front, and in the sewing the wearer stows away various articles, such as a needle and thread, pieces of paper and twine. The *chola* is tightened round the waist by a black rope worn as a waist-band. This is made of sheep's wool and is called *dora.* Above the waist-band the coat is loose, and in this receptacle the Gaddi carries many of his belongings. On the march a shepherd may have four or five lambs stowed away in his bosom, along with his daily food and other articles. The legs are generally bare, but many wear *pattú* paijámas, loose to the knees for the sake of freedom in walking, but fitting tight round the calf and ankle where it rests in numerous folds. Shoes are in common use. From the girdle hang a knife, a flint box and steel and a small leather bag, in which the wearer carries money and other small articles. The hill people are all fond of flowers, and in the *topi* or *pagṛi* may often be seen a tuft of the wild flowers in season, red berries, or other ornament. The chief ornament is the *tabit,* a square silver plate of varying size covered with carving and hung from the neck. Gaddi women wear a dress like that of the men, made of *pattú* and called *cholu.* It hangs straight, like a gown, from the neck to the ankle and round the waist is the woollen cord or *dora.* A cotton gown of a special pattern is now common and is called *ghundu.* It is worn in the same way as the *cholu.* The head is covered with a *chadar,* and the legs and feet are bare. The Gaddi women wear special ornaments, of which the chief is the *galsari,* and sometimes a *tabít,* similar like the men. They also wear heavy brass anklets, called *ghunkare* which are peculiar to the Gaddi women.* The Gaddis say that they assumed the garb of Shiva and Párvati when they settled in Brahmaur which they call Shiv-bhúmi or Shiva's land, but it is not their dress alone that makes them conspicuous. Their whole bearing is characteristic, conveying an impression of sturdy independence which is fully borne out by closer contact with them. They are robust of frame, and accustomed to exposure in all weathers owing

* Brass anklets called *riháru,* are worn by Gaddi children to ward off the evil eye, and to prevent them from crying. They are made by the menial caste, named *rihára,* which is itself supposed to have the power of injuring children by sorcery.

to the migratory life so many of them lead. In their manners they are frank and open, deferential to their superiors and yet manly and dignified. They delight in festive gatherings, and are fond of singing and dancing—the latter in a style peculiar to themselves. Their women are pleasing and comely, and have the reputation of being also modest and chaste. The Gaddis are a semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural tribe, and own large flocks of sheep and goats, which are their chief source of wealth. With them they go far afield, the summers being spent in the higher mountains of Pángi and Láhul; and the winters in the low hills bordering on the plains. This duty the male members of the family take in turn, the others remaining at home to tend the cattle and look after the farm work. Many of them own land on both sides of the Dhaula Dhár, and reap the winter crop in Kángra, returning in spring to cut the summer crop in Brahmaur. On the whole they are better shepherds than farmers, and perhaps for this reason they are the most prosperous agricultural class in the State. The yearly exodus to Kángra takes place in October and November, and the return journey in April and May. With an appearance of candour and simplicity, the Gaddís have the reputation of being good at making a bargain; hence the saying in the hills—

Gaddi mitr bhola,
Denda tap to mangda chola.

"The Gaddi is a simple friend,
He offers his cap, and asks a coat in exchange."

The Gaddi wedding customs merit special notice.

In betrothal the boy's parents or guardians send their *parohit* to negotiate for a girl about whom they have information, and he brings back her parents' reply. If it is favourable the boy's parents send two or more respectable men to the girl's home to complete the bargain. Then if it is clinched, two of the boy's family go with the *parohit* to perform the ceremony. If the betrothal is *dharma puna* this consists in the bride's father giving the *parohit* a bunch of *drub* grass with four copper coins or more, if they please, to be handed over to the boy's father in token that the alliance is accepted. The *parohit* hands over the *drub*, and the coins are returned to the *parohit* with a rupee added by the boy's father. The night is spent at the bride's house, and after a meal her father gives the boy's father 8 copper coins and these he places in a vessel as a perquisite to the servant who cleans it. In a betrothal by exchange (*tola*) the first observances are the same, but when all go to finally complete the alliance a grindstone and *sil* with 3 or 5 *roris* of *gur*, *supári, bihan* and *roliyán** are placed before the party and then the *parohit* places *supári, bihan* and *roliyán* in the skirt of his sheet and puts them on the *sil*. Before tapping them on the *sil* with the grindstone he receives 4 annas from the boy's father and mentions the names of the boy and girl whose alliance is to be formed, and then taps them. After this the *supári*, etc., are placed in a vessel, with the balls of *gur* broken up, and distributed to those present after the girl's father has taken a bit. The elder members of the girl's family do not take any as it would be contrary to custom. The boy's father puts Re. 1-4 in this vessel and this is made over to the bride's parents

* *Roliyan* red colour for marking the *tika* on the forehead: *bihan*, coriander.

who get jewellery to that amount made for her. After this the bride appears before the boy's father and he gives her a rupee. The rest of the ceremony is exactly as described above, but in this case the coins put in the vessel come out of the boy's father's pocket. The ceremony in the other house is performed in exactly the same way, though not on the same day for the sake of convenience. A propitious date is not fixed, but a lucky day is desirable, and Tuesday, Friday and Saturday are considered unlucky.

After having the date for the wedding fixed by a *parohit* two men are sent to the girl's people with a *ser* of *ghi* to notify them of the date, and if they approve of it messengers from both sides go to the *parohit* and get him to write the *lakhnoteri.* For this he is paid 8 Chamba coins or 4 annas in cash, rice and some red tape (*dori*). At the wedding itself the *sumhurat* rite is first performed by worshipping Ganpati, *kumbh* * and the nine planets and then the *supári* (a mixture of turmeric, flour and oil) purified by *mantras* is rubbed on the boy. Three black woollen threads are also tied round his right wrist to protect him from the evil eye. He is then taken out into the court-yard by his mother, with part of her red sheet thrown over his head, to bathe. At the bath the black thread is torn off and he is led back by his mother. Next he must upset an earthen lid, containing burning charcoal and mustard placed at the entrance to the worshipping place, and this must be thrown away so as to remove any evil influence which he may have contracted in the court-yard. The *parohit* then ties nine red cotton threads round the boy's right wrist and gives him *ghi* and *gur* to taste. These wristlets are called *kangana.* This is preceded by the *tel-sand* ceremony. Again Ganpati, Brahma, Vishnu, *kumbh, dia* † and the nine planets are worshipped, and then a he-goat is sacrificed to the planets by the boy, its blood being sprinkled on the *sándori* (*bagar* grass rope) and *munj málá* (a ring of *bagar*). The *sándori* is then spread round the room along the cornice and the bridegroom made to don a white *dhoti* or sheet round his loins, to put flour *mundras* (*jogi's* ear-rings) in his ears, sling a satchel over his shoulder, tie a black woollen rope round his chests and cover his buttocks with an animal's skin, suspend a *fanani* (bow for carding wool) to the black rope and take a *timbár* stick in his right hand with a Brahminical thread tied round his right thumb. This dress is assumed so that he may appear a regular *jogi* (ascetic). After this the presiding priest asks him; 'why hast thou become a *jogi*?' His answer is 'to receive the Brahminical cord.' Then he is further interrogated by the priest as to what kind of cord he requires, *i.e.*, one of copper, brass, silver, gold, or cotton, and he asks for the latter. The priest then sends him to bathe at Badri Narain, Trilok Náth and Mani-Mahesha, and these supposed baths are taken in turn by dipping his hands and feet in, and pouring some water on his face from, a vessel put ready for the purpose in the door-way. After these ablutions the pretended *jogi* begs, first of his relations and then at the house, and they give him a piece of bread and promise him cattle, goats, etc., according to their means. In conclusion the priest asks him whether he wishes to devote himself to *játera*

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* *Kumbh.* A small pitcher filled with water, is placed over a handful of rice and peach leaves or a few blades of *drub* are put into it. It is worshipped exactly like the *deotas.*

† *Dia.* A small earthen lamp with a burning wick is placed over a handful of rice and worshipped like the others.

(worldly business) or *mátera* (an ascetic life) and he invariably answers '*to játera*,' and then the priest makes him take off his *jogi's* clothes, receiving 4 annas as his fee for this. The cattle, etc., which the relations promised to the boy go to him and not to the priest.

This over, the boy is made to sit on a wicker basket, or a sheep-skin bag for carrying grain (called *khalru*), and a dagger is placed on the *munj málá** above his head. Then the people pour oil over his head, with a few blades of grass (*drub*), taken from a vessel containing oil and held by his mother's brother or in his absence by her sister. After this the bridegroom fits an arrow to the *fanani* (bow) and shoots it at the head of the dead goat which is placed over the nine planets, thereby pretending to slay them. The rite of tasting *guṛ* and *ghi* by the boy ends this ceremony. The bridegroom is then dressed. He wears a white *pagri* (turban) and *kuwá*, a red *luáncha*, and a white *paṭka* with *gulbadan suthan* and a *jaul*† thrown over the shoulders. The present (*suhág-paṭári*) is then arranged. It consists of a *kharbás*,‡ *luáncheri*, *ghagru*, § *nau-dori*, ‖ *ungi*,¶ *chundi*,** *kángi*, *manihár*, 8 *roṛis of guṛ*, dates, grapes, almonds, rice and 7 *lúchis*, and these are carried by the *parohit* to the bride's house, with the procession. The boy is then veiled with a purified veil (*sehra*) by his mother's brother, his brother's wife puts antimony on his eyes, and his sister fans him. After this the boy gets up and the *árti* is then waved thrice from right to left over his head by the *parohit*, and his mother throws three round cakes (*lúchis*) on three sides of him. The *árti* must be sanctified by *mantras* before being used at the door. After this the boy's father gives him the *tambol* (present) of Re. 1, and 4 copper coins, the latter being the *parohit's* fee. The boy then gets into a *doli* in the courtyard and his mother gives him her breast to suck. The *pálki* is then carried by four bearers to the entrance, beneath the woollen parrots called *toran*, which the boy, his mother and the *parohit* worship, and then the bearers present the boy with a *kumbh* filled with water and he puts a copper coin in it. The bridal procession, consisting of the male members of the house and friends, dressed in their best clothes and preceded by tom-toms, goes to the bride's house. On arrival the boy with his followers is put up in a house other than the girl's, or camps out in the open air. The boy's father or uncle, with one or two more, then takes a basket full of round cakes to the bride's parents: this is called *batpartana*. They return from the bride's house, after eating something and putting 4 copper coins in the plate, and rejoin the procession. This observance is called *juth pái*. Two respectable men are also deputed to the bride's *parohit*, to settle the amount he will take for performing the rites at the *lagan*, and then rejoin the camp. The boy's *parohit* then proceeds to the bride's house to deliver the *barsúhi*†† (bride's) dress to her. The *barsúhi* consists of a white sheet (*dupatta*), *luáncheri*, *ghagarú*, *naudori*, *ungi*, *kangi* (comb), (articles

* A small ring or wreath made of *bagar* grass.

† All these are articles of dress.

‡ *Kharbás*, a *dopatta* of white cotton cloth: *luáncheri*, the bride's dress.

§ *Ghagru*, coloured cloth for a shirt.

‖ The *nau-dori* or '9 *doris*' are red cords, four on either side at the back of the head, plaited into the hair and converging into a ninth thick *dorá* which hangs down the back.

¶ *Ungi*, of iron with which the hair is parted in front: the *kangi* is a comb.

** *Chundi* is an antimony holder for the eyes, worn on the back of the head.

†† It will be observed that the *barsúhi* consists of the same articles as the *suhág-paṭári*.

of attire), *chundí*, 3 balls of *gur*, cocoa, dates, grapes, almonds, 1 *ser* of rice and 9 *lúchís*, 3 wheat cakes, 7 *puris* of *chandan chúra*,* *roliyán*, *kesar*, *sandhúr*, *nahání*,† *muth* and *supári*‡. The priest then comes back to conduct the bridegroom and his followers to the bride's house with tom-toms playing. The boy is received at the entrance by his mother-in-law who performs the *árti* ceremony over him, waving it seven times over his head with her right hand, holding her left over his turban. Four turns are taken from the boy's right to his left and three in the reverse direction. Three cakes, placed in the plate with the *árti* are also thrown out towards the court-yard. The priest gives 4 *chaklís* (copper coins) to the boy who then places them in the *árti* after clasping his hands before it. The mother-in-law then retires, while the father-in-law comes to the spot and placing a *patka* (white cloth) round his own neck, washes and worships his son-in-law's feet. The boy's priest gives a *duna* (leaf-plate) with some rice, a walnut, *drub* and flowers into his hands. Both the palms are held upwards, with both thumbs joined, and held up in his hands by the father-in-law who brings the bridegroom into the verandah while the *mantras* are being recited. After this the bride is brought to the place and made to stand a foot from him, face to face with the bridegroom. The priest then takes hold of the boy's neck with his right hand and of the girl's with his left and makes their shoulders thrice touch each other, first pressing the boy's right to the girl's left. This is called *chán par chán*. After this two torches are held on either side of them. Seven small pieces of *málti* (jasmine) twigs are then put in the girl's hands, she drops them into the boy's hands and he breaks them one by one, placing them under his right foot. This breaking of the twigs is called *chiri*. It is preceded by giving *bihún* into the hands of the couple and they blow it at each other. This goes by the name of *farúri*.

The pair are next made to sit down and the boy's father-in-law offers *sankalap*, that is gives his daughter away, and then washes the couple's feet as they sit before him. Certain minor rites, called *chichári*,§ are

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* Sandal-wood chips.

† A sweet smelling root: *muth*, the root of a kind of grass.

‡ *Supári* betel-nut: *kesar*—saffron.

§ *Chichári*. Two or three blades of *drub* are tied together with red cotton thread and placed in a cup of green leaves. Then a *chakli* (copper coin), *til*, rice, *roliyán* (turmeric), some flowers, water and a walnut are also placed in it. This cup is put in the bridegroom's hands and his father-in-law's hands are laid over them. The priest then recites some *mantras*, after which the *drub* is taken up by the father-in-law and with it he sprinkles water from the cup thrice over the heads of the pair. This is called the *pahla bishtar* or first *chár*. This is repeated, but the second time some blades of grass, *kesar* (saffron) *sarván shadhe* and flowers are thrown into the water. While the priest recites *mantras* the father-in-law sprinkles water on the couple's feet. This second rite is called *páda*.

The third or *argh* ceremony is similar, but this time the mixture is made of *dhain*, *til*, *drub* and rice, and after reciting *mantras* it is sprinkled over the boy's head.

The fourth *chár* is called *dua bishtar* and is an exact repetition of the first *chár*.

The fifth *chár* (*achmani*) is solemnised by putting water, *til*, and rice in a cup which is placed on the ground as was done in the other *chárs*, but at the end of the ceremony the priest thrice throws a few drops of water from the cup on to the father-in-law's hands, and the boy and they drink it from his hands.

The sixth and last *chár* is called *madhúparak*. The cup is filled with milk, *til* and rice and put in the boy's left hand; he daubs the four fingers and thumb of his right hand with it and then lifts his hand towards his mouth and, putting it again into the cup, sprinkles its contents on the ground. This cup is then taken by one of the bridegroom's *jan* (one who has come with the procession) and given to the tom-tom player. This *jan* returns to the bridegroom and after being purified by *mantras* is allowed to mix again with the other men

now performed by the bridegroom and his father-in-law. Then Ganpati,* Brahma,† Vishnu,‡ Kumbh, *dia* and the nine planets are worshipped. After this one end of the girl's sheet is held out by her brother and on this red *tikka* is sprinkled thrice by the boy. Similarly the boy's waist-band is held out and anointed by the girl. The girl then holds up her hands; and into them 4 copper coins, a walnut, *drub,* flowers, *til* and rice are thrown by the priest and then the boy is made to lay his hands over hers. The priest then takes part of the bride's sheet and wraps both pairs of hands in it by running a tape (*dori*) round it.

The girl's father then performs the *kaniá-dán* (giving the girl away) with the proper *mantras.* At its conclusion the girl's *maula* (mother's brother) touches her wrapper with a copper coin and it is then unknotted, the things in the girl's hands being taken by the boy and given to the *parohit.* The *guṛ* and *ghi* is then tasted and this concludes the ceremony called *lagan.* The girl now retires, but the boy remains to go through another rite called the *manihár.*§ After doing the *árti* over the bridegroom, the tape with the betelnut is then put on the boy's left toe and he is required to pierce the nut with his dagger. This done, the priest takes the tape up and throws it over the boy's head, passes it down to his heels and under his soles, and then ties it round the *pagri.* The boy is then drawn by the *manihár* by his mother-in-law and led inside the house to the *kámdeo.*‖ The girl is also brought there by her brother and dressed in the *barsúhí* clothes and placed by the boy's side before the picture. Finally the remaining 7 *doris* of the *barsúhí* are handed over to the boy by the girl's *mámi* (mother's sister); he places them on the bride's head and then her hair is combed and arranged with these *doris* by her *mámi* and the following song is sung :—

SARGUNDHI SONG.

Kun gori baiṭhi sir kholi, hor
Kun baiṭhá piṭh gheri,

Gaura baiṭhi sir kholi, hor
Isar baiṭhá piṭh gheri.

"Who is that beautiful girl sitting with her hair dishevelled ?
Who is sitting with his back turned ?

Oh, Gaura is sitting with her hair uncombed,
Isar (Shiva) is sitting with his back turned."

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* Ganpati is represented by a walnut in a green cup, placed before the boy under the canopy on a heap of rice. It is given a copper coin—Ganpati being thus invoked to keep off mishaps.

† Brahma's effigy is made of a few blades of *drub,* which are turned down twice, the ends being fixed in cow-dung and placed in a green cup. He is then similarly worshipped as being the Creator of the universe.

‡ Vishnu is represented and worshipped like Brahma, but the blades are only turned down once from the centre in his case. Vishnu is worshipped as being the first Cause and the Protector of the universe.

§ *Manihár.*—Nine walnuts (the nine planets) are put on rice and worshipped and their blessing invoked. There must be a separate handful of rice for each of the walnuts. A bored copper coin, a betelnut and a cotton *dori* (three cords about 1½ spans long)—all these together are called *manihár*—but the ceremony is performed by taking the boy out to the doorway and there he takes out his dagger from the waist and touches the coin with its point, pretending to bore it. The string is then passed through the bored coin and put in a *máni* (grain measure) and then the *manihár* is sanctified and tied round the boy's head-dress by his mother-in-law at the gate-way after the *árti.*

‖ A picture.

After this the boy's *jaul* (shoulder-band) and the bride's *kharvás* (sheet) are knotted together and the bride is carried by her maternal uncle (*maula*) to the canopy where the wedding is to be celebrated.

Under this canopy (*baid*) they are placed, on bamboo baskets covered with woollen cloths, facing east. The bridegroom sits to the right of the bride and in front of the sacred fire (*homa* or *havan*). The bride's father then washes the couple's feet; after which Ganpati, Navagirah, Brahma, Vishnu, Kumbh, Sat Rishi, Chaur Vedi, Chaur-disa (the four quarters) and Chaur-updes (the four elements) are worshipped in due order, to ward off mishaps. This is followed by placing fried barley in a *chhaj* (sieve) which is brought to the *baid*. First, the bridegroom takes a handful of this grain and puts it on three different spots, while the bride's brother keeps wiping it away with his right hand as fast as it is put down. This is repeated, but the second time the bride's brother puts the grain down and the bridegroom wipes it away. This is called *khila** *khedni* and is done to break the tie of relationship, if any exists, between the contracting parties. After this *khila khedni* the boy's father puts 4 annas into the *chhaj*† and the bride's brother takes off the red piece which he has worn on his head during the ceremony and puts it in the *chhaj* too. It is then removed and the 4 annas are claimed by the boy's brother-in-law. Then the bride's brother's wife comes and grinds turmeric (*haldar*) on the *sil* and sprinkles it wet on the feet of the pair, three times on each. She receives 4 *takas*, *i.e.*, 16 copper coins, for performing this rite. Then the couple are made to stand up and walk round the sacred fire four times from right to left. The bridegroom keeps his right hand on the bride's back all the while. After each turn they are made to halt near the baskets and their feet are worshipped, by throwing *til*, *drub*, milk, and red colour, etc., by the bride's father, and at the end the bride's brother worships the couple's feet in the same way. These four rounds are called *chárlái*, and constitute the binding rite in the wedding. At the *chárlái* two women sing the following song:—

CHARLAI SONG.

Pahlia lájária phirde kuánre,
Dújia lájária phirde Isar Gauraja,

Trijia lájária anjan dhrír lái,
Chauthia lájária anjan tori nahsa.

"In the first round of the *lái* go bachelors,
In the second round of the *lái* go Ishwar and Gauraja.

In the third round they let the *anjan*‡ drag on the ground
In the fourth round the *dulha* (bridegroom) broke it and ran away.

The bride and bridegroom now change seats and sit facing each other. The bride then holds up her hands and in them a green leaf cup (*duni*) containing some walnuts, rice, flowers, 4 coins, etc., is placed by the priest. The bridegroom covers the bride's hands with his hands and then the priest unknots the *manihár* from the boy's *pagṛi* and puts

* Parched grain. | † Winnowing fan.

‡ In the marriage ceremony the boy wears a long strip of cloth round his shoulder and the girl a *kharvás* (coloured sheet) over her head. Both these are tied together when they do the *chárlái* and the knot which fastens them together is called *anjan*.

it on their hands. The bride's father then takes *til, drub*, rice, flowers and copper coins and the *sankalap* is performed to the recitation of *mantras*. After this he places 4 copper coins and a rupee in the vessel containing water, turmeric, milk and curd and sprinkles the mixture on the *baid* (canopy). This is called *sáj pána* or giving of dowry. The bride's mother's brother then comes and touches the boy's and girl's hands with a *ser* of rice and a copper coin, and then they are released, the *manihár* being given to the girl to be put round her neck. The rice and coin go to the priest. After this all the girl's other relations and friends give her presents, either in cash or in kind, according to their social position. These presents are then divided thus:—To the bride's and bridegroom's *parohits* 2 annas each; to the bride's *pálki*-carriers 4 annas; to the bridegroom's the same; and to the carpenter (*bádhi*) who erects the temple and the canopy (*baid*) 4 annas also: to the bride's musicians 2 annas; and to the bridegroom's 4 annas. After this the bride's *parohit* counts the things received in dowry, receiving for this 8 copper coins, with four more as *dehl* (door-way) for acting as the family priest. Of the residue a fourth goes to the bride and a tenth of the remainder is appropriated by her priest. The balance with the canopy is then given by the bride's father as *sankalap* to the boy's father and forms part of the paraphernalia. After this the *gotra-chár mantras* are read and fried rice is thrown towards the couple by both the priests. Each gets 4 annas for reading the *gotra-chár*. This is followed by making the fathers of the couple sit under the canopy, and a blade of *drub* is put by the bride's priest into the girl's father's hands. He holds it between the tips of his middle fingers at one end, the other end being similarly held by the boy's father. The bride's father then says: "*asmat kania, tusmat gotra*," meaning "our girl passes to your *got*." The ends of the blade are then reversed and the boy's father says: "*tusmat kania, asmat gotra*," meaning "your girl has come into our *got*." At the conclusion the bridegroom comes to the end of the canopy where he receives *rulár* (salutation with a present) from his mother-in-law and the other elderly women of the bride's house. The mother-in-law gives a rupee in cash and 4 copper coins, the others only copper coins, and without receiving this gift from the women it is not etiquette for him to appear before them. The boy touches the bride's mother's feet in token of her giving him this privilege. The ceremonies at the bride's are now over and the bride is taken in the *pálki*, with all the paraphernalia, followed by the bridegroom, his followers and friends, to his house.

Song sung on the bride's arrival at the bridegroom's house—

Soi (pichaik) aunde-jo ádar de—jánde-jo bhalí már;
Hallare jánde-jo mochar-már—bhale bhale ádar.

"Receive the *soi* (those who come with the bride) with courtesy and on their departure give them a good thrashing.

Give to this *hallar* (bastard) a shoe-beating, this is good treatment for him."

On arrival at the door-way the following song is sung:—

ATHLAI SONG.

Ham ku pújna kun gori ai,
Ham ku pújna Gaura ai,
Ham ku pújde putri phal mangde.

"Who is that beautiful girl who has come to worship a pomegranate tree?
It is Gaura who has come to worship,
While she is worshipping she is praying for a son."

Then the *árti* is presented by the boy's mother and she also gives the bride a rupee. Next the pair are conducted to the *kámdeo* (picture on the wall), and Ganpati, etc., are worshipped, after which they are both made to go four times round the earthen lamp (*diwa*) and *kumbh* (pot containing water), tape and a bunch of pomegranate. This circumambulation is called the *athlâí* (eight rounds).

After this the bridal veil is taken off by the *parohit* and the imitation birds on the veil are given to the priest, the brothers of the couple and their newly acquired *mitras* (brothers made by sacred observance). Having done the *athlái* the bride and bridegroom's wrist threads are loosened by two men who thus become brothers. These threads were put on by them at the commencement of the preliminary observances.

At the conclusion the bridegroom receives presents (*tambol*) from the men and women, and similarly *munhsáni* from the women is received by the bride for unveiling her. Songs are sung by the women on these occasions.

The following feast-song is sung at the bridegroom's house:—

Kuniaye chauka páya, kuni dhotore hath pair,
Janne chauka páya, soi dhotore hath pair, darohi Rám Rám,

Bhat paríthá, más paríthá, upar paríthe táre máre,
Bhate máse kháe na jáne soi, bahín kárdi háre háre.

"Who has smeared the floor with cowdung; who has washed the hands and feet?
The *jan* (followers of the bridegroom) have done it, the *soi* (followers of the bride) have washed their hands and feet: we appeal to Rám (for the truth of our statement),
Boiled rice has been given, meat has been given, over them have been given small pebbles,
The *soi* know not how to eat rice and meat, the sister expresses surprise (by saying) '*háre háre*'."

Four feasts are given in the boy's house to the guests: 1st, on the day of the oil ceremony; 2nd, on the morning on which the procession starts to the bride's house; 3rd, on the day the procession returns home, and 4th, on the morning on which the bridegroom receives presents.

The first two feasts are given at the bride's house on the oil day to the guests of the girl and the last two on the marriage day to the bridegroom and his followers and to the bride's guests.

Another form of marriage called *bujkya* is common in which the ceremony is gone through only at the bride's house, thus saving expense.

The Gaddís also practise the form of marriage called *jhind phuk*, solemnised by burning brushwood and circumambulating the fire eight

times hand in hand, or with the bride's sheet tied to the boy's girdle. It is admissible in cases where a girl's parents have consented to her betrothal but refuse to carry out the marriage, and is sometimes done forcibly by the bridegroom; or in cases in which a girl elopes with her lover. No priest or relative need attend it.

Widow remarriage is permitted, except among the Brahmans. The rite is called *gudaní* or *jhanjarára* and also *cholí-dori* and is solemnised thus:—The pair are made to sit down by the *díwa* and *kumbh*, with some *dhúp* burning. They worship both these objects, then the bridegroom places a *dori* (tape) on the widow's head and another woman combs her head and binds her hair with the tape. After this the bridegroom places a nose-ring (*bálú*) in the woman's hand and she puts it on. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. A feast is given to guests and relations and songs are sung. If no priest presides at the ceremony the *kumbh*, etc., worship is dispensed with, but the tape and ring ceremony is gone through and the guests, etc., feasted. A widow used to be compelled to marry her husband's elder or younger brother, but the custom is no longer enforced by the State.

Divorce is permitted by mutual consent, but there is no special form. A divorcée may remarry.

Sons, whether by a wife married for the first time, or by a widow or divorcée remarried, succeed, but illegitimate sons do not, unless they are adopted in default of legitimate sons or heirs. The eldest son gets an extra share, called *jaithund*, but he has *per contra* to pay a proportionately larger share of any debts. Among the sons the property is otherwise divided *mundavand, i. e.*, equally, except in Kángra, where the *chundavand* rule prevails among that small part of the tribes, which originally came from the southern side of the upper Rávi in Chamba.*

The Gaddís also have the custom whereby a widow's child (*chaukandhu*) born at any time after her husband's death succeeds to his property, provided that the widow has continued to live in his house and has worn a red *dori* (tape) in the name of his *chula* (oven) or *darát* (axe). Cases have even occurred in which the widow has retained her late husband's property without complying with these conditions, though the Gaddís consider her rights disputable.

Gaddís burn their dead. Lepers and those who die of *luhar*, a kind of typhus, are first buried, but their corpses are exhumed after three months and burnt. The ceremonies performed are the same as for those who are burnt. The body is placed on the funeral pyre with the head of the deceased to the north, and all the jewellery and the blanket, which is thrown over it when on the bier, are taken off and the body burnt. A copper coin is placed by the pyre as the tax of the land on which† the body is burnt. Fire is first applied to the pyre under the head by the nearest relative and the other *gotrís* (blood relations). The *parohit* joins the relations in this observance, but no ceremonies are observed. The light is applied after going round the pyre once from left to right. On the 10th day after the demise the *daspindi* ceremony is performed

* Sir J. B. Lyall's Kángra Settlement Report, § 74, quoted in P. C. L. II, p. 183.

† In allusion to the idea that the Muhammadans own the world, Hindus the sky, and that the owners' land must not be used unless paid for.

by the nearest blood relations, with the aid of the *parohit.* Other relations wash their clothes and bathe on this day and remove the *kambal* which is spread to receive the mourners. On the 12th day, at night, a he-goat is sacrificed in the deceased's name. This goat is given to the *parohit.* Next morning five *pinds* (balls of rice) or one *supindi* are again offered to the deceased by the chief mourner, to the recitation of *mantras* by the *parohit.* The clothes, utensils, cash, etc., are given to him. On the 14th day the deceased's relations on the wife's side come to the house in the morning and give a feast to the brotherhood. A goat is killed for this feast and the mourning ceases from this day. At the end of the third month oblations are again offered to the deceased and the occasion is signalised by a feast to the brotherhood. All the offerings made in this ceremony go to the *parohit* who presides over it. Similar ceremonies are gone through at the end of the sixth month and the 1st and 4th years.

If buried the body is laid flat in the grave with the back on the ground and the palms of both hands folded on the chest. The head is kept to the *utar* (north). Children and females are buried in the same way. When burnt the ashes are collected, together with the seven bones of the finger, knee and ankle joints, on the day the corpse is burnt. They are brought to the house in a piece of *masru* * and kept for ten days in the clothes in which the deceased breathed his last and in the room in which he expired. After the *daspindi* they are washed in honey, milk, clarified butter, cowdung and *bilpatri* seed and then dried and deposited in a small wooden box, wrapped in the piece of *masru* and buried in a recess made in the wall of the house, with a coating of barley and mustard over it. They should be taken to Hardwár to be thrown into the Ganges as soon as the family has collected sufficient funds for the journey, and at most within four years.

The religion of the Gaddís presents some interesting features. As we have seen the Gaddís are by preference Shaivas,† but their worship is catholic to a degree. Thus on Sundays and Thursdays Nágs and Sidhs are worshipped, on Sundays alone Kailung, Devís on Tuesdays, and on Thursdays 'Bírs.'

To the Nágs, *ahri* or beestings, male kids or lambs, and *ora* (the first-fruits of all crops), incense and small cakes are offered; and to the Sidhs a sack, a stick of rose-wood, a crutch, sandals and *rot* or thick bread.

To the Devís are offered vermilion, *bindlí* (brow-mark), *sálu* (a red chádar), *dora* (waist-rope), *sur* (a coarse spirit), and a goat.

To the Bírs a he-goat, a *chola* or thick woollen coat, a waistband, a white conical cap (*chukanni topi*) and fine bread. Kailu Bír, the *numen* of abortion, is only worshipped by women. Kailung is a Nág, and the father of all the Nágs. He is worshipped, as is Shiva, under the

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* The cloth in which the corpse is wrapped.

† As the verse goes:—

Gaddí chárda bhedán :	The Gaddís feed their flocks :
Gaddin dindi dupa.	The Gaddins offer incense (to Sha),
Gaddí jo dinda bhedán	To the Gaddís he (Shiva) gives she
Gaddin jo dindi rupa.	And to the Gaddins, beauty.

form of the *darát* or sickle, which is always carried by a Gaddi when shepherding his flocks. Then there is the worship of *autars.* An *autar* is the spirit of a person who has died childless and causes sickness. To propitiate this spirit the sick person dons clothes, which are made for him with a silver image of the deceased, and he then worships the *autar* idol (which is always set up near a stream).*

The clothes and image are worn "in token of the deceased." *Autars* are said to have been admitted into the category of the deities owing to their evil influences on men and women. They are propitiated also on the Amáwas and Puranmáshi days.

Autars also appear in dreams and warn people that they will carry them off to the next world. To scare away the ghost in such a case *jamanwála* is performed, 4 *balis*, offerings of *ghunganián* (boiled maize), nettle baths, and bran bread being offered four times by night.

But these do not exhaust the list of beliefs. *Batál* is the sprite of springs, rivers and wells, and *khicheri*, sodden Indian corn, 3 balls of *suhál* (moss), 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour-sheep are offered to him.

To *joginis* or rock spirits, 3 coloured grains of rice, 5 sweet cakes, a loaf, a flour-lamp with a red wick, 3 kinds of flowers, 3 pieces of *dhup*, and a she-goat are offered with prayers. *Rákshanis* and *banásats* would seem to be the same as *joginis*. *Chungu* is the demon found on walnut and mulberry trees and under the *karangora* shrub. He is worshipped with a cocoa-nut, a *chuhora* (handle of a plough), almonds, grapes, milk and a loaf of 5 *paos* with his effigy in flour (a basket on his back), a four-cornered lamp of flour on the bread, and a piece of *dhup*.

Gunga, the disease-spirit of cows, is propitiated by setting aside a *tawa* of bread in his name until the final offerings can be made. Then a piece of iron, something like a hockey-stick, is made, and the deity taken into the cattle-shed where he is worshipped by the sacred fire on a Thursday. A he-goat is killed and a few drops of the blood sprinkled on the iron. At the same time cakes are offered and some eaten by *one* member of the household, but not by more than one or the scourge will not abate, and the rest are buried in the earth. Every fourth year this deity is worshipped after the same fashion. Kailu is, it seems, peculiar to the Gaddis, or at least to Chamba. Early in pregnancy the woman puts aside 4 *chaklis*, (the copper coin of Chamba) with her necklace in the name of Kailu. Two or three months after delivery the *parohit*, with the woman, worships the demon by putting up a large stone under a walnut or *kainth* tree, which is sanctified by reciting certain *mantras* and then worshipped. A white goat (which may have a black head) is then offered up to the demon, by making an incision in its right ear and sprinkling the blood over a long cloth, 2½ yards wide by 9 or 12 yards long, and *chaklis* and some bread are also offered to the demon.

Finally the woman tastes a piece of *gur*, and places it on the cloth, which she then wears until it is worn out, when a new one is made and

* When first set up the idol is worshipped with prayers and the sacrifice of a he-goat or sheep. *Dhain* and *khicheri* are also placed before it and then eaten by the *autar's* relatives.

purified in the same way before being worn. The ceremony may be performed at the woman's house, in which case the cloth alone is used as a symbol of the deity. The goat is returned to its owner with the four coins. No other woman may use this sheet, which would cause her divers bodily ills.

Ploughing, sowing and reaping should be begun on the lucky days—Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. If the wheat does not grow on a terraced field the plough is not put on it again that year until a goat has been sacrificed there, and neglect of this rule will result in a death in the family. When new ground is to be broken up the *parohit* must be asked to name the day and a he-goat sacrificed before the plough is put to it. But instead of this sacrifice, some people take four young girls to the spot and there wash their feet, mark their foreheads with red and give them *guṛ* to eat before they begin to plough. And the first fruits of such land are always offered to the *deota* before being used. The godlings associated with *chinia*, maize, wheat, pulse and barley are Devi, Chaund, Kailung, Kathura Nag and Sandholu Nag respectively.

The chief fairs are seven in number, *viz.*, the Basua on 1st Baisákh, the Patroru on 1st Bhádon, the Sair on 1st Assauj, the Lahori (or Lohri) on 1st Mágh, and the Dholru on 1st Chet. The dates of the Shibrát (in Phágan on varying dates) and of the Holi (in Phágan or Chet) vary. The first four festivals are celebrated by games and dances, but there are differences. At the Basua *pindiris* or flour cakes are eaten with *ghi* and honey. At the Patroru a cake of a vegetable called *siul* is eaten: only young girls dance. At the Sair *babrus* are cooked: and at the Lohri *khichri* or rice and *dál*. At the Holi *khaddas* (parched maize) are eaten, the fire is worshipped at night and a performance called *barn* held, songs being also sung. At the Dholru again *pindiris* are eaten, but amusements are rarely allowed. There seems to be no annual feast of dead. Shiva and the Devis are sacrificed to on a Shibrátri.

The seasons for worship are:—Chet, pilgrimages to Bawan and Jawálaji in Kángṛa.

Bhádon and Asauj, pilgrimages to the shrines of Narsingh, Hari-har, Lakshmi Devi, Ganesh, Kailung—all in Brahmaur; and in Bhádon only, as a rule, to Mani Mahesha. Shiva is not worshipped at any particular season.

The low-castes in Brahmaur are chiefly Hális, Kolís, Lohárs and Rihárás, with a few Sippis and Bádhis. All these are described in their proper places. An obscure group is the Baráru, sometimes called Bháts, who are described as Gaddis, and hold among them the same position as Brahmans do among other Hindus. The name appears to be connected with *barári*, a thorny shrub.

The Gaddi salutations are as follows:—Among Brahmans, *namaskár*.; to Brahmans from others, *pairi pauna* to which they reply *asír bachan*. Rájputs give *jai jai* to one another and receive it from those beneath them; responding with *rám rám*. Khatrís, Thákurs and Rathís offer *luárki* to one another and receive it from the low-castes, giving in reply *rám rám*.

Gadger, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Gadgor, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gadha (?) shepherd, cowherd; also called *rawánrí* in Pesháwar.

Gadhi, a term of contempt said to be applied by Nihangs (Akálís) to those who smoke.

Gadhiok, a tribe small in numbers, but intelligent and enterprising, found in a few villages of the Central Salt Range. Their traditions assert that their ancestor Mahta Chandú Rai came from Mathrá to Delhi and entered the Mughal service under Bábar, who employed him with Rája Mal Janjúa to drain the eastern Dhanní tract in the Salt Range. Gharka Kassar and Sidhar Manhás afterwards aided them to colonise the tract, and Bábar granted Chandú Rai a percentage in the revenue of the Dhanní and other tracts in the Salt Range. Humáyún granted Kálí or Kálik Dás, son of Chandú Rai, a *sanad* * (dated 1554) of 30,000 *tankás* for the improvement of the Kahún tract and the family also received *sanads* from Akbar and Aurangzeb. In the latter's reign one branch of the tribe was converted to Islám, but most of its members are still Hindus. Gadhiok is said to be a corruption of *gaddi-hok*, on its ancestors having presented 31 *gaddís* at a *hukái* (the announcement of the presents brought at a wedding). The Gadhiok usually marry among themselves, but some intermarry with Khatrís of the Bárí group, though never with Bunjáhís. In neither case is widow marriage allowed. Their Brahmans are of the Naulí *got* and at a boy's *munnan* or head-shaving the father or head of the family himself decapitates a goat with a sword and gives the head, feet and skin to the Naule *parohits* of the tribe, though they do not eat flesh and other Brahmans would not touch such offerings. The skin, etc., are sold. A similar observance is in vogue at the *janeo* investiture. Gadhioks eat flesh at weddings, a usage contrary to local Hindu custom. At the *munnan* of a first-born son the custom found among some other Khatrís is followed and the mother flees to the house of a neighbour who plays the part of her parents. Her husband would bring her back again, and remarry her by the *dukája* or 'second wedding' which costs about half as much as the first. Gadhioks avoid touching weighing scales,† at least in theory, and also usury, but one or two families, not admitted to be descendants of Kálí Dás or true Gadhioks, have no such scruple. No Gadhiok will wash, set out on a journey or begin a new task on a Thursday—the day on which their ancestor left his original home. Hindu Gadhioks eat and drink with Khatrís: Muhammadans with any Muhammadan save a Mochí or Musallí. The latter style themselves Shaikh: while the Hindus generally use the title of Mahta, but the family of Dalwál is styled Díwán, Múlráj, one of its members having been governor of Hazára under the Sikhs. The *samádh* of Kálí Dás is a conspicuous object at Kallar Kahár. The Gadhioks have many *kabits*, apparently in a down-country dialect, and now claim Rájput origin or status, but they are probably of Khatrí extraction as their intermarriage with that caste shows.

Gádí, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur: see also under Gaṛṛi.

Gadún, or Jadún, as they are called indifferently, are a tribe of Paṭháns found in Hazára and in Attock. They claim descent from

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* This *sanad* contains a reference to the Bágh-i-Safá established at Kallar Kahár by Bábar and mentioned in his *Memoirs*.

† Implying that retail trade is considered derogatory.

Sarhang, a great-grandson of Ghurghusht, two of whose sons fled, they say, because of a blood feud to the mountains of Chach and Hazára. It is almost certain that the Jadún are not of Indian origin; though it has been suggested that in their name is preserved the name of Jádu or Yádu, the founder of the Rájput Yádúbansi dynasty, many of whose descendants migrated from Guzerát some 1,100 years before Christ, and were afterwards supposed to be found in the hills of Kábul and Kandáhar. They occupy all the south-eastern portion of the territory between the Peshávar and Hazára borders, and the southern slopes of Mahában, having been assigned their present lands in the eastern Sama after Malik Ahmad and the Kashi chiefs of the Afgháns had defeated the Dilazák. And when Jahángír finally crushed the Dilazák, they spread up the Dor valley as high as Abbottábád. Early in the 18th century, on the expulsion of the Karlugh Turks by Saiyid Jalál Bába they appropriated the country about Dhamtaur; and about a hundred years later they took the Bagra tract from the few remaining Dilazák who held it, while shortly before the Sikhs took the country their Hassazai clan deprived the Karrál of a portion of the Nilán valley. They are divided into three main clans, Sálár, Mansúr, and Hassanzai, of which the last is not represented among the trans-Indus Jadún and has lost all connection with the parent tribe, having even forgotten its old Pashtu language. Bellew made them a Gakkhar clan, but this appears to be quite incorrect. The true Paṭháns of Hazára call them *mlátar* or mercenaries, from the Pashtu equivalent for *lakban* or "one who girds his loins". In Hazára a Sálár occupy the Rajoia plain; the Mansúr are found in Mangal and in and round Nawanshahr; while the Hassanzais reside in Dhamtaur and the adjacent villages, and in the Mangal and Bagra tracts. The two former tribes keep up a slight connection with the Paṭháns to the west of the Indus, and a few can still speak Pashtu. After they had obtained a footing to the east of the Indus, in Hazára, these three tribes elected a Hassanzai of Dhamtaur to the *khán*-ship, and his son succeeded him, but the chiefship is now in abeyance, though the family is still looked up to. In this part the Durráni rule was quite nominal and the Jadúns of Hazára only paid them a horse, a falcon or two and a small sum of money as tribute.

Gadwár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gag, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gagí, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Ágra, a small caste, for the most part Mussalmán, and chiefly found in the central districts. They wander about catching and eating vermin, but their hereditary occupation is that of catching, keeping, and applying leeches; and they are often called Jukera, from *jonk*, a 'leech.' They also make matting and generally work in grass and straw, and in some parts the coarse sacking used for bags for pack animals and similar purposes is said to be made almost entirely by them. The Muhammadan Gágras marry by *nikáh.* They seem to fulfil some sort of functions at weddings, and are said to receive fees on those occasions. It is said that they worship Bála Sháh, the Chúhṛa *guru.* Also called Gágri or Gegri and Jokharu.

Gágrah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gagrel, a Muhammadan Nai converted from Hinduism, in Karnál.

Gáhi, see under Ghái.

Gakkhaṛ, an important Muhammadan tribe, found in Jhelum, Ráwalpindi and Hazára. Regarding the Gakkhaṛs in the first-named district Mr. W. S. Talbot writes :—

"The Gakkhaṛs, though not numerically important, are in other respects one of the most prominent tribes in the Jhelum district, and in social position amongst the Musalmáns of the tract share with the Janjúá the honour of the first place : in popular estimation indeed they seem to rank a little higher than even the Janjúás. They are almost entirely confined in this district to the Jhelum tahsíl, where they hold the bulk of the Khuddar circle, with a good many villages in the Maidán : elsewhere they are found in any numbers only in the Ráwalpindi and Hazára districts.

Origin.—Of the history and origin of this tribe much has been written : the earliest suggestion, that of General Court, that the name of the Gakkhaṛs points to their descent from the Greeks, has not found later supporters : though it has now been adopted and improved upon by some of the present representatives of the tribe, who claim descent from Alexander himself ! Mr. A. Brandreth * adopted the local tradition, that the Gakkhaṛs 'came from Persia through Kashmír,' which is still the claim of the majority of the Gakkhaṛs themselves. The views of General Cunningham are set forth at length in his Archæological Survey Reports, II, pp. 22 to 33, to which the curious must be referred for the detailed reasons on which he bases his conclusion, that the Gakkhaṛs represent the 'savage Gargaridae' of Dionysius the Geographer, (who wrote probably in the 4th Century A. D.), and are descendants of the great Yuechi Scythians, who entered India from the North-West in the early centuries of the Christian era. Sir Denzil Ibbetson † notices with approval Mr. Thomson's comment ‡ on Cunningham's theory ; 'though the Turanian origin of the Gakkhaṛs is highly probable, yet the rest of the theory is merely a plausible surmise. On the whole there seems to be little use in going beyond the sober narrative of Ferishta, who represents the Gakkhaṛs as a brave and savage race, living mostly in the hills, with little or no religion, and much given to polyandry and infanticide.'

As already indicated, the story of most of the Gakkhaṛs is that they are descended from Kaigohar or Kaigwár Sháh, of the Kaiání§ family once reigning in Ispahán : that they conquered Kashmír and Tibet, and ruled those countries for many generations, but were eventually driven back to Kábul whence they entered the Punjab in company with Mahmúd Ghaznavi early in the 11th Century : this story is rejected by Ibbetson,

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* Jhelum Settlement Report, § 48.

† Punjab Census Report, 1881, § 463.

‡ § 57, Jhelum Settlement Report.

§ It is not possible to obtain satisfactory information regarding this word. The city of Kayán was the capital of Kai Kayús, Kai Kubád, and Kai Khasru ; and some say that the Gakkhaṛs call themselves Kayání because they claim descent from these three kings. Others say that the Mughals proper, and especially the Chughattas and Qizilbáshes, are Kayánís ; and that the Gakkhaṛs call themselves Kanáni or Canaanites because they claim descent from Jacob and Joseph who lived in Canaan ; and that it is this word which has been misread Kayání.

because on Ferishta's showing a Gakkhaṛ army resisted Mahmúd: and that it is at any rate certain that they held their present possessions long before the Muhammadan invasion of India: on the other side it will be of interest to notice briefly below the contentions of the most prominent member of the tribe of the present time, the late Khán Bahádur Rájá Jahándád Khán, E. A. C., who has made a most painstaking study of the original authorities: it must be noted, however, that, particularly in the exactness of the references to the authorities cited by him, there is something wanting, owing to his omission to supply further information asked for: his views are as follows:—

All the historians before the time of Ferishta agree that the Khokhars, not the Gakkhaṛs, killed Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori. Ferishta certainly confused these two tribes, in other cases: thus he frequently refers to Shekha and Jasrat as Gakkhaṛ chiefs; there are no such names in the Gakkhaṛ tree, whereas Shekha and Jasrat appear as father and son in the genealogy of the Khokhars: see tree given in the vernacular settlement report of the Gujrát district, by Mirza Azim Beg, 1865. (*Tabaqát-i-Akbari*, pp. 18, 19, 127, 147 and 600; *Rauzat-ut-Táhirín*, Elliot, I, p. 301; *Muntakhib-ut-Tawáríkh*, p. 18; Ibn-i-Asír, Elliot, II, p. 433; *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 123-4, etc.)

Ferishta's account of the Gakkhaṛs as a tribe of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality, practising polyandry and infanticide, is a literal translation from the Arabic of Ibn-i-Asír, an earlier historian, who was there, however, writing of the wild tribes in the hills to the west of Peshawar, and not of the Gakkhaṛs: the chapter in Ibn-i-Asír immediately following deals with the murder of Shaháb-ud-dín by the Gakkhaṛs: hence perhaps the mistake; or Ferishta may have borne a grudge against the Gakkhaṛs, who are said by him to have maltreated an ancestor of his own named Hindu Sháh. (Ibn-i-Asír, p. 82, Elliot, XII, Ferishta, p. 159).

Gakkhaṛ Sháh, *alias* Kaigwár Sháh, is mentioned as one of the principal followers of Mahmúd of Ghazni. (*Iqbálnáma-i-Jahángíri*, p. 109; *Akbar Náma*, p. 242).

The use of the Hindu title of "Rájá" has been taken as evidence that the Gakkhaṛ story of their origin is incorrect; but up to comparatively recent times the Gakkhaṛ chiefs used the title of Sultán. Some *sanads* of the Mughal emperors are cited, and other evidence, but the references need not be given, as it is certain that the title of Sultán was formerly used by this tribe.

In La Perron's *History of the Pársis*,* p. 27, it is said that a migration of Persians to China, under a son of Yazdezard, took place in the 7th century: it is suggested that this was the occasion when the ancestors of the tribe settled in Tibet: an old M.S. pedigree-table produced shows a Sultán Yazdajar some 45 generations back.

An officer who knew the Gakkhaṛs well wrote of them: 'Some of their principal men are very gentlemanly in their bearing, and show unmistakably their high origin and breeding': another says: 'They are essentially the gentlemen and aristocracy of the (Ráwalpindi) district: . . . The Gakkhaṛs still bear many traces of their high descent in their bearing, and in the estimation in which they are held

* Vol. I, Karaka, 1884, citing the *Zend Avesta*, I, cccxxxvi.

throughout the district.' Mr. Thomson wrote of them: 'Physically the Gakkhaṛs are not a large-limbed race, but they are compact, sinewy, and vigorous. They make capital soldiers, and it has been stated on good authority that they are the best light cavalry in Upper India. They are often proud and self-respecting, and sometimes exceedingly well-mannered.' All this does them no more than justice; and to anyone who knows them well, the statement that as late as the 13th century they were wild barbarians, without religion or morality, is in itself almost incredible. Rájá Jahándád Khán seems to have succeeded in tracing the libel to its origin: he shows also that they have sometimes been confused with the Khokhars;* but it cannot be said that his arguments in favour of their Persian origin are very convincing: in the matter of the assassination of Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori, the historians who state that he was killed by the Gakkhaṛs at Dhamiak in this district are supported by a strong local tradition.

Clans and Maṇḍis.—The Gakkhaṛs have split into many branches, of which the most important in this district are the Admál, the Iskandrál and the Bugiál, who occupy most of the Khuddar circle: a smaller clan named Firozál hold a few villages close to Jhelum: and a still smaller branch, the Tuliál (which is little esteemed, and with which the other clans do not intermarry), has four or five estates on the river near Dína. The clan-names are in all cases derived from those of the common ancestors: the principal seats or mother villages of each branch are called Maṇḍis, of which there are six generally recognised in the Jhelum district: Sultánpur (Admál); Lehrí and Bakrála (Iskandrál); Domeli, Padhrí, and Baragowáh (Bugiál): Bheth and Salihál, formerly flourishing *maṇḍis* of the Bugiál, are now decayed.

Character.—Regarding the character of the Gakkhaṛs there is not much to add to what has already been said: pride of race is very strong in them, and though they make good soldiers, they are bad farmers: and where they have not fallen back on Government service, they are almost always in a most unprosperous condition, being much wanting in industry and thrift: their most unpleasing characteristic is their intense jealousy of one another, which leads to bitter feuds, and sometimes to murder.

History.—The first settlement of the tribe in this district is generally admitted to be Abriám in Sultánpur, under the Lehrí hills: thence they spread over the Khuddar, southwards towards the river, and as far as Landi Patti to the west, being constantly opposed by the Janjúás who were almost invariably defeated and ejected: in his first invasion of India Bábar took the part of the Janjúás, and with them defeated Hátí Khán, the great Gakkhaṛ chief of Pharwála, but in a subsequent invasion made friends with the Gakkhaṛs and procured from them an auxiliary force. When Bábar's son, Humáyún, was in A. D. 1542 ousted by Sher Sháh, the principal Gakkhaṛ chiefs took the side of the exile: to bridle their pride Sher Sháh built the huge fort of Rohtás, about ten miles from Jhelum: and in the constant warfare that followed the Gakkhaṛ country was terribly harried, but the tribe was never subdued, and on Humáyún's return to power began to grow powerful.

* See also an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, 'The Khokhars and the Gakkhaṛs in Punjab History' by H. A. Rose, I.C.S

Their subsequent history until the rise of "Sultán" Muqarrab Khán, about 1740 A. D., chiefly concerns other districts: he was an Admál chief of the Ráwalpindi district; and claimed to rule the whole of the tract from Attock to the Chenáb; the Domeli Bugiáls however did not acknowledge his pretensions, and on his defeat by the Sikhs at Gujrát, they at once rebelled, captured Muqarrab Khán and murdered him. The usual internecine feuds then arose, and the different clans fell in turn an easy prey to the Sikhs, though the eastern hill *mandís* were never thoroughly subdued, and were in constant rebellion until the beginning of the British rule: in 1849 the Gakkhars nearly all took the losing side, and therefore forfeited much of their possessions and dignities, falling on evil days, from which they have only extricated themselves by the readiness with which they have since taken employment under Government."*

In Hazára the Gakkhars have had a still more chequered history. Descended from Fateh Khán, founder of Khánpur, to whom the hills of Khánpur as well as those of the Karrál and Dhúnd were entrusted by his grandfather Sultán Sarang Khán about the end of the 16th century, the Ghakkars could not keep the Karrál and Dhúnd tribes under control during the decline of the Mughal dynasty. Under Durráni rule however they were given charge of the lower parts of Hazára, their chief Sultán Jáfar Khán being famous for his uprightness. But Sirdár Hari Singh drove them from their lands and they were not reinstated till 1868-72, when they recovered almost the whole of the Khánpur tract.

Gajjá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Gal, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán.

Galbáhá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Galhár, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Galwatrah, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gandapur: A Pathán tribe of Ushtaráni (Saiyid) extraction. Besides the original stock they include by affiliation some offshoots of the Shiráni, the Múshezai section of the Ghurghushti Patháns, and the Ránizai section of the Yúsufzai tribe. They hold the whole of the north-western part of trans-Indus Dera Ismáíl east of Tánk and south of the Níla Koh ridge of the Salt Range, comprising an area of 460 square miles, abutting on the Sulaimáns to the west; and the town of Kuláchi is their headquarters. They were originally a poor *pawindah* and pastoral tribe, but they now cultivate more largely than any other Dera Ismáíl Patháns. They reached the height of their prosperity about the middle of the 18th century, but lost their eastern possessions some seventy years later, they being confiscated by Nawáb Muhammad Khán, the Saddozai governor of Leiah. They still engage in the *pawindah* traffic. They are lawless, brutal and uncivilised; and their hereditary Khán has but little power. Mr. St. George Tucker thus described their sections:—

"The Gandapurs profess to be all descended from one or two original ancestors, but there is no doubt, as in most similar cases, that other

* Further information will be found in Mr. Brandreth's *Jhelum Settlement Report*, 1865, §§ 55 to 58; Mr. Thomson's *Settlement Report*, 1883, § 57; and in *Punjab Government Selections, New Series, No. XXIII*, 1887.

tribes and families have been associated with them from time to time, who all claim now to be of the original stock. They are divided into six main divisions or *nallahs* (valleys*). Most of these *nallahs* have a single generic name, covering all the men of that *nallah*; but there are also joint *nallahs*, in which two altogether distinct sections are combined, each having a generic name of its own. The hereditary chiefship rested at first with the Brahímzai *nallah*, but the Brahímzais having been very much weakened by losses in a fight against the Bábars, the chiefship was transferred some 200 years ago to the Hamránzai, who have retained it ever since. Azád Khán was the first Hamránzai Khán. It was in his time that the Gandapurs seized Takwára from the Dríkhels. Kuláchi was soon afterwards settled by fugitive Baloch from Dera Fateh Khán, from whom it obtained its name. These eventually returned to their own country, and Kuláchi became the head town of the Gandapurs".

Gandhi, a Jáṭ tribe, which seems to be chiefly found in the same tract with the Mángat.

Gaṇdhílá, fem. -aṇ, a low vagrant tribe, said by Elliott to be "a few degrees more respectable than the Báwarias," though in the Punjab their positions are perhaps reversed. They wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, beg, work in grass and straw, catch quails, clean and sharpen knives and swords, cut wood, and generally do odd jobs. They are said to eat tortoises and vermin. They also keep donkeys, and even engage in trade in a small way. It is said that in some parts they lead about performing bears; but this is doubtful. They have curious traditions which are reported from distant parts of the Province, regarding a kingdom which the tribe once possessed, and which they seem inclined to place beyond the Indus. They say they are under a vow not to wear shoes or turbans till their possessions are restored to them.

Gandu, a small Jáṭ clan found in Jínd. It has *bakhúás* at Mádpur, and at these it worships its *jatheras* at weddings and on the Diwáli.

Gándí, one who extracts and sells otto (*itr*), whereas the *atár* makes *'arak* not *itr*.

Gandia, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Dera Ghází Khán. Like the Chándia Baloch they present offerings to the descendants of Shámji, though Muhammadans, and are also called Rang Rangia. See under Gosain and Chhabihwála.

Gang, a tribe which, like the Munds, is generally reckoned as Awán, though the leaders of the admittedly Awáns do not allow the claim. It is surrounded by Awáns on all sides and may be an affiliated clan (see *Jhelum Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 101).

Gáṇgah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gaṇgo, an Aráin clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Gangushahí.—A Sikh sect, founded by Gangú or Gangadás, a Basí Khatri of Gaṛhshankar. Sikh history relates that he presented four pice weight of *guṛ*—all his worldly wealth—to his Gurú, Amardás, and was sent to preach in the hill country. He founded a shrine at Daun near Kharar, and his great-grandson, Jowáhir Singh, founded one of still greater fame at Khatkar Kalán in Jullundur. Mahí Bhagat of

* *Cf.* the *thoks* among the Meos.

Mahísar was another celebrated leader of this sect. The Gangusháhís possess Guru Amar Dás' bed and having refused initiation from Gurú Govind Singh were excommunicated by him.*

GANJ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GANJ-BAKHSHI.—A Sikh sect, few in numbers, of which nothing is known,† except that Ganj-bakhsh was a *faqír* of Gurdáspur who received a blessing from Gurú Amar Dás‡.

GANWÁN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GANWANEṆ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GANWEN, a Jáṭ clan found in the centre of Shujábád tahsil, Multán district, where they settled from Delhi in Maghal times.

GÁNWARÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GÁR OR GÁRH AND SÁMAL OR SÁMIL.—The two factions into which the Paṭháns and other tribes of the North-West Frontier were, and to some extent still are, divided. Many legends designed to explain the origin of these factions are current. When Ṛájá, runs an old tradition, ruled in the modern North-West Frontier Province his *wazír* Gomal governed Balochistán as far as Wazíristán as his viceroy. Gomal had two nephews, Sámal and Gárh, between whom the country was divided. Hence Sámal comprises the Spín and Tor *gund* tribes bordering on Khost in Afghánístán, and the Zakká Khel, Aka Khel, Sih Pai, Qamrai, the Tamam Khatak of Tíráh, the Afrídi country, and generally speaking all the tribes of the Kohát and Bannu districts. Gár or Gárh comprises the Qamar Khel, Kúki Khel, Adi Khel, Aya Khel, and many villages of the Orakzai, Músázai, Múla Khel, Mushtai, Bazotai, Alisherzai, etc. According to Cockerell these factions are not now of much importance, having been superseded by the more rabid enmity between Sunni and Shi'a, but Major James writing in 1870 described the feud between them as still very strong and bitter and merely supplemented by that between the two sects. He assigned to the Sámil half the Orakzai and Bangash, the Mohmand, Malik-dín Khel, Sipáh (Sih Pai) and Kamr, with the Zakká, Aká and Adam Khels of the Afridis, and to the Gár the rest of the Orakzai and Bangash and the Khalíl, with the Kúki and Qambar Khels of the Afrídis. The tradition, accepted by Ibbetson, that the factions originated in the fratricidal enmity of the two sons of the ancestor of the Bangash, who were called Bun-kash or 'root-destroyers' on that account, derives support from the fact that the two great branches of the Bangash are called Gári and Sámilzai, but how the feud spread as far north as the Mohmands and Khalíls does not appear.

GÁRÁ, Gaṛṛá, a term applied to any *doghlá*, or person whose parents were of different castes, in the Hill States, especially to the issue of a Muhammadan Rájput by a wife of another caste. [? whether=*garrí* of Jammú] (2). A village of Gauṛ Brahmans converted to Muhammadanism

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* Maclagan, § 97.

† Murray's *History of the Punjab*, I, p. 121.

‡ Maclagan, § 98. Another Ganjbakhsh, a Muhammadan, has a shrine outside the Bháṭí Gate at Lahore.

in Gurgáon call themselves Gaur Shaikhs but are styled Gáṛá by their neighbours, and a proverb says :—

Khet meṇ jáṛá gánw meṇ Gáṛá,

"As coarse grass tends to spread in the field, so a Gáṛá tries to convert his fellows."

(3). In Karnál the descendant of a Rájput by a widow (of his own or any other caste) married by *karewa* is called Gáṛá.

Garalwál, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gardezi, a branch of the Husaini Sayyids, also called Bághdádi. They once owned a large part of the Sarai Sidhu tahsil of Multán. The Zaidís are an offshoot of the Gardezís. (*See The Races of the N.-W. P. of India*, Vol. I, p. 125).

Gaṛeí, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Garewál, an important Jáṭ tribe in Ludhiána, which claims to be of *sáú* or gentle status. Hindu Garewál are also found in Montgomery.

Garh, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Garhár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Garhwí, a non-Paṭhán tribe which with the Torwáls holds the Swát Kohistán. The Garhwís speak a language of their own called Garhwí. See under Torwál.

Garno, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gaṛṛi, or Gáḍi, a small class of milkmen and cultivators in Karnál, known as Gaḍḍi in Delhi.

Gárrí, a low caste of strolling actors and mountebanks, mostly Hindu who have their head-quarters in Jammu but are not infrequently found in the Bajwát, or plain country under the Jammu hills, in Siálkoṭ. According to Sir Dunlop Smith the Gárrís are perhaps hardly 'actors' or 'mountebanks,' but rather wandering minstrels like the Mírásís, only they do not keep to one place like the latter. They stroll about in very small bands and do not visit the Punjab proper. They generally visit the Rájput villages in the Siálkoṭ and Zaffarwal tahsils about the time of the *kharíf* harvest, very rarely at the *rabi*. They say they are Hindus, but their standing is low and their religious beliefs are hazy. They invariably have a zither-like instrument called a *king*. They speak the Dogar dialect, which the Jáṭs do not understand, and their songs generally relate to a great ancestress, the recital of whose history is said to have a wonderful effect on the women. They occasionally dance to their own singing. They are not at all, criminal, and their women are fairly respectable. They marry within the tribe only.

Gat, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Gatab, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gathwálá (from *gatha*, a burden). A Jáṭ tribe, once carriers by trade. It holds 10 villages in tahsil Jínd, whither they migrated from Húláná, a village in the Gohána tahsil of Rohtak. They have Bairágis as their *jatheras*.

Gathánah, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GAUR, a variant of Gávr or Gabr, 'unbeliever' among the Baloch. The Gaur gave their name to the town of Gauráni (Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, p. 163). *Cf.* also Gibari and Gabr.

GAUṚ, a group of the Brahmans, confined almost entirely to the eastern districts, the Punjab Himalayas and the sub-montane as far west as Gujrát. The Gauṛs are generally divided into two classes, *adh-* or pure Gauṛs, and *gattas* who are of illegitimate descent. In the Delhi territory the latter class appears to be called DHARUKRA or Doghla. In Sirmúr State the *adh*-Gauṛs are said not to intermarry with the *gattas*. The *adh*-Gauṛs are themselves sub-divided into *chiṭṭi* and *káli kanthi-wálás*, or 'wearers of white and black rosaries,' a division which is undoubtedly sectarian. Trans-Giri in this State the highest section of the Brahmans (and apparently Gauṛs) is the Pabuch which does not intermarry with the Bháṭs though its members may eat food cooked by Bháṭ girls, yet may not eat it if cooked by a Pabuch. On the other hand a Pabuch may not eat food cooked by a girl of his own section if she has been married to a Bháṭ. The Pabuch refrain from killing any animal and from eating flesh.

The Gauṛs are divided into 36 *sásans** or sections which appear to be exogamous, and every Brahman group similarly divided, as are the ḌAKAUTS, may be taken to be of Gauṛ origin. It is not at all improbable that the *Khandiwál* Brahmans are also a branch of the Gauṛs.†

The TAGAS of Karnál are certainly Gauṛs who have taken to cultivation, and so apparently are the criminal Tágus also.

The Gauṛs of Hissár say they came originally from Bengal, but more probably they came as *parohits* or family priests of the various immigrant tribes among whom they are settled.‡ As elsewhere they are fed on the 13th day after death, but will not take offerings of black colour (*kâlá dán*), nor those made at eclipses (*grahn ká dán*) or on a Saturday. They will however accept offerings not only from agricultural tribes but also from Khátís, Kumhárs, Lohárs, Náís, Bairágís and Jogis, though not from Chúhṛás or Chamárs. The great majority of them have, like the Sársut, adopted agriculture and are not directly engaged in religious functions. The Gauṛ is held in peculiarly low estimation by the people, apart from his religious status. See also Gautam.

GAUṚWÁH—(Gauṛai or Gaulai appears to be a synonym in Gurgáon)—a term applied generally to any Rájputs, who have lost rank by practising *karewa*.§ In Delhi however they form a distinct clan, and though both they and the Chauhán permit widow remarriage, they are looked upon as a separate tribe. They are described as noisy and quarrelsome, but

* The term *sásan* means originally a grant of land and is still used in that sense in Chamba (*Gazetteer*, p. 131), and in Mandi (*Gazetteer*, p. 20). The process by which the term *sásan* came to mean a section of a caste is obscure. The Brahminical *gotras* are of course still preserved by the Gauṛ and appear to cross-divide the *sásans*. Both *sásans* and *gotras* are further sub divided into countless *als*. Thus the Gauṛ 'sub-tribe' (*zát* or *ját*) contains an *al* called Indauria, 'from Indaur' who are by *gotra* Bháradwáj and *parohits* of the Lohán Jáṭs. The vagueness of the Brahmans in Gurgáon as to their *als* and *gots* is however astonishing: Gurgáon *Settlement Rep.*, 1872-83, p. 32.

† Hissár *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 78.

‡ *Cf.* the note on p. 310 *infra* where it is pointed out that Guḍa=Thánesar.

§ *Cf.* Gáṛá.

sturdy in build, and clannish in disposition—in contrast to the Chauhán. In Gurgáon they are confined almost wholly to the Palwal tahsil; a few are Muhammadans, but the majority are Hindus.

GAUTAM(A), a *zát* or group of Brahmans owning a few villages in Gurgáon, where they are represented by a single *got*, the Maithal, which has 52 *als*. The Gautam appears to rank below the Gauṛ, for the latter will smoke from the same *huqqa* as a Gauṛ, but in smoking with a Gautam or Chaurásia will remove the mouthpiece and use his hand in its stead. Gaùṛs too will drink from a Gautam's brass vessel, but not from his earthenware, whereas, they say, a Gautam will drink from a Gauṛ's. But the Gautams deny this.

GAWÁR, see Gwár. Also a rustic, a clown, an ignorant person: fem. -ní. *Punjábi Dicty.*, p. 375.

GAWARIA, a small Jáṭ *got* (? from *gai*, cow), found in tahsil Jínd.

GAWÁSÍ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GÁZAR,=Dhobi.

GAZDÁR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GAZZI, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GEDRI, see under Gidri.

GEGÍ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GEHLAN, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GELAN, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán; (2) an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GELUKPÁ, 'virtuous ones,' a Buddhist order founded about A. D. 1420 by Tsonkhapa, the first Grand Láma of Gahldan, and now found chiefly in Tibet, where both the Dalai and Tashi Lámas belong to it. The monks are bound to celibacy, and certainly refrain from marriage, though in the years of their novitiate they are said to be by no means immaculate. Their outward mark is a yellow cap.

The founder Tsonkhapa belonged to a school of reformers of whom Bromston (pron. Tomton) is the best known (circ. 1150). Bromston lived in the Ki monastery and the tradition of his residence there was preserved till the time of Csoma de Kosroes, about 1820, but it was lost during the Dogra War in 1842. Mr. Francke thinks that de Kosroes rightly identified Ki with the celebrated Hons of Rvasgengs (pron. Ráreng). Bromston's name is preserved in Bromston-chu (Tomton-chu) and Bromstonsna, 'the stream and rock of Bromston' near Ki. He apparently founded the Kadempa sect in the Ráreng monastery and either there or at Ki Tsonkhapa studied his works* and inaugurated a new reformation. His object was to restore the ancient Buddhist faith and purify it from Tantraism. His brethren were to be celibates and use no wine. He even attempted to restore the priestly garb of the ancient Indo-Buddhist church, and to this day the Gelukpa novices (*yetshul*) wear nothing but yellow, at least in Spiti: but Lámáism as usual proved too strong and though probably the dress of the whole community was yellow the distinctive colour

* Tsongkhapa eliminated the *rgiút*, the Sanskrit *Tantra* from the Kagiúr, whereas the Hingmapa still accept it.

is now red, but a fully initiated brother (*gelang*) still wears yellow in his cap and girdle, and on high festivals monks of high degree wear yellow silk coats underneath their red shawls. To some extent Tsonkhapa's reforms produced a higher moral standard, and the Gelukpas are in name celibate everywhere, though probably not proof against temptation in the polyandrous homes where their summers are spent. In Spiti they do not even profess to be teetotalers. The Ki, Lhao(ṭ)pai Gonpa near Dankhar, and Tábo monasteries in Spiti belong to this order, and Ki keeps up an intimate connexion with Tibet, those of its monks who aspire to high rank being obliged to qualify at the dGuvai Khamszan monastery in Tashi Lunpo near Shigatze which is ruled by the Panchan Láma, the acknowledged head of the order.

GENDAS, a small Jáṭ tribe or *got* found in tahsils Sangrúr and Dádri of Jínd. Its name is said to be derived either from *gandása*, an axe, or Gendwás, a village in tahsil Hissár.

GHAG, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GHAGAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHAGRAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHAGHREL, a woman who wears a petticoat, a respectable woman. But *cf.* Gagrel.

GHÁI, GÁHI, a caste of grass-cutters found in Kángṛa Proper and in Núrpur, where they also ply rafts and skins on the Beas. Apparently also called GHÁSÍ.

GHALLU, a tribe found in the south-west corner of the Multán district since the *Aín-i-Akbari* was compiled. It is also numerous in the *kárdáris* of Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur of Baháwalpur State, as especially in the *peshkári* of Uch. Its eponym was a Hindu Ráth (Rájput), converted to Islám by Makhdúm Jahánián. From his seven sons sprang as many septs, *viz.*, the Hanbírpotre, Ghanúnpotre, Dipál, Jháubu, Kúrpál, Kánji and Gujj. The Ghallus in Baháwalpur are both land-owners and cultivators and their tenants and servants are the Ghuláms, once their slaves, a small tribe of unknown origin.

GHALO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHALO KANJANARAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHALOWAKNÚN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHAMAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GHAMÁN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GHAMÁR, -YÁR, -IÁR, fem. -ÁRÍ, etc., GHUMÁR, fem. -Í, -NÍ, see *Kumhár.*

GHAMBYE, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

GHAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

GHANERA, a clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

GHANGHAS, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Karnál. It is also found in Jínd tahsíl. Folk-etymology derives its name from the tale that its eponym once asked a smith for an axe, but got instead a *ghan* (sledge-hammer) which he was told to shape into an axe by rubbing (*ghisná*) it.

GHANGHRA, a Hindu Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GHANIERE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GHAṚÁMÍ, a thatcher, a maker of lattice work. The Ghaṛámis form a small caste, probably distinct from the Jhínwars, and work in grass, etc.

GHARÁṬÍÁ, a miller, also GHUR-.

GHARHANA, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

GHARIÁLÁ, a moulder.

GHAṚIÁLI(A), fem. -AN, one whose business it is to strike the hour on a gong (*ghaṛiál*).

GHARSHÍN, in Pashto originally Kharsín, a tribe of Sayyids affiliated to the Miánas but resident among the Ushtarána Shiránís. Its progenitor, surnamed the Gharshín,* belonged to the same family as the Sayyids of Uch, and it furnished more than one saint to the Afghâns. Malik Yár Parán, a contemporary of Ghiás-ud-dín, Balban, was a Gharshín, and others are found near Kandahár, among the Kákaṛ and Músá Khel Panni Paṭháns and in Uch and other places in Baháwalpur.

GHARWÁL, a tribe of Rájputs, found in the upper part of Kahúta, in Ráwalpindi. They claim descent from one Pír Kálá, a son of Rájá Mall (ancestor of the Janjúás). He married Kaho Ráni when he came to those hills, and named the *ilága* in which he settled Kahrú after her. Hence his descendants were called Kahrwál or Gharwál. The tribe is numerous and important, living in a picturesque country. The Dulál is a branch of this tribe.

GHÁSÍ, fem. -AR: also *ghássí*, a grass-cutter, in Multán; the term is also used in the hills. *Cf. ghasiárá*, fem. -í, -aṇ, a grass-cutter. Neither appear to form distinct castes.

GHATTÚ, a Muhammadan Ját clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GHAṬWÁL, one of the Ját tribes of the South-East Punjab. They trace their origin from Garh Ghazni, and place that city in the Deccan and not in Afghánistán. They claim descent from Saroha Rájputs. Their headquarters are at Ahulána in the Gohána tahsil of Rohtak, and they occupy the country between it and the Jumna, being numerous in the north of Delhi and to the south of Karnál. Ahulána is said to have been founded 22 generations ago, and gives its name to the Haulánia faction. The Ghaṭwál are often called *malak*, a title they are said to have obtained as follows:—

"In the old days of Rájput ascendancy the Rájputs would not allow Játs to cover their heads with a turban, nor to wear any red clothes, nor to put a crown (*mor*) on the head of their bridegroom, or a jewel (*nat*) in their women's noses. They also used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rájputs will not allow inferior castes to wear red clothes or ample loin clothes in their villages. The Ghaṭwáls obtained some successes over the Rájputs, especially over the Mandahárs of the *doáb* near Deoban and Manglaur, and over those of the Bágar near Kálánaur and Dádri, and removed the obnoxious pro-

* The name is said to be derived from *ghar*, a mountain and *shín*, green or fruitful, because while residing about Bora and Peshín, two Sayyids, at the request of the herdsmen of the tribes, solicited divine aid to turn their bleak and rugged hills into grass-covered ranges.

hibitions. They thus acquired the title of *malak* (master) and a red turban as their distinguishing mark; and to this day a Jáṭ with a red *pagri* is most probably a Ghaṭwál."

Mr. Fanshawe says that the title is a mere nickname conferred by a *malik* or chief called Rái Sál; yet in Rohtak they appear generally to be called *malak* rather than Ghaṭwál.* In Jínd the Ghaṭwál reverence Bairágís as their *jatheras*. In Hissár the Brahmans of Depál are their *parohits* to this day, because their ancestor rescued the only surviving woman of the tribe, after the Rájputs of Kalánaur had blown up all the rest of the Ghaṭwáls, who had defeated them.

Ghaunrar, a sept of Rájputs, descended from Mián Bajokhaṛ, son of Saugar Chand, 16th Rájá of Kahlúr.

Ghazláni, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Gheba, a tribe of Rájput status in the Attock district. Tradition makes the Gheba, Siál and Tiwána descendants of Gheo, Saino and Teno, the three sons of Rái Shankar Punwár.† The Siál and Tiwána appear to admit the relationship, and it is not at all impossible that this group of Rájput tribes may be of Punwár origin. The Gheba are said to have come to the Panjab some time after the Siál and Tiwána, and to have settled in the wild hilly country of Fatahjang and Pindigheb in Attock. Here they held their own against the Awáns, Gakkhaṛs, and neighbouring tribes till Ranjít Singh subdued them. The Jodra are said to have come from Jammu, or according to another story from Hindustán, whence also Colonel Cracroft says that the Gheba traditions trace that tribe, and to have held their present tract before the Gheba settled alongside of them.‡ They now occupy the eastern half of the Pindigheb, and the Gheba the western half of the Fatahjang tahsil in Ráwalpindi, the two tracts marching with each other. The Gheba is also said to be in reality a branch of the original Jodra tribe that quarrelled with the others, and took the name of Gheba which till then had been simply a title used in the tribe; and the fact that the town of Pindigheb was built and is still held by the Jodra, and not by the Gheba, lends some support to the statement. The history of the Gheba family is told at pages 538 *ff.* of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs*. Colonel Cracroft described the Gheba as "a fine, hardy race of men, full of fire and energy, not addicted to crime, though their readiness to resent insult or injury, real or imagined, or to join in hand-to-hand fights for their rights in land, and their feuds with the Jodra and Alpiál are notorious."

Ghei, one who sells *ghi*: a section of the Khatrís.

Ghetal-panthi, -íá, one who has no religious guide, a bad man.

Gheye, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* There are in several parts of India, especially in Monghyr and its neighbourhood, tribes of low-class Rájputs called Ghatwál, who hold or held assignments of revenue on condition of defending the *gháts* or passes in the hills by which the hill tribes were wont to make predatory incursions into the plains below.

† An amended genealogy is given at page 520 of Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs*.

‡ But Cracroft also noted that other tales assign to the Ghebas the same origin as the Kheoras, now cultivators in the tract.

GHILZAI, GHALZAI, a tribe of the Matti branch of the Paṭháns, and till the rise of the Durráni power, the most famous of all the Afghán tribes. The official spelling of the name is Ghaleji at Kábul and Kandahár. They first rose into notice in the time of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, whom they accompanied in his invasions of India. Not long afterwards they conquered the tract between Jalálábád and Kelát-i-Ghilzai, and spread east and west over the country they now hold. In the beginning of the 18th century they revolted against their Persian rulers, established themselves under Mír Wais as independent rulers at Kandahár, and overran Persia. But a quarter of a century later they were reduced by Nádir Sháh, and their rule disappeared, to be succeeded not long after by that of the Durráni. They are of the same stock as the Isá Khel and Lodi Paṭháns, as the following pedigree table shows :—

- Qais-i-Abdur Rashíd or Shaikh Báiṭ.
  - Bíbí Máto × Sháh Husain, a Shansabáni Tájik of Ghor.
    - GHALZAI.
    - Ibrahím or Lodai.
      - Niází.
        - ISÁ KHEL.
      - Dotarní.
      - Siární.
        - Prangí.
        - Ismáil.
          - Mahpál.
          - Súr.
          - Núhární.
            - Mamá.
              - Yasín or Yúnas.
                - Daulat.
                - Hassan.
              - Haidar or Khizr.
              - Yakúb.
            - Mayal.
              - Isot or Sot.
              - Sin or Yasín.
            - Tator.
              - Aso.
              - Músá.
            - Shaikh or Patakh.
            - Hud.
            - Marwat.

Tradition derives the name Ghalzai from *ghalzoe*, the 'illicit (first-born) son' of Bíbí Máto by Sháh Husain, whom she afterwards married. Her descendants first dwelt in the Shílghaṛ territory, south of Ghazni, but when the Ghalzai became numerous, they drove the Niázís to the eastward, and the Andaṛ branch of the Ghilzais still hold Shílghaṛ. Other branches are the Hotak or Hotakí, Kharoṭi, Násir or Násirí, Sulimán Khán, Taraki and Tokli. Of these the Kharoṭi and Násir however do not appear to be true Ghilzais, but to be descendants of one of the several Turk tribes located on the western frontiers of the Ghazní kingdom, towards the Afghánistán, by the Turk feudatories under the Sámánis and the Turk Sultáns of Ghazní. The Hoṭaki is the royal

clan, and from it sprang the Háji, Wais,* and the Sultáns, Mahmúd, Ashraf and Husain. The Ghilzai are found almost exclusively as nomads in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab, and form with the Lodi Paṭháns the bulk of the PAWINDAH folk.

GHIRTH.—The Ghirths fill much the same position in Kángṛa proper and the hills below it as do the Kanets in the parts to the east. They correspond also to the Báhti in the eastern and the Cháng in the western portion of the lower ranges. All three intermarry freely, and were considered by Sir James Lyall as identical. The Ghirths of Kángṛa and Hoshiárpur were thus described by Barnes :—

"My previous remarks (see Ráthi) will have introduced the reader to the Ghirths. They form a considerable item in the population of these hills, and in actual numbers exceed any other individual caste. With the Ghirths I have associated the few Jáṭs that reside in this district, and the Chángs, which is only another name for Ghirths, prevalent about Harípur and Núrpur. They amount altogether to 111,507 souls. The Ghirths are sub-divided into numerous sects. There is a common saying that there are 360 varieties of rice, and that the sub-divisions of the Ghirths are equally extensive, the analogy arising from the Ghirths being the usual cultivators of rice. The Ghirths predominate in the valleys of Pálam, Kángṛa, and Rihlu. They are found again in the Hal Dún, or Harípur valley. These localities are the strongholds of the caste, although they are scattered elsewhere in every portion of the district, and generally possess the richest lands and the most open spots in the hills. The Ghirths belong to the Sudra division of Hindus, and this fact apparently accounts for the localities wherein they are found. The open valleys, although containing the finest lands, are also the only accessible portions of the hills. The more refined castes preferred the advantages of privacy and seclusion, although accompanied by a sterner soil and diminished returns. They abandoned the fertile valleys to less fastidious classes, whose women were not ashamed to be seen nor to work in the fields, and the men were not degraded by being pressed as porters.

The Ghirths are a most indefatigable and hard-working race. Their fertile lands yield double crops, and they are incessantly employed during the whole year in the various processes of agriculture. In addition to the cultivation of their fields, the Ghirth women carry wood, vegetables, mangoes, milk and other products to the markets for sale; many sit half the day wrangling with customers until their store is disposed of. The men are constantly seized for *begar*, or forced labour, to carry travellers' loads, or to assist in the various public buildings in course of construction. From these details it will be perceived that the Ghirths have no easy time of it, and their energies and powers of endurance must be most elastic to bear up against this incessant toil.

To look at their frames, they appear incapable of sustaining such fatigue. The men are short in stature, frequently disfigured by goitre (which equally affects both sexes), dark and sickly in complexion, and with little or no hair on their faces. Both men and women have coarse features, more resembling the Tartar physiognomy than any other type, and it is rare to see a handsome face, though sometimes the younger women may be called pretty. Both sexes are extremely addicted to spirituous drinks. Although industrious cultivators, they are very litigious and quarrelsome; but their disputes seldom lead to blows; and though intemperate they are still thrifty,—a Ghirth seldom wastes his substance in drink. In their dealings with one another they are honest and truthful, and altogether their character, though not so peaceable and manly as the Ráthi, has many valuable and endearing traits. The Ghirths being Sudras do not wear the *janeo* or thread of caste. They take money for their daughters, but seldom exchange them. The younger brother takes his brother's widow; if she leave his protection, he was entitled by the law of the country to her restitution, and under us he should at all events receive money compensation."

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* Mír Wais Hotaki gained possession of Kandahár in 1708-9 and on his death in 1720 was succeeded by his brother Abdul-Azíz, but he was speedily deposed and Mír Wais' elder son Sháh Mahmúd raised to power. He subdued Persia in 1722-23 and was there succeeded by his cousin Sháh Ashraf, but this ruler was overthrown by Nádir Sháh. Meanwhile Sháh Husain, Mahmúd's brother had become ruler of Kandahár and he not only refused Sháh Ashraf an asylum, but had him put to death. Sháh Husain reduced the Shál district and Fúshang, which the Baloch chief Mihráb Khán had annexed, and caused Dera Gházi Khán to be sacked by a detachment—a disaster from which Ghází Khán's family never recovered.

The Ghirths are said to be of Rájput origin by mixed marriages or illegitimate intercourse. They are essentially agricultural, and the proverb says :—"As the rice bends in the ear the Ghirth lifts his head." Their social position is low. "You can no more make a saint of a Ghirth than expect chastity of a buffalo," and they practise widow marriage, for "You can't make a Ghirthni a widow, any more than you can turn a hill buffalo into a barren cow."

Folk etymology derives *Ghirth* from *ghi*, because Shiv made them out of *ghi*. In Hoshiárpur Ghirths are called Báhti.* In Hindustán they are called Kúrmi. Cháng is the Punjábi name, and Ghirth the Pahári word.

The Ghirths have few large sub-divisions. The eight largest are the Kandal, Bhárdwáj, Pathári, Chhábru, Reru, Badiál, Chhora, and Bhattu. Bhárdwáj (a Brahminical *gotra*), is also found as an *al* among the Brahmans of Chamba.† Chhábru is found only in Hoshiárpur, and Chhora and Bhattu only in Kángṛa. The others occur in both Districts. But the Ghirths say that they have a large number of *als* or septs—360 in all. A great part of these are named after villages. Others are named after trades, occupations, etc., etc. A very few are possibly totemistic in origin.

Among these septs occur the following names :—

A.—Names of animals or plants :—

(1) Dharé, fruit of the wild fig.
(2) Ghoṛá, horse.
(3) Khunlá, a kind of bird.
(4) Gidar, jackal.
(5) Gadohari, a kind of bird.
(6) Garúrí, 'an animal like a small pig.'

B.—Names of occupations or nick-names :—

(1) Surangiálá, miner.
(2) Nandé, *nandhi*, dumb.
(3) Mórmár, peafowl-hunter.
(4) Jókhnú, weighman.
(5) Paniárí, *paniárá*, waterman.
(6) Masand, long-haired (said to be its meaning).
(7) Lakriá, woodman.
(8) Ghoṛá, jockey.
(9) Hariálá, born on the *Riháli* or 3rd Bhádon.
(10) Saini, vegetable-seller.
(11) Hutlá, stammerer.
(12) Khángar, *khánsí*, a cough.
(13) Lahú, charred or burnt.
(14) Topá, bought for a *topá* or 2 seers of grain.
(15) Kumhár, potter.
(16) Nául, *neolá*.
(17) Pathrála, founded by a leaf-seller (*pattá*, leaf).

C.—Names of colours :—

(1) Kálá, black.
(2) Kahṛá, red-brown.
(3) Nílá, blue.

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* Bauhtia appears to be a variant of Báhti. Possibly, this suggests, Báhti means simply 'ploughman.'

† According to the account of the Ghirths compiled by the late Mr. A. H. Gunter, C.S., the Brahminical *gotras* are preserved but each comprises a number of *als*, *e.g.*, the Kundál *got(ra)* includes the Cháng, Siál, Thetar and Tholi *záts* (= *als*), the Konsal *got* includes the Panihári, the Tul *got* the Patákú *al*, and the Kásab the Kattu. The *gots*, it is distinctly stated, are named after common ancestors 'who were *rishis*.'

D.—(1) Khẹra, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *khêr* tree.

(2) Banyánú, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *ban* or oak.

(3) Daddá, founded by a woman whose child was born near a bamboo, and laid on the tree.

(4) Khunlá, an animal of some kind. The name was given to a child as a token of affection. Hence his descendants are still called by the name.

(5) Ladháriá, from *ladhár*, a kind of tree.

(6) Ghurl, a wild goat; so called because its progenitor cried like one.

(7) Khajúrá, date-palm (*cf.* the Nagarkoṭia Brahman *al* of this name); so-called because its founder was born under a date-palm.

(8) Khattá, from *khattá*, a kind of tree: for a similar reason.

Other exogamous sections (*gots*) are Balaru, Banjára, Barol, Chakotra, Bhúṭ, Diálu, Hangaria, Jalarich, Kaṭhe, Narotra, Panjla, Panyáu, Panyária, Sákṛe, Siál, Thimbu, Thirku, etc., all of unknown derivation.

In the Rájput hypergamous system the Ghirth does not rank very high for not till the seventh generation can his daughter become a queen (*Satwin piṛhi Ghirthni ki dhí Ráni hojáti*), whereas the Ráthi's daughter can attain to that position in four generations and even the Kanet's reaches it in five. But the Rájas could promote a Ghirth to be a Ráthi, as Sir James Lyall records (Kángṛa *Sett. Rep.*, § 73).

The following accounts of the Ghirth social observances are given as typical of the usages among all the Hindu castes of the Kángṛa Hills and not as peculiarly characteristic of the Ghirths. They resemble generally those in vogue among the Gaddis of Kángṛa, but the local variations appear to be endless. These are described in the foot-notes to the text below—

In betrothal the father, mother or uncle, if alive, will tell the youth to arrange to marry such and such a girl. If these are not alive, he chooses himself; otherwise he remains passive throughout the arrangements. The father then finds a go-between (*rúbárú*) who goes to the girl's parents and makes the proposal to them. If they accept, a day is arranged for the ceremony of betrothal (*nátá*). On this day the *rúbárú* conducts the boy's father or other guardian (the boy does not go as a rule*) to the girl's house. He takes with him cream, *dehi*, in a

* Provided the father has no infirmity rendering the son's assistance necessary, the son will not accompany him. He will generally accompany any other guardian. If the boy goes too, he is allowed to stay at the girl's parents' house if the Brahmans declare the occasion favourable, otherwise he must stay in some other house. The boy's Brahman may be one of the party. It makes a point of arriving during the particular watch of the particular day which the Brahman has found to be propitious. He leads the way in, followed by the father and next relative. The others stay in the enclosure outside. The things are put down and a rupee in silver and a half anna bit in copper are placed by the boy's father in the moveable shrine (called *diwa dera*) of Ganésh on the freshly plastered *chaukah*. At the same time the girl's parents put down a tray containing a little *guṛ* of

clay vessel (*deháli*), grain, *gur* and clothes for the girl, and two rupees two pice in cash (and jewels, if rich enough); and if a price for the girl has been agreed upon, they take that too. When they get to the house they find a *ghará* of water and an oil-lamp and a vessel containing a little *gur* and *ghí* in the girl's parents' house, and her parents waiting for them, but not the girl herself. They put down the grain, *gur* and *dehi*, rupees and pice, and clothes and jewels by the water in a wicker basket put ready for them, and no one speaks a word. Square mats made of sugarcane stalks are placed for the deputation. When they have set down the grain, etc., the boy's party bow with joined hands to the lamp and water-vessel, and dipping their fingers into the *gur* and *ghi* put them in their mouths. Then the boy's party salam and the girl's party salam, and then all sit down for the first time. Then the go-between takes the rupees and pice and clothes to the girl who is with the women in another room, gives the money to her, and gets down the clothes. Then the *rúbárú* comes back, and receiving the girl's price from the boy's father, gives it to the girl's father. Then the boy's father gives pice to the girl's party's *kamíns, i. e.*, the barber, the *parohit* (family Brahman) and the watchman. The boy's party stays till night, when the girl's party entertain him with a meal. Then the girl's mother calls in other women of the village, and they sing and the boy's father gives them pice. Next day the boy's party having breakfasted return home.

From this time until the wedding, which in the case of a virgin is called *biáh*, the boy's father sends once a year rice or maize, cream, *gur* and clothes for the girl. The person who brings these gifts is entertained at night by the girl's parents and goes away the next day. The date of the wedding is arranged by the girl's father.* It may take place

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their own. The boy's father puts a half anna in this and tastes the *gur*. He puts a pice in the *lotá* of water (*garwi*) before the shrine, touches his forehead and bends down to Ganesh, the girl's Brahman worshipping all the time in the usual way. The girl's mother puts the jewelry on the girl, and the ceremony is over. The girl's parents take all the things brought, including the rupee and pice, into the shrine in the tray, out of which the girl's mother takes them, and not the girl's father. It is the mother's right. There is a feast next morning and pice are distributed to the poor, and a few annas to the Brahman, the *dhái* of the girl's family and the local watchman. A few pice are also given to the girl's sisters, if any, and her other female relations.

* The boy's family Brahman settles the day. About 20 days before the day fixed the father takes him to the house of the girl's parents, where there is a consultation between him and their Brahman as to whether the day fixed is also auspicious for the father, paternal uncle and brother of the boy and girl respectively.

The girl's father puts some rice and *gur* and a few blades of *drub* grass and two pice, and the boy's father also one anna in copper, into a tray. These are divided by the two Brahmans who throw out the grass. In the tray the girl's mother also puts the red paste for making the *tika* on the forehead which is used for all religious occasions, except these connected with death. The girl's Brahman puts the *tíka* on the boy's father's forehead and then on the foreheads of a few of the bystanders. Both families then make their preparations and summon their friends and relations to the wedding.

On the day the boy's party, which always includes the Brahman and the family barber, goes to the girl's house, the boy being carried in a *pálki* and musicians accompanying. The boy is dressed in red with a fringe of silk tassels (*sera*) bound round his turban and hanging in front of his face. He has been washed and dressed by the barber before starting. The *sera* and a pair of shoes and a coat are given him by the boy's maternal uncle. When the party reaches the girl's house they all wait outside until the girl's Brahman announces that the auspicious moment (the conjunction of two stars, '*lagan*') has arrived. The boy and his Brahman with the barber and a friend who has the custody of the money for current expenditure go inside. The *chaukah* with the *diwa dera* is ready. The friend puts a rupee and half anna in the shrine while the Brahmans mutter a few words.

when the girl is 7 years old even; there is no limit of age. When the date of the wedding is fixed the boy's father gives whatever it was arranged should be then paid, and both parties make preparations for it. On the wedding day the boy is shaved, washed with *buṭná* to make him clean and dressed in a *kwah* (red *cholú*) and á red *pagri*, red *paijámás* and *kamarband* and *sera* (tasselled head-dress). *Mehndi* (the plant) is put into his hand to make his fingers red, and he is put into a *pálki* and taken to the girl's house. The girl's father's *nain* there spreads a cloth. On this cloth the two fathers meet. The girl's father then gives the boy's father's *nain* pice, and the boy's father does the like to the other *nain*. This is called *awárinḍa* or in Punjabi *wáranḍa*, because each of the fathers waves the pice round the head of the other before giving them to the barbers. This takes place outside the house. Then the girl's party takes the boy into the house. Then the girl's *parohit* reads the Véd *mantar* over the couple. Then they go into the *sahn* and put four poles previously adorned into the ground, and place others joining their tops. The boy and girl are then set underneath, and more *mantars* are read. Then the girl and boy walk four times round the poles with their clothes tied together (*linjri*). The marriage ceremony is now complete. Then the parties feast at the bride's house, but the women are not present. Then behind the *pardá* the bride's head is anointed with *chaunk*. Then either on that day or the next the bridegroom takes the bride to his father's house, if it is near enough. Perhaps the girl's barber and the midwife may accompany

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The girl's mother takes the rupee and half anna. A blanket is spread inside the outer room. The boy and girl sit facing each other on it with the boy's barber supporting him and the girl's barber's wife supporting her, and the respective Brahmans facing each other on the two other sides. Both read the service. The barber's wife puts the boy's cloak over the pair and the barber lifts the *sera* from his face and the barber's wife her cloak from the girl's, so that they can see each other. The boy takes the ring off the little finger of his right hand and puts it on the little finger of the girl's right hand. The cloak over the pair is removed and the girl's face hidden again. Some *gur* mixed with *ghi* is put by the girl's mother in a tray and the boy takes some, after which the barber's wife gives some to the girl. The friend with the money bag puts two pice into the tray. These are taken by the barber's wife. The boy comes out to his relations and the girl goes into the inner room among the women. After all have refreshed themselves four sticks with small cross-sticks at the top are fixed in the ground in the enclosure to form a small square in which 5 or 6 can sit. The barber's wife makes a figure (*chaunk*) with flour on the ground and a small heap of grain at each of the two points marked with a cross, and these heaps are covered with baskets. The boy sits on one basket, and the girl on the other supported by their Brahmans, the barber and his wife, respectively, the Brahmans being further off than the barber and his wife. A fire is lit at the point marked with a double cross. The Brahmans put rice soaked in water and *ghi* on the fire. The girl's mother brings a tray containing a little rice and a *lóṭá* filled with water and puts them down by her Brahman in worship. He throws soaked rice over them and gives them to the boy's Brahman, who puts them in front of the boy. The girl's mother or father then brings another tray with a little rice in it and an empty basket and puts them down by the girl's Brahman, and the girl's parents put into the tray whatever jewelry they intend to give to their daughter, and the Brahman hands the tray to the boy's Brahman, who puts the jewelry down in front of the boy and returns the tray to the girl's Brahman.

Friends and relations are then called to bring their presents, and they put money in the tray, which is then offered to the girl by her Brahman. The girl takes out as much as she can with two hands, and this is handed over to the boy's Brahman. The remainder in the tray belongs to the girl's parents. In the same way presents of cloth are put in the basket and these belong to the girl's parents. Next morning the barber and barber's wife again show the couple's faces to each other under the cloak as before; but this time they are sitting on the two baskets, and the girl has all the jewelry on. The boy puts another ring on the girl's finger. They separate again as before, and the ceremonies are over. In the evening the girl will be taken off in a *pálki*, the boy preceding her in his *pálki*.

her, but none of her other people. The bride and bridegroom are brought into the house and are set before a lighted lamp and *ghaṛa* of water to which they bow with hands joined. They are then given *ghi* and *gúr* to eat, and the bridegroom's marriage garments are taken off. Then the bridegroom takes the bride to his mother. Then the bride, the barber, the midwife and the people who have carried the bride's gifts (given by the bride's parents) and the Kahárs are feasted, and the next day they take the bride home again. If she is not of age, she sleeps with her mother-in-law. If she has attained puberty, she sleeps in a separate room with her husband. Then two or three months later the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house and brings her to his father's house again (*hár phérá*), and she remains there, unless the girl's parents send for her again.

The reading of the *mantars* (*lagan*) and the going round the poles (*ghúmáná*) are the binding and essential parts of the ceremony. Sometimes when the girl's parents are dead the purchase-money is paid and the marriage completed by the observance of these two ceremonies alone.

A bride-price is paid, but its amount is not fixed. No regard is had to the poverty or wealth of the bridegroom. The older the girl, the more is paid for her. The greater the necessity of the bridegroom, *i. e.*, the more difficulty he experiences in getting a wife, the more he must pay, *e. g.*, if he is a widower.

Widow remarriage is common. Indeed as divorce or rather sale of wives is frequent* both widows and divorcées remarry. They go through the simple ceremony called *jhanjrárá* or widow remarriage, which consists in the priest putting a red cloak over each party and knotting the corners together as they sit on a newly plastered spot (*chaunkah*) outside the husband's house. The priest then leads the way in, the woman and the man following him in that order. Both then do obeisance at the small shrine to Ganésh with its offerings of a *loṭá* of water and lamp (*chirágh*) placed outside, and the ceremony is over. Before the cloaks are knotted a nose-ornament of gold given by the husband is taken by the woman from the hands of the barber's wife and put on. This ornament is the common sign of marriage.

The Ghirths generally think the younger brother has a right to claim the elder brother's widow, but the claim is not enforceable, nor apparently ever was. The elder brother cannot marry the younger brother's widow, but the Ghirths of Pálampur say that it is done in the Kángra tahsil.

Ghirths follow the Hindu law of inheritance, but, it is said, all the sons inherit according to the rule of *chúnḍávanḍ, i. e.*, all the sons by one wife get as much as all those by another wife.† But

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* Divorce is permitted at the pleasure of the husband ; under no circumstances can the wife claim divorce against his will. It is called *chhoḍni*. If a wife be unfaithful, the abductor pays the husband the price of her *bartan* (lit user') in the presence of witnesses and receives a bill of divorce. There is *no* ceremony. The *jhanjrárá* takes place with another man.

† The Gaddis who live south of the Rávi and are called Chanoti also follow this rule. Those of Brahmaur observe the *pagvanḍ* rule. In other words the *chúndávanḍ* rule is a local one.

when the property is divided the eldest son will get some weapon or a head of cattle or a plot of land, with the consent of the brothers, in token of his being the head of the family. The rest of the immoveable property will be divided equally. That which is given in this way to the eldest brother is called *jeṭhúnda*.

A Ghirth can adopt any boy of his own tribe, preferably one descended from an ancestor of his own. If after the adoption a son be born to the adopter, the adopted son will receive a share equal to that of a natural son. If after the adoption offspring be born from a number of wives, then first the share of the adopted son will be set apart by the rule of *pagvanḍ*; the remainder of the property being divided by *chúnḍávanḍ*.

At Ghirth funerals there is always an Achárj Brahman. When the deceased is laid on the pyre (*salbi*) the Brahman reads prayers and then the heir puts the *pinḍ* or balls of rice on the forehead and breast of the deceased. The fire is then lighted. For ten days after the Brahman comes and reads *mantars*, and *pinḍ* is thrown down the *khaḍ* or ravine daily. The ceremony of *srádh* is performed on—

(*a*) The anniversaries of the death of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather and their collaterals and are thus observed :—A Brahman (not an Achárj) is called in and makes the *pinḍ*. The observer then places rice, pice, cloth, etc., by the *pinḍ*, which the Brahman gets. The *pinḍ* is finally thrown into water. The Brahman reads the *mantars*, and a feast is celebrated. This is done yearly. On the first anniversary (*bárkhi*) and the fourth (*chaubarkh*) there is a special celebration when all the Brahmans of the village must be feasted, and the entertainment is costly.

(*b*) The *suppind* (next-of-kin) performs these funeral ceremonies and commemorations when there is no son, just as if he were a son. The *kiriá* takes place for Ghirths 22 days after the death in all cases. Then besides the balls of rice for each ancestor of the deceased a large ball is made which is broken up by the Achárj Brahman and added to the other balls. This is called *supinḍta*.

(*c*) When a man dies a violent death, there are two *kiriás*—one in the heir's house and another, the *naráin bal*, which takes place at the Ganges, at Kuruchhetar (in Karnál) or at Matan in Kashmír or at the house of any of the family who can afford it. This at Matan always takes place in the month of Malmas (Lond). At the *naráin bal* there is no *supinḍtá*.

It cannot be said that the Ghirths have any distinctive belief or special caste cults.* They affect: (1) Jakh, really a form of Shiv in the form of a stone, only without the *jaléri* and generaly placed among bushes. This is common to all Hindus owning cattle. The milch cattle are devoted to particular *jakhs* and offerings made for them to their particular *jakhs* when the cattle calve. Any

* Malághat is said to be the 'place in the Deccan' whence the Ghirths and their *deotá* (godling) came, and also their god's name. Ajiápál, a tree god, is also mentioned, and *samath* 'the lamp of Gosáín.'

one may present the offerings, and those who live near the *jakh* take it—in the case of *jakhs* in the waste the *gwála* who happens to be grazing cattle near.

(2) Nág or snake worship. Every house or collection of houses has its rough platform about three feet high, with a few pillars supporting a thatch, in the enclosure and containing a few flat stones like thin bricks, with reliefs of one or more snakes cut on them side by side, head upwards. This must be worshipped, the first thing in the morning, by every one, by pouring a little water over the stones. Flowers are also to be seen on them and on the similar reliefs of ancestors which will be found under the same shelter. Tuesday is the special day of the week for this worship. The special yearly worship of the snake is on the 5th of Sáwan (Nág *panchmi*). All the available milk for the seven preceding days is collected, and on the 5th Sáwan rice is boiled in it. A *chaukah* is made inside and outside the threshold with three effigies of snakes on each, white, red and black—the white of flour, the red of clay, the black of charcoal. Then follows the usual worship, first with water, then rice, then with a red *tíka* on the snake's and the worshipper's own forehead, and incense. The milk is afterwards distributed. If there are women in the house, they will do this worship and not the men. In default of women, the men. Also at the time of the worship two boys are made to wrestle after giving them as much as they can eat of the things offered. Then they are dismissed with a few pice. This is a test. If the boys go away happy, the god is pleased ; if not, he is incensed. But this snake worship is not peculiar to the Ghirths.

(3) The Sidhs.—The Sidhs are shrines to Sidhs, *i. e.*, seers, scattered over the country. The most noted is Dewat Sidh, whose chief shrine is in the Hamírpur tahsil. Either a small shrine or merely a pillar is devoted to a representation in relief in stone of the feet of the Sidh and his staff by the feet; or it may be merely under the shade of a tree and sometimes very roughly cut. A small pair of toy pattens and a toy staff may also be seen lying by the relief. In some cases there is a figure of the Sidh in the shrine. Sidh worship is very general, though particular men may choose not to follow it. It is not confined to Ghirths. The Sidh is worshipped every morning like the other household gods or at least on Sunday. This is the Sidh's day in the week. When crops are ripening the shrine of the nearest Sidh is visited on Sunday. Sidhs are supposed to be special protectors of boys. Ghirths generally wear the *singhi* or silver ornament at the throat, which is a mark of devotion to a Sidh in the district, but the Ghirths say that it does not specially appertain to a Sidh and may be worn as a mark of devotion to any deity.

Ghirth women worship the *pípal* tree, so far only as to pour water over it on the death of a child. On the 14th day of the moon, *i. e.*, at full moon, only sweet food is to be eaten and one must sleep on the ground. When the moon is seen water is poured out to it standing.

Occasionally one to whom a Brahman has said that the sun is in opposition to him will set apart the last Sunday of every month, eat sweet food only, sleep on the ground, and pour out water to the sun early next morning.

Very occasionally a man becomes possessed, which is shewn by contortions. The evil spirit may be exorcised by the charms of a Brahman or there is a temple near Saloh village, at which there is a spot, the earth of which has a peculiar virtue. The *mahant* of the temple, who is a Ghirth, pours some water over a little of the earth and makes the possessed one eat it, and puts an untwisted thread round his neck.

Before commencing to plough a Brahman must be consulted as to the propitious day and the iron of the share is sometimes worshipped. Also as to sowing to find out from a Brahman which particular sort of grain it will be propitious to sow first. A little of the particular sort is sown according to the augury.

Ghirths sacrifice a goat in the first field which ripens in the village in order to propitiate the gods and prevent disasters, such as hail, etc. In case of cattle-disease the wooden part of the plough-share is set up in the enclosure of the house and marked with red and black spots or *tíkas* in order that the disease may be averted. Some Ghirths say it is done by a *chéla* or other special person who knows how, and is intended, to keep away evil spirits (*bhúts*).

Besides the Diwáli, Lohri and Dasehra the Ghirths observe the following festivals :—

The Birrú on 1st Baisákh. It consists in distributing earthen water vessels (*gharas*) to Brahmans and married daughters.

The Sairu on 1st Asauj. It consists in cooking bread and distributing it just as at the Lohri. It lasts all day, and marks the ends of the rains.

The Naulá marks the harvesting of the spring crop. Bread is cooked and eaten and distributed, and those who did not give the *gharas* at the Birrú do so now.

Ghirth women wear an ear ornament called *dhéḍú*. The Nái or barber plays a special trumpet called a *nafiri* for Ghirths only. It is exactly like an English bed-room candle-stick with two handles opposite each other inside instead of outside the rim. Ghirths dance at weddings and festivals facing alternately in different directions and bending their raised arms inwards and outwards.

Ghogha, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Ghorewáha, a tribe of Rájputs whose head-quarters are the Jullundur district, of which they occupy the eastern corner, but they are found in smaller numbers in all the adjoining districts. To the west of them are the Manj, and to the north of them the Náru. They are almost all Musalmán. They are Kachwáha Rájputs of the Gosal *got*, descendants of Kash, the second son of Ráma. They say that Rája Mán,* sixth in descent from Kash, had two sons, Kachwáha and Hawáha, and that they are of the lineage of Hawáha. The two brothers met Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori (!) with an offering of a horse, and received in return as large a territory as they could ride round in a day; hence their name. The division of their country took place while they were yet Hindus, so that

* Of Koṭ Kurmán, now Udaipur !

their settlement in their present tract was probably an early one. The Ghorewáha of Ráhon, who are still Hindus, would seem to have immigrated more lately than the rest of the tribe, as they trace their origin from Jaipur, and their genealogists still live in Koṭa and Bundi in Rájputána. Mr. Barkley was disposed to put the Ghorewáha conquest of their present territory at some five centuries ago. In the time of Akbar their possessions would seem to have been more extensive than they are now.

In Hoshiárpur the Ghorewáha hold a *báwani* or group of 52 villages around Báláchaur in tahsil Gaṛhshankar; near Báláchaur they have adhered to Hinduism; further north, in the direction of Gaṛhshankar, they are Musalmáns, but they keep Hindu Brahmans and bards, to whom they give presents at deaths and marriages, and retain various other Hindu customs.

The descendants of Hawáha founded 9 *chhat* or principal villages and 12 *makán** (the latter are said to be derived from men of inferior position to those who founded *chhat*), and are also divided into 12 *muhins* named after 12 of the 13 sons of Uttam. The Ghorewáha also have *tika* villages, *e. g.*, Bhaddi is the *tíka* of the 12 Ghorewáha villages round it. Another account says the Ghorewáha presented a river horse (*daryái ghoṛa*) to the ruler of the country and obtained the country in *jágír*, whence their present name.†

The *chhat* in Hoshiárpur are four, *viz.*, Gaṛhshankar, Punám, Saroa, and Simli,‡ all in tahsil Gaṛhshankar, the remaining 5 being in the Jullundur district. There are two *makáns*, Samundra and Birámpur in this tahsil.

The Ghorewáha Rájputs only avoid marriage in their own *got* and with a girl of the same locality (*muhin*). Muhammadan Ghorewáhas have a further restriction, in that they will not take brides from a village in which daughters are given in marriage, but intermarriage within the village is not forbidden. The Ghorewáhas of Gaṛhshankar and Ráhon are said to give daughters to Náru Rájputs. These, and the other *chhats*, take brides from, but do not give daughters to, *makán* villages.

Ghorgasht, Ghurghushti, one of the great branches of the Paṭháns, descended from Ismáíl, surnamed Ghorghasht, one of the three sons of Qais-i-Abd-ur-Rashíd the Paṭán. Ismáíl had three sons, Dánai [who had four sons, Kákaṛ, Panai (Panni), Naghar and Dáwai (Dáwi)]. Mandú, and Báhai, the ancestor of the Báhi Afgháns of Kandahár. The tribes descended from Dánai are by far the most numerous and include many of the most powerful tribes of South-Eastern Afghánistán. *Ghorgasht* is said to mean 'leaping and jumping,' 'playing and romping,' and to have been bestowed upon Ismáíl as a nickname.

Ghori, a Mughal clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* For these *chhat* and *makán* compare the *mandis* and *dheris* among the Chibh Rájputs.

† A variant, from Kapúrthalá, says that once a hippopotamus covered a mare. The progeny was presented to Akbar who rode round the land afterwards covered by 1,840 villages. He cast his spear and it fell at Silánwáli.

‡ The Simli Ghorewáha do not give daughters to those of Gaṛhshankar, the latter descendants of the elder (*tíka*) brother, Rúp Chand.

Ghoria or Ghwariá Khel, the Ghwari sept or branch of the Paṭháns. It comprised five tribes, the Mohmands, Khalíls, Dáúdzais, Chamkanni and Zeráni. It was the rival of the Khashi branch and its enmity drove the latter to abandon its old seats round Nushki and Ghára and seek refuge in the territory of the Gigiáni Paṭháns near Kábul. Uzbek inroads however and the breaking up of the Tímúriá dynasty of Khorásán drove the Ghwaría themselves to the northward, the Dáúdzais soliciting lands from the Khashis near Peshawar, while the Khalíls and Mohmands obtained considerable power in that valley by allying themselves with Mirzá Kámrán who then held Kábul in fief under his brother Humáyún. With his aid these two Ghwaría clans suddenly attacked the Dilazáks and wrested from them the lands they still held south of the Kábul river, about 1533-34. On Kámrán's fall however their power declined and their defeat by the great Khashi confederation at Shaikh Tapúr in 1549-50 crushed the power of the Ghwaría Khel for ever. For accounts of the Ghoria tribes see Khalíl, etc., and under Para Chamkanni.

Ghosí, fem. -an, a caste of people who work as grass-cutters and sell milk in the United Provinces; but the name also appears to be applied indiscriminately to any low-caste Purbia. The term is said to be only used in the Punjab for a Muhammadan cowherd or milkman, whether Gujar, Ahír or any other caste; but there are Hindu Ghosís in Delhi who are *gwálas* or cowherds by calling and appear to be by origin Ahírs. It is said that Hindus will buy pure milk from a Musalmán Ghosí, but will reject it if there is any suspicion of its having been watered by the latter, as they must not drink water at his hands! The Ghosís are a purely pastoral group, at any rate in the Punjab. They are, however, sometimes butchers.

The Muhammadan Ghosís in Delhi are called Gaddí-Ghosís, and those of Delhi city have a curious legend that they were once invited by the disciples of a saint to rescue him from a Rájá's tyranny. This they did, though only armed with sticks and clubs, and as their reward the saint gave them gowns and *dosháláa* to wear, with green *ánchals* (veils) for their women, but the latter are no longer in fashion. Still the men continue to wear a pair of under-*kurtas* or shirts. The women do not use the *lahnga* and *kurta* or petticoat and shift like other Ghosí women. These Ghosís are strictly endogamous, and a woman of any other caste kept by a Ghosí is denied all social intercourse with the caste, and her partner is not directly invited to feasts or weddings, though he can attend them if other members of his family do so. As these Ghosís protected the saint's *gaddi* or seat they came to be called Gaddí-Ghosí. The Gaddí-Ghosís of Firozábád are also Muhammadans, though they claim to be Gaddís from Kángra, and they certainly have no intercourse with those of Delhi city. They observe *parda* and are generally strict Moslems.

Ghoṭṭú, Ghoṭú, a polisher or pounder.

Ghowal, a sept of Rájputs, descended from Mián Sainkí, son of Sangar Chand, 16th Rájá of Kahlúr.

Ghug, Ghugiat, two agricultural clans found in Sháhpur.

GHULÁM.—These men are found in the Peshâwar district under the name of Ghulám-khánazád,* and in Multán under that of Khánazád simply. The latter may, however, be an error for Khánzádah. The Pesháwar clans are given as Turkhel Ghulám, and Malekhel. They are said to be descendants of captives in war who were made slaves (*ghulám*), whence their name. They are still chiefly employed in domestic service, and are generally attached to their hereditary masters, though some of them have taken to shopkeeping and other occupations. In Pesháwar the men are also called *mrái* and the women *winza* (concubine). In Baháwalpur the Ghulám are a small tribe, slaves of the GHALLUS.

GHUMMAN, GHAMMAN, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Siálkoṭ. It claims descent from Malkír, second in descent from the Lunar Rájput, Rájá Dalíp of Delhi. Fifth in descent from him, Jodha had three sons, Harpál, Ranpál and Sanpál. The descendants of the two former are the Hajauli† Rájputs, while Sanpál had 22 sons, from whom are descended as many clans, including Ghumman, the youngest. Sanpál's wives were of various castes and so his children sank to Jáṭ status. Their Brahmans are Bharwákirs, whom Muhammadans also consult. Ghumman came from Mukiála or Malhiána in the time of Fíroz Sháh, took service in Jammu, and founded the present tribe. At weddings they worship an idol made of grass and set within a square drawn in the corner of the house, and cut the goat's ear and the *jand*‡ twig like the Sáhi Jáṭs. They also propitiate their ancestors by pouring water over a goat's head so that he shakes it off. They are chiefly found in Siálkoṭ, though they have spread somewhat, especially eastwards, and in that District they have a Sidh called Dulchi. In Jínd their Sidh is called Dádú or Kálá, and his *samádh* is at Nágrá in Paṭiála. Beestings are offered to him on the 11th *badi* every month: offerings are also made at weddings.

GIÁNÍ, fem. -AṆ, one possessed of knowledge, especially one versed in the traditional interpretation of the Sikh *Granth*.

GIÁṚÚ, a sept or *khel* of Rájputs in the Simla Hills. To it belong the chiefs of Koṭ Khái, Kumhársain, Khaneṭi, Karángal and Delaṭh. Said to be derived from Gayá, whence it came.

Also a sept of Brahmans of similar origin, founded by a Brahman who married a Hill Brahman's daughter.

GIBARI, GÍBARI, GABARI.—According to Raverty§ Gabar was a town in Bájaur and the Gibaris were the ruling race in that tract, speaking a dialect different from the other tribes. The Afghán historian describes the people with whom the Afgháns first came in contact in those parts as speaking two dialects, the Gibari, spoken by that tribe, and the Dari, spoken by the Mutráwi and Mumiáli.‖ The Gibari, with the two last-named tribes, were septs of the SHILMÁNI. See also Gabare, Gabr and Gaur.

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* Muhammad Hayát Khán in his *Haiyát-i-Afghání* states that the Qizilbásh of Kábul are collectively known as Ghulám-khánâ, and possibly some of the Ghulám-khánazád may be Qizilbásh.

† Bajauli.

‡ But another account says they cut the *ber* instead of the *jand*.

§ *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, p. 1043-4. Gabr, fire-worshipper, is a different word.

‖ *Notes on Afghánistán*, p. 278.

Gidri, Gedri, doubtless from *gídar*, 'jackal.' Reputed immigrants from Hindustán and Bíkáner, the Gidris are now found mainly in the Baháwalpur State. Closely resembling the Sánsis of the Punjab Proper, who look down upon them, the Gidris are split up into various camps, which are supposed to meet once a year in Sáwan at Tulla Darya Khán in Khán Bela police station in Baháwalpur. There all tribal disputes are settled, just as is done among the Sánsis. The Gidris live by labour, but also make baskets, cages, fans, etc., and sometimes hawk knives and cheap jewelry for sale. Each camp has its own headman who exercises *quasi*-judicial authority in it. The women journey direct from one camping-place to the next, while the men go further afield in search of work. Nominally Hindus the Gidris will eat the flesh of any animal and are regarded as outcasts. The dead are buried without any obsequies. Marriage is always effected within the tribe, generally by exchange, but failing that a bride can be purchased for Rs. 15. No rites are observed save an announcement of the union before relatives. They speak a language of their own which is allied to the dialects of Bíkáner and Jaisalmer.

Gigiáni, Gagiáni, a Khashi Paṭhán tribe, descended from Mak, the third son of Khashai. According to one tradition Mak has two sons, Hotak and Jírak, and a daughter Gágai or Gagai, whom he gave in marriage to a shepherd. As she had espoused a man of low degree her descendants styled themselves Gagiáni. Another tradition makes their progenitor a foundling, who was adopted by Mukai, son of Khashai, and married to Gagai, a daughter of Túr, the Tarín. By her he had two sons, Hotak and Jírak, and from their seven sons are descended as many Gagiáni clans. Mukai's own descendants are known as the Mukah Khel. Originally settled in territory near Kábul, the Gigiánís, despite their alliance with the Mughals of Mirza Ulugh Beg, were overthrown by the Yúsufzaí Paṭháns in the Ghwara Margha,* near Kábul. Soon after they made an ineffectual attempt to establish themselves in Bájaur, and then besought the Yúsufzais and Mandars to grant them lands in the Doába in the Pesháwar valley. Speedily, however, they intrigued against their benefactors and in 1519 also called in Bábar to aid them against the Dilazáks, but their internal dissensions led him to suspect treachery and he left them to face the Dilazáks, by whom they were completely vanquished. Nevertheless in the great redistribution of Khashi territory which followed the overthrow of the Ghwaría Khel the Gigiánís received half Bájaur, Ambar, Náwagai and Chhármang, in addition to the Doába.

Gil, one of the largest and most important of the Jáṭ tribes. Its main settlements are in the Lahore and Ferozepur districts; but it is found all along the Biás and Upper Sutlej, and under the hills as far west as Siálkoṭ. Gil its ancestor, and the father of Sher Gil,† was a Jáṭ of Raghobansi Rájput descent who lived in the Ferozepur district; he was a lineal

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* The Polluted Plain.

† The origin of the name Sher Gil is thus related: Pirthipat had no son and was advised to take to wife a woman from a lower clan, so he espoused the daughter of a Bhular Jáṭ. She bore him a son, but his three Rájput wives replaced him by a stone, and had him abandoned in a forest. But Pirthipat, when out hunting, found him with a lion and brought him home. As he was found in a marshy (*gili*) place he was named Sher Gil!

descendant of Pirthipál, Rája of Garh Mithíla and a Waria Rájput, by a Bhular Jáṭ wife. The tribe rose to some importance under the Sikhs, and the history of its principal family is told at pages 352 *ff* of Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs.*

Two pedigrees of Gil are given below. He had 12 sons who founded as many *muhins* :—

Sobhrú, Jaj, Talocharú, Kesaria, Chhaj, Jiúna, Bahawara, Wadhan, Chheli, Mokha, Rájí and Shahi.

Pedigree I.

- Rám Chandar.
  - Lahu.
    - Gaj.
      - Harban.
        - Talocha.
          - Shah.
            - Mal.
              - Jogan.
                - *Kang.*
            - Suratia.
              - Kamde.
                - Ruha.
                  - Tad.
                    - Wargar.
                      - *Sindhu.*
            - Achraj.
              - Dhaních.
                - *Punun.*
  - Kashab.
    - Dhaul.
      - Raghpat.
        - Uderúp.
          - Majang.
            - Markhaul.
              - Goi.
                - Tandal.
                  - Manhaj.
                    - *Aulakh.*
    - Suraj.
      - Hardit.
        - Daryah.
          - Wani Pal.
            - Kaur Pal.
              - Udási.
                - Nayan.
                  - Jobir.
                    - Mathla.
                      - Manhaj.
                        - Karor.
                          - Rathi.
                            - Ajanat.
                              - Wanbhir.
                                - Pirthi Pat.
                                  - *Gil.*
      - Kankar.
        - Thambar.
          - Bachkar.
            - Harpal.
              - Kang.
                - *Chahal.*
      - Kara.
        - Loh Sain.
          - *Dillho.*

Pedigree II.

- Suraj (Sun).
  - Marot.
    - Widya.
      - Wanipal.
        - Kaulpal.
          - Udási.
            - Nayan.
              - Jobir.
                - Manhela.
                  - Manhaj.
                    - Karor.
                      - Kathi.
                        - Ajanat.
                          - Wabhar.
                            - Pirthipat.
                              - Gil.

The Gils worship their eponym on the Chet Chaudas at Rajiána, in Moga tahsil, where he has a temple. He also appears to be called Rájá Pír and to be specially affected by the Wairsi Gils. In Jínd their *jathera* is Surat Rám, whose shrine is at Bajewála in Paṭiála and offerings to which are taken by Mirásis. In Ferozepur the tribe is said to affect Sakhi Sarwar and its men prefer to be called Dípa, Sarúpa, etc., instead of Díp Singh, Sarúp Singh, and so on, with the title of 'Mían' prefixed. At weddings they dig earth from the pond of Sakhi Sarwar near their home. They eschew *jhatka* meat, but will eat it if *halál*, like Muhammadans. When some of the tribe took to eating the flesh of animals killed in the Sikh fashion by *jhatka,* one lost his eyes, another found himself in jail, and so on, so they reverted to their former practice.

The Gil, like the Her and Sidhu Jáṭs can intermarry in their maternal grandfather's *got*, contrary to the usual Hindu rule. A Gil bridegroom cuts a branch from the *jand*-tree before setting out on his wedding journey.

Gílání, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Montgomery; see Jílání.

Gir, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Girwánh, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery. In Baháwalpur they are also called Garwánh and are found as landowners and cultivators in the Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur *Kárdárís*, with three septs, Attú, Jálap and Karer.

Gishkauri, a Baloch tribe, now found scattered in Dera Ismáíl, Muzaffargarh and Montgomery; also in Mekrán. Apparently derived from Gishkaur, a torrent in the Boheda valley of Mekrán. The Lashári sub-*tuman* has a Gishkauri sept and the Dombki a clan of that name. In Montgomery the Gishkauri is listed as an agricultural clan.

Godára, a prosperous clan of Jáṭs, of the Shibgotra group, found in Hissár, where it owns large areas in Sirsa and Fatehábád tahsils. They trace their descent from Nimbuji, who founded a village near Bíkáner, and say that as they could not agree upon one of their own clan as chieftain they asked the Rája of Jodhpur to give them one of his younger sons as their ruler, so he gave them Bíká in whose honour Bíkáner was founded. To this day, it is said, the *ráj-tilak* is marked on the forehead of a new Rája of Bíkáner by a Godára Jáṭ, and not by the family priest.

Gohaṛ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

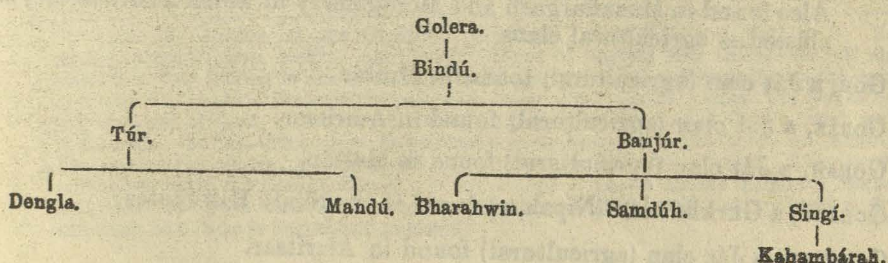
Gohrá, a Jáṭ tribe found in Jínd tahsíl. Its eponym is said to have been a Túr Rájput.

Goj, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gokha, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Golah, a weaver, in Peshávar. There are Gola groups or classes among the Juláhás, Kumhárs, Náis and Súds.

Golera, a tribe which gives its name to the tract in Ráwalpindi so called. It is descended from its eponym, the third son of Qutb Sháh, and in Siálkoṭ has four branches, Golera, Kahambárah, Dengla and Mandú.



According to Cracroft the Golera are Awáns, a statement confirmed by their claim to descend from Qutb Sháh.

Goleria, an offshoot of the great Rájput clan, the Katoch, bearing a territorial designation from Goler.

Golia or Gawália, a very curious tribe of Jáṭs, only found in Rohtak and Karnál. They declare that they were originally Brahmans, who lost caste by inadvertently drinking liquor placed outside a distiller's house in large vessels (*gol*). The local Brahmans apparently admit the truth of this story. They now intermarry with Jáṭs, but not with the Dágar or Salanki; for while they were Brahmans the latter were their clients, while when they first lost caste the former alone of all Jáṭ tribes would give them their daughters to wife, and so have been adopted as *quasi*-brethren. They came from Indore to Rohtak some 30 generations ago.

Gondal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur, Multán, and (classed as Rájput) in Montgomery. They hold the upland known as the Gondal Bár, running up the centre of the tract between the Jhelum and Chenáb. They are also numerous in the riverain on the right bank of the former river in the Jhelum district, and a few have spread eastward as far as the Rávi. They are said to be Chauhán Rájputs, but they are now of Jáṭ status and intermarry with other Jáṭ tribes. 'Physically they are a fine race, owing doubtless to the free and active life they lead, and the quantities of animal food they consume; and if we except their inordinate passion for appropriating their neighbours' cattle, which in their estimation carries with it no moral taint, they must be pronounced free from vice.' They say their ancestor came from Naushahra in the south to Pákpattan, and was there converted by Bábá Faríd; and if this be so they probably occupied their present abodes within the last six centuries.

Gondál, a tribe of Muhammadan Jáṭs in Gujrát which claims Chauhán Rájput origin. Its eponym came from the Deccan to visit the shrine of Báwá Faríd and Pákpattan and embraced Islám.

Gopálak, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gopáng, Gopháng, one of the broken Baloch tribes of Dera Ghází Khán. It lies scattered along the Indus and is also found in Muzaffargarh and on the Lower Indus and Sutlej in Bahâwalpur and Multán.

Gopa Rai, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming Solar Rájput origin and descent from its eponym through Millú who migrated from Amritsar to Siálkoṭ. Also found in Muzaffargarh and Montgomery in which Districts they are classed as agricultural clans.

Gor, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gorár, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gorah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Gorang, a Gurkhá clan (Nipalese) found in the Simla Hill States.

Gorátah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Goráya, a Jáṭ tribe, said to be descended from the Saroha family of Lunar Rájputs, and to have come to Gujránwála as a nomad and pastoral tribe from Sirsa. Another story is that they are descended from a Sombansi Rájput called Guráya whose grandson Mal came from the Lakki *thal* some 15 generations ago. A third tradition is that Ràna, their founder, came from the Jammu hills in the time of the emperors. They are now found in Gujránwála, Siálkoṭ and Gurdáspur. They own 31 villages in Gujránwála and are excellent cultivators, being one of the most prosperous tribes in the District. They have the same peculiar marriage customs as the Sáhi Jáṭs. In Siálkoṭ they revere Pír Mundá, round whose *khángáh* a bridal pair walks seven times, and offerings are made to it. This is done both by Hindus and Muhammadans. They are said to be governed by the *chúnḍavanḍ* rule of inheritance. In Montgomery the Muhammadan Goráyá appears as a Jáṭ, Rájput and Aráín clan (all three agricultural), and in Sháhpur it is also classed as Jáṭ (agricultural). The word *goráyá* is said to be used for the *nílgái* (*Porcax picta*) in Central India. They are sometimes said to be a clan of the Dhillon tribe, but in Siálkoṭ claim descent from Budh who had 20 sons, including Goráyá.

Gorí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Goria, a small Jáṭ clan found in Nábha. It derives its name from Goran Singh, a Rájput, who settled at Alowál in Paṭiála and thus became a Jáṭ.

Gorjíye, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Gorkha. See Gurkhá.

Goron, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gorsí, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gorwah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Gorye, (1) an Aráín clan (agricultural); (2) a Mughal clan (agricultural): both found in Amritsar.

Gosáín, a term even more vaguely used than 'Sanniási Bairági' and very difficult to define in the Punjab. Roughly speaking, it denotes an ascetic of any order, but it further connotes that he is of some standing and influence. Strictly speaking, however, the Gosáíns form a distinct order, which differs both from the Bairágís and the Sanniásís, though they are often entitled Gosáíns, and often the Brahmans alone are considered privileged to be so styled. In Kángra the Gosáíns form a separate caste, as well as an order, and are known as Sanniásís or Dasnámís, because they are divided into ten schools. These were founded by the ten pupils of Shankar Achárj and the following scheme exhibits their spiritual descent and distribution*:—

* From the *dasnám* of the Gosáíns: "Bhaktmál", Nawal Kishor, 1927, p. 77. But another account gives Rukhaṛ and Dandi instead of Asram and Sáraswati. It also states that the Rukhaṛ is like an Achárj (Brahman) in that he receives gifts on the death of a Gosáín. In the Brahmacharj *ásram* or stage the 'Gosáín' dons the *janeo* or sacred thread of caste, in the second *ásram* or degree he becomes a Gosáín and puts it off again. In the third *ásram* he becomes a *paramhans*, and in the fourth an Abdhút. The *paramhans* shaves his head and the *abdhút* generally lives naked. This is the order observed in the Sanyás Dharm, but now-a-days a Gosáín merely besmears himself with ashes and goes forth as an *abdhút*. The true Gosáín must not appreach a fire, and when he dies he is buried, not cremated.

VISHNU
|
Shiv
|
Báshisht
(Vishnu, Shiv, Báshisht: Chelas.)
|
Shakt
|
Parásir
|
Biás
|
Sukdev
|
Gor Achárj
|
Govind
|
Shankar Swámí
(Shakt to Shankar Swámí: Sons.)

- Sarúp Achárj (Sárdá Mat in West)
  - Tírt or Tirth
  - Ásram
- Padm Achárj (Gurdhan Mat in East)
  - Ban or Bán
  - Aranya or Aran
- Totah Achárj (Toyashí Mat in North)
  - Girí
  - Parbhat or Parbat
  - Ságar
- Pribhuí Dhar Achárj (Sríngeri called Singrí Mat in South)
  - Sáraswatí
  - Bháratí or Bhárthi
  - Purí

These correspond with the ten *pâds* of the Sanniásís, and the Gosáín may be regarded as a semi-secularised offshoot of the Sanniási order. When the Muhammadan invasions began, says one account of the Sanniásís, many of them fled to the hills of Kángra and Simla where they formed colonies. In some places they intermarried with Brahmans and took to cultivation, gradually amassing such wealth that the hill people, including their Rájás and Ránas, were in their debt and they controlled all the trade between the hills and the plains. In their practice of usury they were rapacious to an incredible degree, charging 24, 60 and even 72 per cent. a year, and making regular tours in state after each harvest, in spring and autumn, to collect their dues in kind. Once in debt to the Gosáíns there was no escape for a debtor, and they preached the doctrine that the removal of a debtor's name from their books was an ill-omen to both parties. To the power of capital they added the influence of their own sanctity and though the Gurkha invasions broke up their domination they continued to exhaust the resources of the people in the Outer Saráj tract of Kullu till quite recently. On the other hand the Gosáíns of Kángra, who are principally found in Nádaun and Jawálamukhi, were an enterprising and sagacious community engaged in wholesale trade. They monopolised the trade in opium and speculated in *charas*, wool and cloth. Their transactions extended to the Deccan and indeed over all India, but generally speaking, they are now impoverished and their brick-built ware-houses at Jawálamukhi are mostly in ruins. Most of the Kángra Gossíns are of the Giri sub-order, and affix *-gir* to their names.

In theory the Gosáíns are celibate, and recruit by adopting *chelas* from pure castes who may be willing to dedicate their sons to them, but in practice marriage is usual. Those who marry are styled *gharbárí*. Natural sons do not succeed unless adopted as *chelas*.

Widows are merely entitled to maintenance. Secular Gosáíns will not plough, but they do not wear any *janeo*, retain the *choti* and yet wear a *pagri* dyed with red ochre. The religious or *maṭdári* Gosáíns form fraternities and, though they do not marry, keep women. They are divided into *akháras* or small colleges each under a *mahant* who has supreme control of all its property, the disciples being dependent on his bounty. A *mahant* designates his successor, and his selection is rarely disputed, but if he die without having named a successor the fraternity meets together and with the aid of other Gosáíns elects a new *mahant*. After his installation the late *mahant's* property is distributed by him as he thinks fit, and this distribution, or *bhandára* as it is called, is rarely impugned. Like a Sanniási the Gosáín is buried, a cenotaph or *samádh*, dedicated to Mahádeo, being raised over him, as he is supposed at death to be re-united with the god. Initiation consists simply in the *gurú's* cutting off the *choti*; the head is then close shaved and the *gurú mantar* read.

In Sirsa the Gosáíns form a separate caste, originating in a sub-division of the Sanniásís which was founded by Shimbu Achárj. Every Gosáín is given at initiation a name, which ends in *gir*, *púri* (the two most commonly found in this tract), *tirath*, *ásram*, *ásan* or *nath*, by his *gurú*. Each of these sub-orders is endogamous, *i.e.*, a *gir* may not marry a *púri*.* The Gosáíns are also said to have *gots*, and to be further divided into the *gharbár* or secular and the celibate who are either (1) *maṭdári* (whose dwelling, *maṭ*, is inside the village and who may engage in all worldly pursuits, but not marry), (2) *ásandári* (whose house is on the outskirts of the village), or (3) *abdhút*, who wander about begging, but may not beg for more than seven hours at one place. The *abdhút* carry with them a *nárial* or cocoanut shell, and may only take in alms cooked grain which they must soak in water before they eat it. Nor may they halt more than three days at any place unless it be a *tirath* (place of pilgrimage) or during the rains. Gosáíns are generally clad in garments dyed with *geru*.

In the south-west of the Punjab the priests of Shámji and Lálji who are Khatrís and found largely at Leia and Bhakkar, are called Gosáíns. The Khatrís and Aroṛás of the south-west are either disciples (*sewaks*) of these Gosáíns or Sikhs.† Other Gosáíns are those of Baddoke.

The Gosáíns appear to be correctly classed as a Vaishnava sect or rather order, though in the hills they affect Mahádeo and are *mahants* of temples of Shiva.

Gosal, a small Jáṭ clan which is found in Jínd and has a Sidh, Bála, at Badrúkhan, where offerings are made to his *samádh*.

Granthí, a reader of the Sikh *Granth*, an expounder thereof; but *cf.* *Giáni*.

Guda, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Kapúrthalá State, Sultánpur tahsil. Its tradition avers that it migrated from Delhi in the Mughal times.

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* The *gurú* of the *púris* resides at Kharak, and that of the *giris* at Bálak, both in Hissár. Hissár *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 81.

† Census Report, 1891, § 66, p. 127-8.

Gugera, (1) one of the principal *muhins* or clans of the Siáls in Jhang. It gave its name to the township of that name, once the head-quarters of the present Montgomery district and still of a tahsil; (2) also a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Gújar, Gujjar, -ur, fem. -í. Dim. **Gujareṭá**, fem. -í, and **Gujreṭrá**, fem. -í., a young Gujar. Derivatives are Gujrál or Gujreḥrá, a dwelling-place of Gujars; and Gujrát, the 'country or tract of the Gujars.' The District of Gujrát takes its name from the town of Gujrát, but the present town though a modern one stands on the site of an ancient city called Udanagri, the everlasting or fragrant township. Popular tradition assigns its foundation to Rájá Bachan Pál, a Surajbansi Rájput who came from the Gangetic Doáb, and attributes its restoration to Ali Khán, a Gujar, doubtless the historical Alakhána, Rájá of Gurjara, who was defeated by Sangkara Varma between 883 and 901 A. D. Captain Mackenzie, however, recorded another tradition which assigned the restoration of Gujrát town to Rání Gujran, wife of Badr Sain, son of Rájá Risálú of Siálkoṭ who rebuilt it in Sambat 175 (A. D. 118). Both accounts agree in ascribing the refounding of the modern town to the time of Akbar. According to Stein, Shankara Varma of Kashmír, soon after his accession in 883 A. D., undertook an expedition to the south and south-west of Kashmír and first invaded Gujaradesa, a tract certainly identifiable with the modern District of Gujrát, which lies between the Chenáb and Jhelum.* At an earlier period, in the latter part of the 6th century, the Rájá of Thánesar, Prabákara-vardhana, had also carried on a successful campaign against the Hun settlements in the north-west Punjab and the 'clans of Gurjara'†, so that it would appear that a branch of the Gurjara race was firmly established in the modern Gujrát before 600 A. D.‡

The modern District of Gujrát, however, comprises the Herát or Ját *pargana* and the Gujrát or Gujar *pargana*.§ These *parganas* used to be divided into *tappas* and the *tappas* into *tops*, each *top* being under a *chaudhri*.

The modern District of Muzaffargarh also possesses a Gujrát on the Indus, in the riverain which runs parallel with the Dera Gházi Khán district.

The Distribution of the Gujars.

The present distribution of the Gujars in India is thus described by Sir Alexander Cunningham:—

"At the present day the Gujars are found in great numbers in every part of the North-West of India, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazára mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarát. They are specially numerous along the banks of the Upper Jumna, near Jagádhri and Buriya, and in the Saháranpur district, which during the last century was actually called Gujarát. To the east they occupy the petty

* Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Cáhis von Kabul* (*Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893). See also Stein's *Rájátarangini*, p. 204, Vol. I.

† V. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, p. 283.

‡ For the derivation of the word Gujrát see Dr. Fleet's note in J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 459. He derives it from Gujaratrá, Prákrit Gujjarattá, the modern name of Guzerát being due to Alberúni's Guz(a)rát. Gújránwála means the 'Gújars' village,' Gújrát the 'Gújars' country,' a distinction overlooked in Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community*.

§ Gujrát Gazetteer, 1892-93, p. 19. *Cf.* the Sett. Rep. of the Gujrát District, 1861, p. 2. The term Heráṭ is of unknown origin, but it appears to be also called the Jatátar.

State of Samptar in Bundelkhand, and one of the northern Districts of Gwalior, which is still called Gujargár. They are found only in small bodies and much scattered throughout Eastern Rájputána and Gwalior; but they are more numerous in the Western States, and specially towards Gujarát, where they form a large part of the population. The Rájás of Rewári to the south of Delhi are Gujars. In the Southern Punjab they are thinly scattered, but their numbers increase rapidly towards the north, where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujránwála in the Rechna Doáb, Gujrát in the Chaj Doáb, and Gujar Khán in the Sindh Ságar Doáb. They are numerous about Jhelum and Hassan Abdál,* and throughout the Hazára district; and they are also found in considerable numbers in the Dardu districts of Chilás, Kohli, and Pálas, to the east of the Indus, and in the contiguous districts to the west of the river."

In the Punjab they essentially belong to the lower ranges and submontane tracts; and though they have spread down the Jumna in considerable numbers, they are almost confined to the riverain lowlands. In the higher mountains they are almost unknown. Gujrát is still their stronghold, and in that District they form 13½ per cent. of the total population. There alone have they retained their dominant position. Throughout the Salt Range, and probably under the eastern hills also, they are the oldest inhabitants among the tribes now settled there; but in the west the Gakkhaṛs, Janjúas, and Paṭháns, and in the east the Rájputs have always been too strong for them, and long ago deprived them of political importance. In the Pesháwar district almost any herdsman is called a Gujar, and it may be that some of those who are thus returned are not true Gujars by race. But throughout the hill country of Jammu, Chibhál, and Hazára, and away in the territory lying to the north of Pesháwar as far as the Swát river, true Gujar herdsmen are found in great numbers, all possessing a common speech, which is a Hindi dialect quite distinct from the Panjábi or Pashto current in those parts. Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather; and it may be said that the Gujar is a cultivator only in the plains. Even there he is a bad cultivator, and more given to keeping cattle than to following the plough. In Chitrál also Gujars are found in the Shíshi Kuh valley, while the Bashgals (the Káfirs of the Bashgal valley are so styled by Chitrális) are described as curiously like the Gujars in the Punjab.†

It is impossible without further investigation to fix the date of the Gujar colonization of the lower districts. They are almost exclusively Musalmán except in the Jumna Districts and Hoshiárpur, and they must therefore have entered those Districts before the conversion of the great mass of the caste. The Jullundur Gujars date their conversion from the time of Aurangzeb, a very probable date. The Ferozepur Gujars say that they came from Dáranagar in the south of India, that they moved thence to Ránia in Sirsa, and thence again to Ferozepur *viâ* Kasúr. The Musalmán Gujars of all the eastern half of the Pro-

* Hassan was himself a Gújar.

† But Bashgali is essentially an Iranian dialect. See Sten Konow's *Classification of Bashgali*, in J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 1.

vince still retain more of their Hindu customs than do the majority of their converted neighbours, their women, for instance, wearing petticoats instead of drawers, (just as they do in Jullundur also), and red instead of blue. In Jullundur the Gujar shoe is usually of a peculiar make, the upper leather covering little of the foot. It is noticeable that Gujrát is to the Gujars what Bhaṭner and Bhaṭṭiána are to the Bhaṭṭi, a place to which there is a traditional tendency to refer their origin.

The Gujar is a fine stalwart fellow, of precisely the same physical type as the Jáṭ;* and the theory of aboriginal descent which has sometimes been propounded, is to my mind conclusively negatived by his cast of countenance. He is of the same social standing as the Jáṭ, or perhaps slightly inferior; but the two eat and drink in common without any scruple, and the proverb says: "The Jáṭ, Gujar, Ahír, and Gola are all four hail fellows well met." But he is far inferior in both personal character and repute to the Jáṭ. He is lazy to a degree, and a wretched cultivator; his women, though not secluded, will not do field work save of the lightest kind; while his fondness for cattle extends to those of other people. The difference between a Gujar and a Rájput cattle-thief was once explained to me thus by a Jáṭ: "The Rájput will steal your buffalo. But he will not send his father to say he knows where it is and will get it back for Rs. 20, and then keep the Rs. 20 and the buffalo too. The Gujar will." The Gujars have been turbulent throughout the history of the Punjab, they were a constant thorn in the side of the Delhi emperors, and are still ever ready to take advantage of any loosening of the bonds of discipline to attack and plunder their neighbours. Their character as expressed in the proverbial wisdom of the countryside is not a high one: "A desert is better than a Gujar: wherever you see a Gujar, hit him." Again: "The dog and the cat two, the Rangar and the Gujar two; if it were not for these four, one might sleep with one's door open": so "The dog, the monkey, and the Gujar change their minds at every step;" and "When all other castes are dead make friends with a Gujar." As Mr. Maconachie remarks: "Though the Gujar possesses two qualifications of a highlander, a hilly home and a constant desire for other people's cattle, he never seems to have had the love of fighting and the character for manly independence which distinguishes this class elsewhere. On the contrary he is generally a mean, sneaking, cowardly fellow; and I do not know that he improves much with the march of civilization, though of course there are exceptions; men who have given up the traditions of the tribe so far as to recognize the advantage of being honest—generally."

Such is the Gujar of the Jumna Districts.† But further west his character would seem to be higher. Major Wace describes the Gujars

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* This description would appear to require some qualification. The Gujar of Kashmír is described as tall and gaunt, his forehead and his chin are narrow, his nose fine and slightly curved. The Gujar of the United Provinces is above the medium height, well made and active, his face long and oval, and his features fine rather than coarse. Crooke describes him as 'a fairly typical Indo-Aryan.' J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 984. The Punjab Gújar might be well described in the above terms. As compared with the Ját he has better features, but is not of such a good type.

† Sir J. Wilson, however, wrote: "The Gujar villages in Gurgáon have on the whole stood the late bad times better than those of almost other caste—better than the Játs, and almost as well as the Ahírs. Our Gurgáon Gujars are very little given to thieving, and I have rather a high opinion of them."

of Hazára as "a simple all-enduring race, thrifty and industrious, with no ambition but to be left alone in peace with their cattle and fields"; and "many of them are fine men in every way." Mr. Thomson says that the Gujars of Jhelum are the best farmers in the District (perhaps not excessive praise in a District held by Gakkhaṛs, Awáns, and Rájputs), though the Maliár or Aráiṇ is a better market gardener; and that they are quiet and industrious, more likeable than (Salt Range) Jáṭs, but with few attractive qualities. Mr. Steedman gives a similar account of the Gujars of Ráwalpindi, calling them "excellent cultivators." So the Gujars of Hoshiárpur are said to be "a quiet and well-behaved set." In Jullundur Sir Richard Temple described them as "here as elsewhere of pastoral habits, but more industrious and less predatory than usual"; and Mr. Barkley writes: "At present, after 30 years of British rule, they are probably as little given to crime as any other large class in the agricultural population. It is still generally true that they occupy themselves more with grazing than with agriculture; but this is by no means invariably the case." But in Ferozepur again Mr. Brandreth describes them as "unwilling cultivators, and greatly addicted to thieving," and gives instances of their criminal propensities. Thus it would appear that the further the Gujar moves from his native hills, the more he deteriorates and the more unpleasant he makes himself to his neighbours. The following description of the Gujars of Kángṛa by Mr. Barnes is both graphic and interesting:—

"The Gujars of the hills are quite unlike the caste of the same designation in the plains. There they are known as an idle, worthless and thieving race, rejoicing in waste, and enemies to cultivation and improvement; but above and below they are both addicted to pastoral habits. In the hills the Gujars are exclusively a pastoral tribe,—they cultivate scarcely at all. The Gaddis keep flocks of sheep and goats, and the Gujar's wealth consists of buffaloes. These people live in the skirts of the forests, and maintain their existence exclusively by the sale of the milk, *ghi*, and other produce of their herds. The men graze the cattle, and frequently lie out for weeks in the woods tending their herds. The women repair to the markets every morning with baskets on their heads, with little earthen pots filled with milk, butter-milk and *ghi*, each of these pots containing the proportion required for a day's meal. During the hot weather the Gujars usually drive their herds to the upper range, where the buffaloes rejoice in the rich grass which the rains bring forth, and at the same time attain condition from the temperate climate and the immunity from venomous flies which torment their existence in the plains. The Gujars are a fine, manly race, with peculiar and handsome features. They are mild and inoffensive in manner, and in these hills are not distinguished by the bad pre-eminence which attaches to their race in the plains. They are never known to thieve. Their women are supposed to be not very scrupulous. Their habits of frequenting public markets and carrying about their stock for sale unaccompanied by their husbands undoubtedly expose them to great temptations; and I am afraid the imputations against their character are too well founded. They are tall, well-grown women, and may be seen every morning entering the bazars of the hill towns, returning home about the afternoon with their baskets emptied

of their treasures. The Gujars are found all over the District. They abound particularly about Jwálámukhi, Tira, and Nádaun. There are some Hindu Gujars, especially towards Mandi; but they are a small sect compared to the Musalmans."

"It has been suggested," continued Sir Denzil Ibbetson, "and is I believe held by many, that Jáṭs and Gujars, and perhaps Ahírs also, are all of one ethnic stock; and this because there is a close communion between them. It may be that they are the same in their far-distant origin. But I think that they must have either entered India at different times or settled in separate parts, and my reason for thinking so is precisely because they eat and smoke together. In the case of Jáṭ and Rájput the reason for differentiation is obvious, the latter being of higher rank than the former. But the social standing of Jáṭs, Gujars, and Ahírs being practically identical, I do not see why they should ever have separated if they were once the same. It is however possible that the Jáṭs were the camel graziers and perhaps husbandmen, the Gujars the cowherds of the hills, and the Ahírs the cowherds of the plains. If this be so, they afford a classification by occupation of the yeoman class, which fills up the gap between and is absolutely continuous with the similar classification of the castes above them as Brahmans, Banias, and Rájputs, and of the castes below them as Tarkháns, Chamárs, and so forth. But we must know more of the early distribution of the tribes before we can have any opinion on the subject. I have noticed in the early historians a connection between the migrations and location of Gujars and Rájputs which has struck me as being more than accidental; but the subject needs an immense deal of work upon it before it can be said to be even ready for drawing conclusions.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE GUJARS.

A full history of the ancient Gurjaras and of the great Gurjara empire, the existence of which the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson claimed to have established,† would be beyond the scope of this article, but the reader's attention may be directed to certain incidents in their history in the Punjab. According to Dr. Rudolf Hoernle the Tomaras (the modern Tunwar Rájputs) were a clan of the Gurjaras, and indeed their imperial or ruling clan. The Pehowa (Pehoa in the Karnál district) inscription records of a Tomara family that it was descended from a *rájá*, Jáula, whose name recalls that of the Sháhi Javúvla or Jahula and of the *mahárája*, Toramána Sháhi Jaúvla of the Kura inscription. Dr. Hoernle thinks it probable that the Kachwáhás and Parihars, like the Tomaras, were all clans or divisions of a Jávula tribe, claiming descent from Toramána, king of the White Huns or Ephthalites.‡ Mr. Bhandarkar has shown that the Solankis (Chaulakyas), Parihars

* Mr. Wilson notes that the Gujars and the Bargújar tribe of Rájputs are often found together; and suggests that the latter may be to the Gújars what the Khánzádahs are to the Meos and what most Rájputs are to the Jáṭs.

† See his note in J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 163-4, where he identifies the Gúrjaras with the Gauḍas (Gaurs, now Brahmans) and points out that according to Alberúni (Sachau's *Trans.* i., p. 300) Guḍa = Táneshar. The Gaur Brahmans were and indeed are *parohits* of the Hindu Gujars and still minister to some who are converts to Islám.

‡ J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 1-4. It may further be noted that the Bar- or Baḍ-Gujar Rájputs are probably of Gujar descent.

(Pratíháras), Parmars (Paramáras) and Chauháns (Cháhumánas or Cháhuvánas), the four so-called Agnikula clans of Rájputs, were originally divisions of the Gúrjaras, and to these Dr. Hoernle would thus add the Tomaras and Kachhwahas. The exact ethnic relation of the Gúrjaras to the Huns is still very obscure, but as a working hypothesis Dr. Hoernle thinks that in the earlier part of the 6th century A. D. a great invasion of Central Asiatic peoples, Huns, Gúrjaras and others, whose exact interrelation we do not know, took place. The first onset carried them as far as Gwálior, but it was checked by the emperor of Kanauj, and the main portion of these foreign hordes settled in Rájputána and the Punjab, while the Chaulakyas turned south. In the north the invaders fused with the natives of the country and in the middle of the 7th century the Parihars emerged, an upgrowth followed by that the Parmars, Chauháns and imperial Gúrjaras about 750 A. D. About 840 the Gúrjara empire, with its capital at Kanauj, embraced nearly the whole of northern India, under Bhoja I, but after his death it declined.*

Another problem of great interest in the history of Indian religions is the connection of the Gúrjaras with the cult of the child Kṛishṇa of Mathurá, as contrasted with that of the ancient Kṛishṇa of Dwáraká.† This cult was, almost beyond question, introduced into India by nomads from the north, very probably by the Gúrjaras. No doubt the modern Gujars, even those who have retained their Hindu creeds, have lost all recollection of any special devotion to the cult of Kṛishṇa, and he is now prominent in the traditions of the Ahírs, but certain groups of the Ahírs appear to be of Gúrjara origin. Among them we find the Nandbansi whose name reminds us of Nand Mihr, a legendary progenitor of the Gujars, and a Solanki (Chaulakya) *got* appears among the Jádúbansi. If we may assume that these two great races, the Gujar and Ahír, once pastoral, and still largely so, are really identical, the theory that the cult of the child Kṛishṇa was introduced into India by the Gujars in general or more particularly by the Nandbansi and Guálbansi branches of the Ahírs becomes greatly strengthened. Like the Huns, the Gúrjaras were originally sun-worshippers, but they have lost all traces of any special devotion to the cult of the Sun-god, and may have acquired some tincture of Christianity either from their neighbours in Central Asia or from their connection with Christians among the Huns.‡

Various origins are claimed by different Gujar clans. Thus in Gujrát the Chauhán claim descent from Rai Pithora of Delhi.

The Chhokar in Karnál say they are Chandarbansi and an offshoot of the Jádu Rájputs of Muzaffarnagar in the United Provinces. The Bhoḍwál, Kalsián and Rawál all claim to be Chandarbansi, the Kalsián being Chauháns and the Rawáls Khokhar Rájputs by origin; but the Chhamán say they are Surajbansi and Tunwárs.

In Gurdáspur the Bhadána, Chhála, Kasána, Múnín§ and Tur *gots* claim Rájput descent and the Banths and Bujars Jáṭ extraction, while

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* *Ibid.* pp. 31-32, and p. 4.

† See *Krishna, Christianity and the Gujars*, by Mr. J. Kennedy in J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 975.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 989.

§ From the Múnín Gujars some of the Bharais and Bázigars are said to have branched off.

the Chapras say they are Khatrís by origin, and the Modis, Paṭháns. The Chhála *got* claims descent from Rájá Som Bans, Rájá of Gajni in the Deccan, and its ancestor embraced Islám at Ráhon in Jullundur, married a Gang Kasána girl and so became a Gujar. The Kasána declares itself descended from Rájá Kans, the Múnín from Rájá Indar Rai, and the Pandána from Rájá Panda Rái.

The Paswál ascribe their foundation to Wajíh Kalbi, a companion of the Prophet, who accompanied Ahutas, ruler of Yemen, when he conquered Kashmír. The Paswál originally settled in Siálkoṭ but have spread into Gurdáspur.

The Hindu Ráwat Mandan *got* is found in the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha. It traces its descent to one Ráwat who fell in love with a damsel, Gorsi, whom he only carried off after a great struggle. His *mésalliance* cost him his status as a Rájput and he became a Gujar. The *got* derives its name from him and from the number of heads (*mandan*) which fell in the struggle for Gorsi. This *got* is numerous in Jaipur, where it keeps its women in *parda* and forbids widow remarriage, but this is allowed in Nábha. Formerly the Ráwat Mandan did not roof their houses or put planks to their doorways, though they now do so. A child's first tonsure should be performed at the shrine of Swámi Pun Dás in Rewári tahsíl.

The Chokar of Nábha, who appear to be distinct from the Chhokar, are Hindus and trace their descent from Sankat, a Chauhán Rájput of Sámbhar in Jaipur, who was a great robber. Once on the road he forcibly espoused a beautiful girl whose kinsmen came to her aid, but Sankat sought help from Ban Deo and he and his comrades took the shapes of birds, and escaped. A barber too rang a wedding-bell in front of their pursuers, and they resolved to turn back. So the *got* of Sankat was called Chokar, 'one who misses,' and it still affects Ban Deo, holding the first tonsure of its children at his shrine in Jaipur, never burning cotton sticks for fuel and only using cotton after first offering it to Ban Deo.

In Nábha the Bhargar, Chaprána, Doi, Kasána, Kharána and Sardhána Gujars all vaguely claim Rájput origin, but unlike other Hindu Gujars they only avoid three *gots* in marriage, permitting it in the mother's father's *got*. They specially affect Devi and do not give the beestings of a cow or buffalo to any one till the Amáwas, when they cook rice in the milk, place it on a spot plastered with cow-dung and then give it to their children. The Bhargar, like the Ráwat Mandan, use no doors or roofs of timber, and ascribe this *tabu* to the fact that one of their women became a *sati* and a house raised in her honour was left incomplete.*

The Melu Gujars in Nábha are converts from Hinduism, but still avoid four *gots* in marriage. They do not build two hearths close together, or wear blue cloth. Their women wear gowns. This *got* never sell milk, lest the animal fall ill, but they may sell *ghi*.

The elements of the Gujars are not easy to describe. Local traditions, as has already been shown, vary as to the origins of many clans,

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* Or unroofed? Apparently a hypæthral shrine is meant.

but the following addenda may be noted as to the clans descended from the various Rájput races:—Chauhán origin is claimed by the Bhalesar, 'sons of Bhallu,' Baharwál, Jhandar, Kalsián (in Karnál).

Panwár descent is claimed by the Bahlot, Chháli, Phambhrá, 'sons of Phamar' and Paur*: Jádu (Chandarbansi) descent by the Chhokar (in Karnál), Janjúa origin by the Barráh, Khokhar (Chandarbansi) by the Rawál (in Karnál), Manhás by the Dhinda, Sombansi by the Dhakkar, Surajbansi by the Saramdrá, and Tur by the Chhamán (in Karnál).

Folk-etymology and legendary lore have been busily engaged in finding explanations of various clan names among the Gujars. Thus of the Barras, (a word meaning 'holy') it is said that their ancestor Fatihulla used to bring water from the river at Multán barefoot, for his spiritual guide's ablutions. One day the Pír saw that his disciple's foot had been pierced with thorns, so he gave him his shoes, but Fatihulla made them into a cap, as worthy to be so worn, and again his feet were pierced with thorns. The Pír seeing this blessed him and called him Barra.†

The Bharyár claim descent from Rájá Karn. The children of his descendant Rájá Dhal always used to die and his physicians advised him to feed his next child on the milk of a she-wolf (*bhairya*), whence the name Bharyár. Buta embraced Islám in Bábar's time and settled in Sháhpur.

Of the Gajgahi section it is said that Wali, their ancestor, was a Khatána who wore a *gajgah* or horse's silver ornament, so his descendants are now called Gajgahi.

Of the Khatánas' origin one story is that one day Mor and Mohang, sons of Rájá Bhans, came back from hunting and ate on a *khát* or bed. For this breach of social etiquette the Brahmans outcasted them, saying they had become Muhammadans, so they adopted Islám and were nicknamed Khatána. Another legend makes the Khatánas descendants of Rájá Jaspál and the Pándavas. Jaspál had extended his dominions from Thánesar to Jhelum and, when Sultán Mahmúd Sabuktagín invaded Hindustán, Jaspál met him at Attock, but was defeated and slain. His son, Anandpál, ruled for two years at Lahore and then fled to Hindustán, leaving two sons, Khatána and Jaideo or Jagdeo, of whom the former ruled at Lahore and turned Muhammadan. Other Gujar clans also claim descent from Anandpál, and Sultán Mahmúd assigned the Khatánas *jágírs* in Gujrát where they founded Sháhpur, now a deserted mound near Chak Díná.

The Khatánas are not only a leading Gujar clan but have many offshoots in the minor sections, such as the Gajgahis, Topas, Amránas, Awánas, Bhunds, Bukkans, Thilas, and the Jangal, Debar, Doi, and Lohsar clans.

Hindu Khatánas are also found in the Báwal *nizámat* of Núbha and there claim Tur Rájput origin, deriving their name from Khatu Nagar, a village in Jaipur. As followers of Báwá Mohan Dás Bhadawáswála

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* One is tempted to connect his name with Porus.

† No such word is traceable in the *Panjábi Dicty.* The term recalls the Bargujar Rájputs.

they abstain from flesh and wine. At weddings the Jáṭ ceremonies are observed and on the departure of the bridegroom's party his father is beaten by the women of the bride's family.

The Topas are really Khatánas and when the Jáṭs and Gujars were competing for the honour of giving the biggest contribution to Akbar's rebuilding of Gujrát town one Adam, a Khatána, paid a *lakh* and a quarter of rupees into the imperial treasury, measuring the money in a *topa*, whence his descendants are so named.

In Hazára the Terus say they are really Rájputs and descended from a *rájá* who was so generous that when once a *faqír* to test him demanded his head he stooped so that the *faqír* might cut it off, which he did. Having thus proved his generosity the *faqír* replaced his head on his shoulders and prayed for his life to be restored to him. The clan name is derived from *trer*, a scar.

In Delhi certain Gujar clans claim descent from eponyms. Such are Budhána, descendants of Bhopál; Amlaota, from Ambapál, Bhotla, from Bharup; Balián, from Baniapál; Dhaidha, from Diptipál; Chinori, from Chhainpál; Nangri, from Naghpál, and Tanúr, from Tonpál. As to the Adhána, tradition says that Rájá Rám Chand of the solar race had two sons, Lu and Kush. The latter was the progenitor of the Kachhwái Rájputs; while Lu's son Ganwat had a son named Rájá who made a *karao* marriage and was nicknamed Gujar. He had two sons Adhe and Swahi. The latter died sonless, but Adhe founded the Adhána clan.

Organization.—It is generally asserted that the real (*asli*) or original Gujars are the 2½ sections, Gorsi, Kasána and the half tribe Burgat, so-called as descended from a slave mother.* Next to these rank the Khatánas who for a long period held sway in the Gujrát, in which tract, however, the 2½ sections were the original settlers, the other sections having become affiliated to them in course of time, though not necessarily Gujars by origin. As an instance of this process of accretion the Gujars point to the Barras, of Hasilanwálá village in Gujrát, whose forebear Fati-ulla, a Janjua by birth, was deputed by one of the saints of Multán to colonise that tract. All Gújars give daughters to the Barras, but never receive them in return, and the Barras all rank as *Miánas*, except those of certain families which have forfeited their sanctity, and are designated Pír.†

In Hazára the 2½ 'real' sections do not appear to be recognised, but it is generally conceded that the Kathária, HAKLA and Sarju sections are of Rájput origin, though this origin is also claimed by several others. Tradition avers that the Kathárias once ruled a large part of

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*In Delhi the *asli* sections are said to be 3½:—Chechi, Nikádi, Gorsi, and Kasána (the half). And in Karnál the 2½ sections are said to be the Gorsi, Chechi and Kasána (the half). But the Chechi are said, in Gujrát, to be by origin Khatánas, so that the accounts generally agree in representing the Gorsi, Kasána and Khatána as the 3 original Gujar clans. Several stories are told to explain their pre-eminence. Thus in Ludhiána it is said that Jagpál, Gorsi, and Abaya, Khatána, successfully resisted Rájá Jag's father, Uda Díp, in a mock campaign for 3 years, while Nandu Lál, Bargat, gave in after a few months—hence his clan was called the half.

†In the *Jhelum Gazetteer* the Bharras (*sic*) are said to be descendants of Shaikh Natha, of the Manikhiála family, who fled from his home after killing a kinsman, and died in the odour of sanctity.

the Púnch valley, whence the Dogras expelled them, though their chiefs still hold large *jágírs* in that fief of Kashmír. Naturally the Kathárias only take wives from Gujars of Rájput descent and only give brides to men of their own section.*

The Gujars are often said to have 84 clans or sections and in Ludhiána their Mirásis address them as '*Chaurási got dá diwa*,' *i. e.*, 'Light of the 84 clans'; but other accounts assign them 101, 170 or even 388 sections.

Of these numerous clans none have any definite superiority over the rest, though a few have a vague local standing above their neighbours. Such are the Khobar, Rawál, Wápe and Dhalák† in Karnál—because they abstain from flesh and liquor, whereas the Chhokar, Kalsán, Datyar, Dhosi and Ráthi sections do not. Of regular classes there is hardly a trace, excepting the Miánas who form in Gujrát a semi-sacred class. They are descendants of men who have acquired a name for learning or sanctity and so their descendants cannot give wives to Gujars of less exalted rank.‡ Indeed the leading Khatána family of Dinga used to consider it derogatory to give daughters to any Gujar at all and sought bridegrooms in more exalted families, or failing them let their girls remain unwed. In Gujrát the Gujars also possess a curious social organisation, being possessed of 84 *darrs* or lodges.§ Originally the number was only 54—distributed over the 7 *tappas* into which the tract was divided in Akbar's time, but 20 have been added from various families, and 5 assigned to the Gujars of Kála in Jhelum. To become a *darr-wálá* or member requires money, influence and popularity. A candidate must first, at his son's wedding, obtain the consent of the existing *darr-wálás*, which is not easily done, as there must be no 'black-balls,' and he must be on good terms with the leading men. Having been thus elected he must pay so much per *darr* to the *mirásis*. At present the rate is Rs. 11 per *darr* so he has to pay 84 × 11 = Rs. 924, or nearly 60 guineas as entrance-fee. His descendants remain *darr-wálás*, but his agnates do not acquire the privilege. At a son's wedding in the family a *darr-wálá* has to pay a fee of not less than 4 annas to each *darr* for its *mirási*. The *darr-wálás* do not as a rule give daughters in marriage to those who do not possess equal social standing. The real origin of this system does not appear to be known, but it has some resemblances to the Rájput *chhat* and *makán*, and perhaps more to the lodges of the Bárá Sádát.

The social observances of the Gujars are ordinarily those of the other Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, among whom they live, but one or two special customs are to be noted.

In Delhi a child is betrothed in infancy by the barber and Brahman jointly, but he is not married till the age of 10 or 12. Prior to the wedding one or the other on the bride's part go to the boy's house with the *lagan* to discuss the arrangements for the wedding. Half the *lik*

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* P. N. Q. II, § 280.

† The Dhaláks of Keorak in tahsil Kaithal regard themselves as exalted in rank above the other Gujars in Karnál and used to give daughters to the Khoter and Chhokar Gujars east of the Jumna. Naturally this led to female infanticide in Keorak.

‡ In Ludhiána a few families also bear the title of Mián.

§ Lit. a door or threshold.

or dues are paid to both these functionaries at betrothal and the other half at the *lagan*, whereas Jáṭs pay the whole at betrothal.

A day or two before the wedding *madha* worship is held, the beam of a plough being pitched before the house door with a little straw tied to its top. A large earthen jar with a smaller one full of water on top of it is also placed beside the beam, a red thread (*kaláwa*) being fastened round the uppermost pot. Clearly this is a fertility charm, and the usage does not imply that the Gujars are devoted to agriculture.

In Hoshiárpur the Gujars have a curious custom at weddings. Money, called *mudda ji rupaiya* or '*mudda* at one rupee per soul,' is given by well-to-do Gujars on such an occasion to every Mirási present, regardless of age or sex, and a pregnant Mirásan gets two rupees, one for each life. When a Gujar at a son's wedding gives this money to the Mirásis of certain specified Gujar *gots* it is called *bháji*, and on the wedding of any boy of those specified *gots* the Mirási of the Gujar who gave the original *bháji* is entitled to a rupee. A Gujar who gives *mudda ji rupaiya* is held in high esteem socially and the Mirásis style him *gharbhán ká dátá* or 'one who is generous even to the child in the womb.'

The Gujars of Nakodar tahsil in Jullundur have the following custom (called *pindwalna*) at marriages, a survival of marriage by capture. The young men of the bridegroom's party gallop round the village, so as to encircle it; those of the bride's party endeavour to prevent this. If any one of the former succeeds in completing the circle, he is given a present by the bride's parents. Another custom is, for the girls of the bride or bridegroom's family to try and prevent one of their brothers-in-law from lighting the fire on which food for the marriage feast is to be cooked. If he succeeds, he is rewarded by a present of some article of dress. This custom is called *jhalka-bhathi.**

In Gurdáspur the Muhammadan Gujars date their conversion from Hinduism to the time of Aurungzeb. They still observe Hindu rites, and on the birth of a son the women make an idol of cow-dung (*govardhan*), which is worshipped. The birth of a son is an expensive event, as besides the Qázi and Mirási who are fee'd, the child's sister and paternal aunt get clothes and a she-buffalo or money, and the Gaur Brahman still visits some families as a *parohit* to bless the child's father by placing *dab* grass on his head. At a wedding too he observes this rite, but the *chauka* is made by a Mirási. Herein the boy is seated on a basket before he dons his wedding garments and sets out for the bride's house. No Gujar is allowed to marry in his own *got*, but the Bhatia have given up this restriction, and generally Hindu customs are dying out among the Muhammadan sections.

In Gujrát the customs of the Muhammadan Gujars are in general similar to those of the Muhammadan Jáṭs, but after a birth on the *dhawan* day, when the mother bathes and leaves the place of her confinement, a Brahman comes and makes a square (*chauka*), on which a *díwá* made of *áta* (flour) is lighted. Big *rotis* too are cooked, each a *topa* in weight, and given to the menials. The Brahman also gets a

* But this custom is not confined to the Gujars. It exists among the Meuns also.

topa of *átá*. In respectable families *halwá* is cooked as well, but it is eaten only by persons of the same "bone," *i. e.*, of the same *got*. Married daughters cannot eat this *halwá* because they have left the *got*, or section. If a son's wife is away at her parents' house her share is sent her, but none of her parents' family can eat it.

Milni is not observed at a marriage by the Gujrát Gujars, but they observe the *dawa*, or 'imitation' instead. Before the wedding procession leaves the bridegroom's house, the Mirási of the bride's family goes to see what the numbers of the procession will be and so on. He gets a present and returns, after which the wedding procession starts for the bride's house. The Gujars also have a *darr* or custom of payment to the Mirásis of particular families, but it is done only by those families, not by all Gujars, whereas the Jáṭs have their *rathachári* which may be done by any one who chooses. The *darr* has already been described. Some three or four weeks before the wedding the *gala* ceremony is also observed. *Gala* means a handful of grain which is put into the *chaki* (mill). The *gala* marks the commencement of the wedding and is celebrated, after the women of the *birádri* have assembled, by grinding five *paropis* of grain and putting the *átá* into a pitcher round which *mauli* thread has been tied. Amongst Hindus this *mauli* is first tied not only to the pitcher but to the *chaki*, pestle and mortar, *chhaj*, etc., as well, and then the *átá* and other articles required for the wedding are got together.

As a caste the Hindu Gujars appear to have no special cults, though in Gurgaon they fervently celebrate the Gordhan festival, but it is a Hindu, not a special Gujar, fête. In Hissár Bhairon or Khetrpál, as a village deity, is their chief object of worship. The tradition is that he was born of a virgin. His chief shrine is at Ahror (near Rewári in Gurgaon) where many of the Hissár Gujars attend a great festival held in his honour in February.

The Muhammadan Gujars of Hazára have a curious legend which recalls those of Drís, the Prophet, and of Hazrat Ghaus of the Chihltan mountain near Quetta.* Their ancestor Nand Mihr, they relate, used to serve the Prophet and once gave him a draught of water while at prayer. The Prophet promised to fulfil his every wish and Nand Mihr asked that his wife might bear him children, so the Prophet gave him a charm (*tawíz*) for her to eat, but she did not eat it. This occurred thirty-nine times, and when the Prophet gave Nand the fortieth charm he made his wife eat them all at once. In due course she bore him forty children, but finding that he could not support them all Nand Mihr turned thirty-nine of them adrift. They prospered and built a house into which they would not admit their unnatural father, so he, on the Prophet's advice, surrendered to them his remaining son also. Descendants of these forty sons are said to be found in other parts of the Punjab and Kashmír but not in Hazára itself, save as immigrants.

By occupation the Gujars are essentially a pastoral race, so much so that in the Gojra (? Gujrát) something like a regular *siápá* is observed on the death of a buffalo, the women mourning for it almost as if for a

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* See Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, p. 169, and Masson's *Travels*, London, 1844, II, p. 85.

human being. A similar custom is noted in Attock, in which District the women may often be seen with veiled faces weeping over the death of a milch buffalo.

In Hoshiárpur Gujar women are in great request as wet-nurses and dwellers in towns frequently put out children to nurse with them for a year or more in order that they may grow up strong. Some Gujars will not allow their women to go into the towns with milk, and regard themselves as superior to those who allow this practice, refusing them their daughters in marriage. The freedom of Gujar women in this respect has given rise to a general idea that they are immoral.

In dress the Gujars are not distinguished by any marked peculiarities. In Gurgaon it is said that the Gujri dresses like a Kanjri, which reminds one of the proverb :

Zamín ba yak sál banjar shawad,
Gujar be yak nukta Kanjar shawad,
"In one year land becomes waste,
By one dot 'Gujar' becomes 'Kanjar'"*

and probably is just as near the truth. In Karnál the women weave *chausi,* both fine (*dhotar*) and coarse (*gáṛhá*), of cotton, and it is usually dyed blue or red, and then printed. In Nábha they are said not to wear gold ornaments.

The Gujars in Baháwalpur have a héreditary representative (*pagband*) who presides at weddings and funerals, but he exercises no powers and receives no fees.

The dialect of the Gujars is Gújari or Gojari. It has strong affinities with the language of Jaipur and is akin to Rájastháni. Gújari is spoken by the Himalayan Gujars, including those of the Siwálik in Hoshiárpur, but elsewhere the Gujars generally speak the dialects of the people amongst whom they dwell.†

GÚJARÁTI, or Biás, are described by Sir Denzil Ibbetson as "Brahmans who came from Gujarát in Sindh, are in some respects the highest class of all Brahmans; they are always fed first; and they bless a Gauṛ when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary bread from his hands. They are fed on the 12th day after death, and the Gauṛs will not eat on the 13th day if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious offerings. To them appertain especially the Ráhu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil, sesame, goats, or green or dirty clothes; but will take old clothes if washed, buffaloes, and *satnája.* They also take a special offering to Ráhu made by a sick person, who puts gold in *ghi,* looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gújaráti, or who weighs himself against *satnája* and makes an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on to the top of a house (no difficult feat in a village), or a foal dropped in the month of Sáwan, or a buffalo calf in Mágh, are given to the Gújaráti as being unlucky. No Gauṛ would take them. At every harvest the Gújaráti takes a small allowance (*seori*) of grain from the threshing floor, just as does the Gauṛ." The divisions of the Gújaráti are described on pp. 140-1 *supra.*•

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* Hoshiárpur S. R., 1885, p. 54.

† *Census Report, India,* 1903, p. 335.

GUJJRÁL, a Muhammadan Jáṭ tribe found in Gujrát, and descended from a boy who was suckled by a Gujar foster-mother. It settled in Gujrát in the time of Aurangzeb.

GULÁBDÁSÍ(A), a Sikh sect, or rather order, founded by one Guláb Dás, an Udási of Chaṭṭhá or Chattiánwálá near Kasúr. Its doctrines may be described as Epicurean in tendency, though the accounts given of them vary as to the precise tenets of the sect. One story is that they disbelieve in the existence of God, and only revere living priests of their own persuasion. Guláb Dás, though originally an Udásí, is said to have fallen under the influence of one Hirá Dás, a *sádh* of Kasúr, and about 70 years ago he discarded a *faqír's* nudity for ordinary raiment, proclaiming that he had had a vision which convinced him that he had no religious superior, that pilgrimages were waste of time and temples not possessed of any sanctity. Mr. Maclagan says that the real founder of the sect was an Udásí named Prítam Dás who received some slight at a Kumbh bathing festival on the Ganges and so started a new sect. His principal disciple was Guláb Dás, a Sikh Jáṭ, who had been a *ghorchára* or trooper in Maháràja Sher Singh's army and joined the new sect on the collapse of the Sikh monarchy. He compiled the scripture called *Updes Bilás,* and it is his tomb at Chattiánwála which is resorted to by his disciples. Mr. Maclagan added :—

"The Gulábdásís have thrown over asceticism and have proceeded to the other extreme. They originally held that all that was visible in the universe was God, and that there was no other. It is said that Guláb Dás declared himself to be Brahm and many of his disciples believe themselves to be God; and, properly speaking, their faith is that man is of the same substance as the deity, and will be absorbed in him, but for the most part they are looked on by their neighbours as denying the existence of God altogether. They do not believe in a personal future life, and dispense with the veneration of saints and with pilgrimages and religious ceremonies of all kinds. Pleasure alone is their aim; and renouncing all higher objects they seek only for the gratification of the senses, for costly dress and tobacco, wine and women, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life. They are scrupulously neat in their attire and engage in all worldly pursuits, some of them being men of considerable wealth. They are said to have an especial abhorrence for lying, and there is certainly little or no hypocrisy in their tenets. In appearance they vary; some always wear white clothes; others preserve the Udásí dress; others are clothed like the Nirmalas; and others are distinguished by being always shaved. They are of course greatly distrusted and, to some extent, despised by their co-religionists, and their numbers are said to be on the decrease. The Gulábdásis are returned mainly from Lahore and Jullundur.* They admit any caste to the sect, but the different castes admitted do not eat with each other or intermarry."

Guláb Dás abolished the *kes* or Sikh fashion of wearing the hair, allowed his followers to smoke and only acknowledged such passages

* They are also found in Amritsar and Ferozepore and have *dehras* in Ambála and Karnál.

of the *Granth* as accorded with his own views. The Gulábdásís do not frequent the ordinary fairs, but have a large gathering of their own, which lasts six days, during the *Holi*. The author of the *Panjábi Dictionary* says that Guláb Dás inclined on the whole towards pantheism.

Gulahira, fem. -í, a vagabond.

Gulám, *see* Ghulám.

Gulerah, *see* Golera.

Gulhari, Gulharia, a section of the Arorás, a man of that section, (*Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 410).

Gumhár, *see* Kumhár.

Gumrání, a clan of Paṭháns found in the Nowshera tahsil of Peshávar.

Gundi-Nawazan, the 'white' party in the Marwat plain of Bannu; *see* under Spin. The 'black' or Tor party is known as the Gundi-Abezar.

Gunjíal, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Guráhá, 'a tribe of Jáṭs who were originally Rájputs. They claim to have acquired their lands from Nawáb Ghází Khán to whom they presented a valuable horse, and he gave them as much land as they could compass in a day and a night': (*Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 415).

Guráya, *see* Goráya.

Gurbuz, an unimportant Paṭhán tribe, which accompanied the Wazir in their movements, and once occupied the hills between their Mahsúd and Darvesh Khel brethren, where they disputed the possession of the Ghabbar peak with the Bitanni. They have now returned to their original seat west of the Khost range and north of the Dawari, who hold the trans-border banks of the Tochi river.

Gurchání, an organized Baloch *tuman*, own the Mári and Drágal hills, and their boundary extends further into the mountains than that of any other of the tribes subject to us; while their territory does not extend much to the east of the Sulaimáns. They are divided into eleven clans, of which the chief are the Durkáni, Shekáni Lashári (a sub-*tuman*), Pitáfi, Jisatkáni, and Sabzáni. The last four are true Baloch and the last three Rinds;* the remainder of the tribe being said to have descended from Gorish, a grandson of Rája Bhímsen of Haidarábád, who was adopted by the Baloch and married among them. He is said to have accompanied Humáyún to Delhi, and on his return to have collected a Baloch following and ejected the Paṭhán holders from the present Gurcháni holdings. It is not impossible that a considerable number of the Lashári clan, who are not too proud of their affiliation to the Gurcháni, may have returned themselves as Lashári simply, and so have been included in the Lashári tribe. The whole of the Durkáni and about half of the Lashári live beyond our border, and are not subject to us save through their connection with the tribe. The

* Dames' account is different. He says that the principal part of the tribe is Dodai, the Syáhphádh Durkáni being Rinds, and the Pitáfi, Jogáni and Cháng are probably partly Rinds: while the Lasháris (except the Gahols and Bhands) and the Jistkánis are Lasháris; and the Suhriánis and Holawánis are Bulethis.

latter is the most turbulent of all the clans, and they and the Pitáfi used to rival the Khosa tribe in lawlessness of conduct. They were given fresh lands prior to 1881 and gradually settled down. They are only found in Dera Ghází, and have their head-quarters at Lálgarh, near Harrand, in that District. There is also a Gurchání clan among the Lunds of Sori.

GURDALI, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GURKE, an Aráín clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GURKHÁ.—The ruling and military race of Nepál, only found in the Punjab as members of our Gurkha regiments. The Gurkha invasion will be found described in the *Sirmúr Gazetteer*, pp. 16—18, the *Simla Gazetteer*, and the Kángra *Settlement Report*, by Sir James Lyall, § 82, but it left practically no traces on the ethnic elements of the Punjab Himalayas. The Gurkhas are of mixed Aryan and Mongolian blood. An interesting account of them will be found in Hodgson's *Essays*, and their organisation which in some respects closely reproduces phenomena found in the Hindu castes of the Punjab, is described in Vansittart's work.

GURMANG.—An insignificant class of criminals found in the Ráwalpindi district, where some of them are registered as criminals.

GURMÁNI, a BALOCH tribe scattered through Deras Ghází and Ismáíl Khán and Muzaffargarh.

GURRA OR CHAMARWA.—The Brahmans who minister to the Chamárs, Aheris, and other outcasts. They are not recognized as Brahmans by the other classes; and though they wear the sacred thread it is perhaps possible that their claim to Brahman origin is unfounded. Yet on the whole it seems most probable that they are true Brahmans by descent, but have fallen from their high position. They are often called Chamarwa *sádhs*.

GURUN, a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

GURZMÁR or RUFÁI.—One of the irregular Muhammadan orders, said to have been founded by one Sayyid Ahmad Kabír. It is so called from the fact that its members excite the compassion of the public by beating their breasts with studded maces (*gurz*). They also carry about iron chains which they handle when red-hot, and knives and daggers and needles which they thrust through their flesh. The author of the *Qánún-i-Islám* (a book relating to Southern India) gives some details of their powers: "they level blows at their backs with their swords, thrust a spit through their sides or into their eyes, both of which they take out and put in again; or cut out their tongues, which, on being replaced in their mouths, reunite. Nay, they even sever the head from the body and glue them together again with saliva," and so on, *ad nauseam*.

GUTKÁ, a small sept, some 60 souls in number, of the Bhall section of the Jáṭs found in Hadiára, a village in Lahore. They are descendants of one Gurbakhsh Singh, a Sikh Jáṭ who earned the nickname of Gutká ("a collection of all that is bad") by his thieving propensities not long before the British conquest of the Punjab. He owned little land, and poverty compelled his descendants to continue his career of crime.

Gyáni, one possessing divine knowledge, a sage, from *gyán*, divine knowledge or religious meditation; among the Sikhs a traditional interpreter of the *Granth*.

Gyazhingpa, *see* Cháhzang.

Gwálá, an occupational term for a Hindu cowherd and shepherd. In the Punjab a Hindu milkman, butter-maker and cowherd is called a *gwálá* and is generally by caste an Ahír*; but if a Muhammadan, he would be called a *ghosi* and is often a Gujar by tribe. The Ahír *gwálás* of the Punjab used to buy milk largely of the *ghosis* for butter-making, of which they had the monopoly. Till the Mutiny the *ghosis* were simply milk-sellers, but after it they took to butter-making also. Hindus will buy milk of a Hindu *gwálá*, or a Muhammadan *ghosi*, but not of the latter if water has been mixed with the milk, as the water would defile them. When *gwálás* purchase milk of Muhammadan *ghosis* to make butter they are supposed to see the cow milked.

Gwár,† Gwária, a nomad caste of Hindus, low in the social scale, and said to be broken-down Banjáras who having lost their cattle and other property have taken to wicker work and lead a gipsy existence. But other accounts make them an offshoot of the Sánsis or Nats. They also make *sirki* or screens of reed and set millstones. In Hissár popular legend makes them descendants of a Bhíl woman by a Rájput, and in this District they are settled in Hánsi and Bhiwáni tahsíls, engaged in ordinary labour as well as mat-making, and described as intermarrying with Banjáras. They are confined to the south-east Districts of the Punjab.

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* For the Gwálbans of the Ahírs see under Ahír.

† Possibly Gawár, *q.v.*

H.

HABIÁSI, a synonym of KÚKA.

HADI, a general labourer who makes bricks, carries earth, vegetables, etc., for hire, in Kángṛa. He resembles in some respects the Kumhár in the plains.

HADWÁL, a numerous and powerful tribe in the territories of Kashmír and rivals of the JUNHÁLS.

HAIBOKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

HAJÁRÍ, *see* HAZÁRA.

HAJAULI, the name by which a branch of the Ghumman Jáṭs is known. It is of Rájput status, and is descended from Harpál and Ranpál, two of the three sons of Jodha. The third son, Sanpál, espoused twenty-two wives of various castes, and so the Hajaulis, who remained Rájputs, refused to intermarry with their children and they sank to Jáṭ status.*

HAJJÁM, a barber; *see* NÁÍ.

HAJÚÁH (*Rájputs*), a branch of the Rájputs, apparently extinct, from whom the Ghumman, Hajúáh, Khira, Tatli and Wains Jáṭ tribes claim to be descended.†

HAJRÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in (Multán, probably *Hijrá* or *Hinjrá*).

HAKÍM, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HAKLÁ, a section of the Gujars.

The Haklás of Gujrát boast origin even more exalted than the Gujars of Rájput blood, for they claim descent from Alexander the Great and give the following pedigree:—

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
|
Gang, grandson, held Khorásán.
|
Rájá Jagdeo of Mathra, which his descendants ruled for 14 generations.
|
Rájá Nand Pál.‡
|
Godan. | Mású. | Dhor. | Dhol.
(Godan and Mású)
|
Rájá Bhamána.
|
Rájá Sangána, ruler of Mathra and Narwarkot.
|
Rájá Hik.
|
Rájá Baru, founder of Barnáli in 1009.
|
Grandson, dethroned by Muhammad of Ghor.

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* Amín Chand's *Hist. of the Siálkoṭ Dist.*, pp. 45-6. This account of the Chaman (Ghumman) tribe adds that the genuine Bajoali (*sic*) Rájputs are still to be found in Ráwalpindi and Jhelum.

† *Hist. of Siálkot*, pp. 21, 22. 24, 26 and 29. [? A misprint for Bajwá.]

‡ In Ludhiána the tradition is that Rájá Garb of Mathra had two sons, Dara (whose descendants became Rájputs) and Nand Mahr, who settled in Guzerat and thus became the progenitor of the Gujars, by a woman of Guzerat, who bore him 19 sons.

As Rájputs the Haklás claim to be Panwárs, and derive their name from Rájá Hik or Hikdar who overran 'all India' and was king of Rájputána. Rájá Baru, however, held the Jatch Doáb and Mathra, but Muhammad of Ghor deposed his son and grandson for aiding Khusrau Malik, last of the Ghaznivides.* Under the Sikhs the Haklás again rose to some power. Their chief, Chandu Ahmad Khán recovered Zamán Sháh Abdáli's guns from the Jhelum for Ranjít Singh and received a grant of Barnáli and Bhágo, with Rs. 25,000 a year. His grandson, Mihr Ali, sided with the British at Chiliánwálá.

HÁL, a tribe of Jáṭs which once held the tract now occupied by the Lillas in the Jhelum Thal, but now reduced to a few families. Extensive mounds west of Lilla village mark the site of their ancient settlement.

HALÁL-KHOR, a term applied to a converted sweeper, Chubṛá, or any other outcaste who has embraced Islám and only eats what is permissible under its law. Properly, according to the *Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 424, *halál-khor*, 'one who eats carrion.'

HALÁWAT, *see* Ahláwat.

HÁLI, the skinner and dresser of hides among the Gaddi tribes. He also makes shoes and weaves baskets of hill bamboo, and makes green leaf platters. Occasionally the Háli removes nightsoil. The Hális are the most numerous and important of the menial castes throughout Chamba and are chiefly employed in field labour, either as farm-servants to the higher castes or as tenants. They also weave *pattu* or woollen stuff. The following is a list of the Háli *gots* found in Kángṛa:—

Badhora.	Khawal.
Bádi.†	Khripár.
Basiúra.	Kharere.
Chilkhwáñ.	Kodhe.
Dhulkán.	Marenu.
Ghahi.	Mhahán.
Ghelán.	Pachrán.
Jurgho.	Rámsán.
Kahán.	Rihánú.
Kardocha.	Torain.

The Hális are, or claim to be, endogamous, and would not at any rate give a daughter to a Bádi (who was not a Háli), a Dhaugri, a Rihára or a Sippi. Marriage is both infant and adult. A man may espouse his wife's sister. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated, even in the case of a *ghar-juántrú* (the *ghar-jawái* or resident son-in-law of the plains). Hális follow the Gaddi wedding customs. The plaiting of the bride's hair before the *bed* rite is done by the bride's mother and is called *khrâru sir*. That done after it is done by her mother-in-law and is called *suhâgan sir*. Polygamy is allowed and so is divorce. A divorcée can remarry, but a widow may not espouse her husband's elder brother. Widow remarriage is celebrated by the women's putting a *dori* on the bride, and her husband's placing a *bála* in her nose.

* Yet the Haklás are said to have accompanied Muhammad of Ghor when he conquered Herát. (Is the Herát tract in the modern District of Gujrát meant?) For a ballad composed by a *mirási* of the Haklás see *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 209.

† Apparently a separate caste.

HALLAN, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

HALWÁI, a confectioner, fr. *halwá*, a sweetmeat made of flour, *ghi* and sugar.

HAMANDKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

HAMAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán tahsil.

HAMÁRÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HAMAṬH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HAMDÁNI, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Amritsar.

HAMDÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HAMOKÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

HAMSÁYA, a neighbour, a client: as applied to a clan on the Frontier the term implies clientship, subordination to a true Paṭhán clan, and, usually, Hindki origin.

HAMSHÍRAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and in Baháwalpur.

HANBALI, one of the four great schools of doctrine of the Sunni Muhammadans. Described by Mr. Maclagan as "followers of Ibn Hanbal (A. D. 780-885), chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Baghdád and not found in the Punjab—at least none have been entered in our Census returns." The modern Ahl-i-Hadís follow, to some extent, the teachings of this school.

HANBI, a Jáṭ tribe, which has one branch settled in the Gurcháni and another in the Tibbi Lund country of tahsil Jámpur in Dera Ghází Khán, where for purposes of tribal organization they are reckoned as belonging to those tribes. The tribe has adopted Baloch manners, customs* and dress.

HANDA, a Hindu Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

HÁNḌÁ, a KHATRI *got* or section.

HAṆDAL, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Kapurthala, Amritsar and in Siálkoṭ, where it claims solar Rájput origin, and descent from Rám Chandra. Haṇdal, its eponym, lived in Ajudhia; and Sár, fifth in descent from him, being outcasted migrated to the Amritsar district in the Punjab and his descendants married Jáṭ wives and took to agriculture.

HANḌÁL, a tribe of Jáṭs.

HANDÁLÍ, the third oldest sect of the Sikhs. The Handálí were the followers of Bidhí Chand, son of Handál† a Jáṭ of the Mánjha, who had been converted by Amar Dás, the third Gurú. Bidhí Chand was apparently a priest at Jandiála Gurú, in Amritsar, who was abandoned by his followers on account of his union with a Muhammadan wife, and who then devised a creed of his own. He compiled a *granth* and a *janmsákhi*, in which he endeavoured to exalt Handál to the rank of chief apostle and relegate Gurú Nának to a second place,‡ representing him

* *Punjab Customary Law*, XVI, p. ii.

† Hindál was the Gurú's cook, but was appointed a *masandi*. Maclagan, § 97.

‡ He assigns Nának's birth to the month of Kátik.

as a mere follower of Kabír. Bidhí Chand died in 1654 A. D. and was succeeded by Deví Dás, his son by his Muhammadan wife. Under Muhammadan persecution the Handálís denied they were Sikhs of Nának,* and subsequently Ranjít Singh deprived them of their lands. The Handálís are now called Niranjanis, or worshippers of God under the name of Niranjan, "The Bright." They reject all Hindu rites at weddings and funerals, paying no reverence to Brahmans. They have a special marriage rite of their own, and at funerals perform no *kiria karm* or *phul.*

Haṇḍye, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Hánifia, one of the great schools of doctrine of the Sunni Muhammadans. Mr. Maclagan described them as "followers of the Imám Abu Hánifa (A. D. 699-769), whose doctrines are distinguished by the latitude allowed to private judgment in the interpretation of the law. The greater part of the Sunnis of Northern India who belong to any school at all belong to this. The founder of the school is known to his followers as the Imám Azam or Great Imám, and our figures for Hánifis include those who have returned themselves as adherents of the Imám Azam."

Haṇjan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Hanji, fem. **-an**, a boatman, a caste in Kashmír.

Hanjra, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery (doubtless Hinjrá).

Hanjrás, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar (doubtless Hinjrá).

Hanni, a clan of the Kodai Karlánri Paṭháns, affiliated to the Mangal, but of Sayyid origin. With the Mangal they left their Karlánri home in Birmil, crossed the Sulaimáns into the modern Bannu and settled in the valleys of the Kurram and Gambíla rivers. They were expelled by the Bannúchi Paṭháns a century later. Raverty, however, makes "Honai" and Waṛdag sons of Kodai's sister and adopted by him, but he relates the story that a Sayyid, a pious Darvesh, Sayyid Muhammad, settled among the Kaṛlárnai and other Paṭháns and took to wife a daughter from the Kaṛlárnai and two other tribes. The Sayyid origin of the Hanni thus appears undoubted.

Hanotrah, a Brahman sept which ministers to the Malhi Jáṭs.

Háns, a small Jáṭ clan found in Jínd, Ludhiána, Multán and Montgomery.† In the latter District it has a Sidh, Bába Sulaimán, at Háns, to whom bridal pairs make offerings. The name appears to be connected with *hans*, a swan or goose.

Hánsalah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Hánsarah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Hánsí, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* Maclagan (§ 87) says the *gurús* of the Niranjani actually took service with Ahmad Sháh Abdáli and thereby drew down on themselves terrible vengeance from Charat Singh as early as 1762, when he attacked Jandiála.

† In these two latter districts it is classed both as Jáṭ and Rájpút (agricultural), but as Jáṭ, alone, in Multán, and in Ludhiána.

Haqíqí, a sect doubtfully identified with the **Ahl-i-Hadís**; but the term simply means "genuine" or "literal" and may refer to some other sect.

Haráike, a sept of the Bhaṭṭís, found in Siálkoṭ.

Harar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Hardásia, a small religious sect or order of *faqírs*.

Hargan, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

Harí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Hari, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Jínd. They have a *jathera* at Shadi Hari and out of a pond there cast seven handfuls of earth at the Dewáli in his name.

Harchand, a sept of Rájputs found in Hoshiárpur. It ranks below the Dadwál.

Haripál—Harpáil (the latter is the older form), one of the three sons of Dom or Dam, son or grandson of Jár and founder of the Haripál division of the **Sheranni** Paṭháns.

Hárl, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur (doubtless Harral).

Hární, fem. **Harniáni**, a highly criminal tribe, with a non-criminal minority, found in the Ludhiána, Jullundur and Hoshiárpur districts.

The Hárnís of Ludhiána have a curious tradition of descent from one Najaf Khán, a Paṭhán, who was a friend of Sháh Abdul Karím of Gilán. With his 8 sons Najaf Khán accompanied the saint in the army of Mahmúd of Ghazní, receiving for his service lands at Mansúri near Delhi. The sons married Hindu Rájput wives and thus became Rájputs. Najaf Khán's descendants settled in various parts of India, those of his four younger sons in Bhatner, Uch, Dhodúkoṭ and Multán, whence in 1671 A. D. they migrated into Kapúrthalá. At Hárnián Khera, their settlement in Bíkáner, the Bhaṭṭís among the Hárnís quarrelled with the Túr and Mandáhar septs, and were driven out. But they were accompanied by those of their women who had married into other septs and whose children fled with them. Another version is that famine drove them from Bíkáner.

However this may be, the Hárnís became mercenaries of Rái Kalla Khán of Ráikot and he gave them several villages in *jágír*. In return they ravaged his enemies' lands, but when the Rái's family declined the Hárnís' villages were handed over to the Kapúrthalá chief by Ranjít Singh, and they themselves were soon banished from the State on charges of killing kine. This was in 1818 and in 1847 they made an unsuccessful petition to the British authorities to be reinstated in their land. They were then allotted some waste land near Jagráon in the Ludhiána district, but it was wholly inadequate for their support and the Hárnís settled down to a life of crime, rapidly becoming expert burglars and daring thieves. Almost every form of theft is attributed to them, but they are peculiarly skilful in the form of burglary called *tápá* which consists in jumping on to the roof of a house and snatching the ornaments off its sleeping inmates. The Hárnís of Kírí in Ludhiána, and two or three villages in Jullundur and Hoshiárpur are known as

Gaunímár* Hárnís. Their women used to enter the houses of well-to-do people as servants, mistresses or even wives, and eventually plunder them in collusion with their male relatives, who obtained access to the house in the guise of *faqírs*.

In their own *argot* the Hárnís call themselves Báhlí. Various explanations of the name Hární are suggested: from *heri*, huntsman, from *her* a herd, and from *hár* a road. Others say that Rai Kalla so nick-named them from *hární*, a 'doe,' because they were his huntsmen. Probably the word means thief.

The Hární *gots* are numerous, considering the smallness of their numbers. The Hární genealogies are reported to be kept by the family of Pír Sháh Abdul Karím and all the information regarding them was obtained in 1881-82 from the late Pír Zahúr-u l-Dín of Delhi, his descendant.

Bhaṭṭí Sejpál.
Nárú or Chhajle or Bhaṭṭí Lakhanpál.
Bhaṭṭí Bharipál or Rahmír.
" Ráhmasurke.
" Ráhdír.
Dhaḍḍá.
Bhánas.
Chauhán.
Wálhá or Bahli.†
Bhaṭṭí Phúskí.
Sangrí.
Nache.
Múrí.
Jítang.
Túr.
" Shaikh-parháí.
" Dhodúke or Dhuḍḍíke.
Madáhar.
" Gujjar.
Pawánr.
" Awán.
? Ghúniá or Ghúmiá.
Ladhár.
Padhár.
Shádíwál.
Lathík.
Bakí.

The curious point about these *gots* is that the forebear of each is specified in the table of descent from Najaf Khán. All these *gots* are descended from his four younger sons. To these must be added the Gul and Pachenke *gots* found in Tappar and Kírí respectively. The superiority of the Bhaṭṭí *got* is recognised by placing several cloths over the corpse of one of its members on its journey to the grave: other Hárnis have to be content with a single cloth.

By religion the Hárnís are strict Muhammadans of the Qádiria and Hanifia sects, it is said, and frequent the shrines of Sháhi Sháh in Gagra, of Hassu Sháh in Tappar, of Záhir Wáli in Bodalwálá, besides those of Sháh Abdul Karím in Delhi, the Chishtí shrine at Ajmer and that of Taimúr Sháh in Surat. The Hárnís do not, however, refrain from liquor.

The male Hární averages 5 feet 7 inches in height, is well but not heavily built, wiry and perfectly healthy. In disposition the tribe is frank and out-spoken, and less secretive than other criminal tribes.

* Probably from *gauní*, the Hární word for road, and so meaning highwayman: or possibly from *gúní*, 'theft.'

The Hárnís of Kírí are now well-behaved, having given up thieving and taken to cultivation. The Gaunímárs are also said by their fellow Hárnís to be so called because they slew one of their women, named Gauri, on account of her frailty. For this reason, and also because the Kírí Hárnís committed offences through their women, the other Hárnís have few dealings with Gaunímárs and rarely intermarry with them—a story which is wholly incredible.

† *Cf.* the Hárnís' own name for themselves, Báhlí.

From boyhood habits of endurance and activity are inculcated and a Hární man will walk 30 or 40 miles in a single night in carrying out a burglary.

HARPÁL, a branch of the Awáns.

HARRAL, a Rájput tribe, which claims to be descended from the same ancestor, Rái Bhúpa, as the Kharral, but by another son; and to be Punwár Rájputs who came from Jaisalmer to Uch, and thence to Kamália in the Montgomery district. Mr. Steedman said that in Jhang, where only they are found on the left bank of the Upper Chenáb, tradition makes them a branch of the Ahírs, and that they are almost the worst thieves in the district, owning large flocks and herds which they pasture in the central steppes, and being bad cultivators. Another account says they were originally Bhúṭṭá Jáṭs settled at Maṭela, a village in Sháhpur, whence they migrated under their Pír, Sháh Daulat. As strict Muhammadans they employ no Brahmans and will not eat anything left by one who does not perform the daily *nimáz*. Marriage within the tribe is preferred, but is allowed with Bains, Gondal, Sindhan Jáṭs, Lális, Laks, Kharrals, etc. In Montgomery the Harral (Harl) are classed as a Jáṭ (agricultural) tribe. They are all Muhammadans in this District.

HÁSAL, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

HASÁM, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HASANI, see SAYYID.

HASAN KHEL, a well known sept of the Adam Khel Afrídis, which with the Jawakki occupies the range between Kohát and Peshāwar, from Akor, west of the Kohát Pass to the Khatak boundary. The Hasan Khel hold the southern border of the Peshāwar district.

HASNÁNA, a clan of the Siáls.

HASSANI, a Baloch tribe of uncertain origin which once held a large part of the country now held by the Marris, by whom they were all but destroyed. A fragment now forms a clan among the Khetráns near the Han Pass. Possibly Paṭhán by origin but more probably Khetrán, the remaining Hassanis speak Balochi.

HASSANZAI, one of the three main sections of the Jadúns (Gadúns) in Hazára, settled in and round Dhamtaur and in the Mangal and Bagra tracts. The obsolete chieftainship of the Jadúns was vested in a family of this section.

HATÁNO, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

HATHÁR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HATIKHEL.—The most numerous, orderly and wealthy clan of the Ahmadzai branch of the WAZÍR Paṭháns settled in Bannu. It is divided into two main branches, the Kaimal and Idal, the Kaimalkhel outnumbering the Idalkhel by four to one. The Kaimalkhel has three chief sections, Ali- or Khaidar Khel (with a Patolkhel sub-section mostly found in the hills), Músa and Purha Khels—all settled in the Marwat plain. The Idalkhel have four sections Bai, Bakkar, Isá and Kaimal (II)—also settled in the plain. The Sirkikhel is a small clan, now practically a

branch of the Hatikhel, with three main sections, Tohla, Bahla and Shuni, all settled in the Bannu Thal.

Hatiár, a tribe of Jáṭs found in Gujrát and so called because they used to practise female infanticide. They migrated from Sháhpur to Gujrát in Akbar's time.

Hattár, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Hattíarí, a sept of the Bhaṭṭis, in Siálkoṭ, descended from Bhoni, 7th in descent from Bhaṭṭi. One of Bhoni's descendants, Rai Dánu, in whose family the custom of female infanticide prevailed, had a daughter who was rescued by a Brahman and kept by him for four years, but at last, thinking that her father would be certain to kill her, if he ever found her, he put her to death himself, and the sept has become known as Hattiári, lit. 'one guilty of killing a cow' or a Brahman.

Haule, a sept of Brahmans who migrated with the Mairs from Jammú and still receive small fees at weddings, etc., from the Chaudhriál of Chakwál. The weighman's business of that town is in their hands, but they are still recognised by other Brahmans as of that caste. Their name is ascribed to their former dread (*haul*) of forcible conversion to Islám.

Hazára, a race usually but erroneously styled Paṭhán. They are almost certainly Mongol Tartars, and derive their name from *hazára*, the Persian equivalent of the Turki *ming* or "legion." Settled in their present abodes by Changiz Khán they hold the Paropamisus of the ancients, from Kábul and Ghazni to Herát and from Kandahár to Balkh. Owing to their strict rule of intermarriage they have retained their physical and physiognomic characteristics and are "as pure Mongols as when they settled over 600 years ago with their families, their flocks and their worldly possessions." In the interior of their country they were almost wholly independent until subdued by the late Amír Abdur Rahmán of Afghánistán. They do not give their name to the Hazára District of the North-West Frontier Province, nor apparently to the Chach-Hazára in the Attock tahsíl.* The Hazáras are not settled in the Punjab, but are found in it as labourers and also enlist in Pioneer regiments. All are Shias by sect, and in consequence regarded as heretics by the Sunni Afgháns. They are fully described in Bellew's *Races of Afghánistán*.

Hemráji, an obscure Hindu sect found in Multán.

Hensi, Hesi, a low caste of professional musicians and dancers found in Kullu and the Simla Hill States. Their women perform as dancing girls. They appear to be also called Beḍa (or the Beḍas are a group of the Hesis). In Spiti the Hesi appears to be also called Hesir (see Chahzang) and Beta (incorrectly Batia) and there they form a low caste, which is returned as Hindu, and which, like the Lohár, is excluded from social intercourse with the other classes. The Hesi is called 'the 18th caste,'† or the odd caste which is not required, for no

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* See *Imperial Gazetteer*, new ed. X, p. 115.

† The 18th would apparently be the lowest caste or class. The expression reminds us of the 'eighteen elements of the State' referred to in the Chamba inscriptions; see the *Archæological Survey* Rep. for 1902-03, pp. 251 and 263.

one will eat from his hands. Yet he too has his inferiors and professes not to eat from the hands of a Lohár, or from those of a Náth, the Kullu title for a Jogi. Ordinarily a beggar the Hesi sometimes engages in petty trade, and to call a transaction a Hesi's bargain is to imply that it is mean and paltry. In Lahul and Spiti the Hesi is the only class that owns no land, and a proverb says: 'The Beḍa no land and the dog no load.' The men play the pipes and kettle-drum and the women dance and sing, and play the tambourine.

Her, Aher, or Porawál,* the third of the group of Jáṭ tribes which includes the Bhullar and Mán also. Their home appears to lie north of the Satlej and they are found in considerable numbers under the hills from Ambála in the east to Gujrát in the west, and throughout the whole upper valley of that river. There is a very old village called Her in the Nakodar tahsil of Jullundur which is still held by Her Jáṭs, who say that they have lived there for a thousand years; in other words for an indefinite period.

Herí, see Aherí.

Hesi, see Hensi.

Hesir, see Chahzang.

Hijṛa, (1) an important Jáṭ clan, *i.q.* Hinjrá: (2) a eunuch, also called *khunsá, khojá, khusrá, mukhannas*, or, if a dancing eunuch dressed in woman's clothes, *zankhá*. Formerly employed by chiefs and people of rank to act as custodians of their female apartments and known as *khwája-sará, nawáb* or *názir*, they are still found in Rájputána in this capacity. In the Punjab the *hijṛa* is usually a *ḍeradár, i.e.*, attached to a *ḍera*. He wears bangles on his wrists, and other feminine ornaments. If dressed in white, he wears no turban, but a shawl, and his hands are stained with henna. *Hijṛas* affect the names of men, but talk among themselves like women. They visit people's houses when a son has been born to dance and play upon the flute, receiving in return certain dues in cash and cloth. In some villages they are found collected in *chaukis*,† and, like singing-girls, are bidden to weddings. They act as buffoons, and are skilful dancers. In a *ḍera* a *chelá* succeeds his *gurú*, his accession being celebrated by a feast to the other inmates of the *ḍera*. The *hijṛás* are all Muhammadans, and especially affect Shaikh Abdul Qádir Muhí-ud-Dín Jiláni. At the Muharram they make *tázias*. Hindus joining the fraternity become Muhammadans.

The eunuchs of the Punjab have divided the Province into regular beats from which *birt* or dues are collected. Pánipat contains a typical Hijṛá fraternity. In that town they live in a *pakka* house in the street of the Muhammadan Báolis and, though retaining men's names, dress like women and call one another by such names as *mási*, 'mother's sister,' *phuphi*, 'aunt,' and so on. The permanent residents of this abode only number 7 or 8, but

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* As regards this name the following tale is told :—

A Mirási happened to meet some children of the Mán, Bhullar and Her tribes pasturing cattle. Those of the two former tribes were in charge of boys, those of the latter in charge of girls, and so he asked them which of their tribes was the chief. The boys answered ironically that the Porawál, who had sent their cattle out in charge of girls, were chief. Owing to their custom of so doing the Her Játs were only regarded as half a tribe, and the other two tribes refused to marry with them. The Dhariwál are also called Phor.

† The *chauki* appears to be much the same as a *ḍera*.

an *urs* or anniversary is held at which a fairly large number collect. They also observe the Holi and Dasehra. But the largest gathering takes place on the occasion of a *gadi nashini* or succession to the office of headman, when some 200 assemble.

It is commonly asserted that no one has ever seen the funeral of a eunuch; and the superstitious belief is that when about to die they disappear. They are, as a rule, long-lived, well-built, and, being so few, deaths among them cannot be frequent. Eunuchs dread a dead body, and when one of them dies none of them dare approach the corpse. All that they will do is to cry and weep like women, and it devolves by custom on their Bádhi neighbours to wash the dead body and carry it to the graveyard. As the eunuchs are looked upon as impure, the Bádhis never admit that they serve as their coffin-bearers and the popular superstition is thus strengthened.

Eunuchs are admitted into the fraternity from all castes; *e. g.*, Sayyid, Shaikh, Gujar, Juláha, etc. One of them, Sáhib Ján, a pious man, who died at the age of 100 in Mecca, was a Brahman. All are, or become, Muhammadans. They have a rite of initiation, which they term *chádar urhna* (donning the sheet), but the proceedings are kept secret.* None of the eunuchs now in Pánipat are natives of the town. Two or three men of Pánipat who became eunuchs had to go to Patiála for initiation and to earn a livelihood. It is admitted by the eunuchs that no person is born a *hijra*, and the common belief that children are so born seems to be wrong; none can say that he has ever seen such a child.† It appears to be a fact that eunuchs are permanently unsexed, and it was vauntingly asserted that, however rich their food may be, they are never intoxicated.' They say:—" We are broken vessels and fit for nothing; formerly we guarded the harems of kings—how could they admit us into the *zanána* if there was the least danger? We go into the houses of all, and never has a eunuch looked upon a woman with a bad eye: we are like bullocks." How this is brought about may be guessed, but the eunuchs say they get recruits from the *zanána* or *zankha* class, who are impotent even before initiation. A meal known as *Mír buchri ki khichri* has to be eaten by every initiate, and its effect is supposed to render a man impotent for life. What the ingredients of this meal are no one knows, and the eunuchs themselves are reluctant even to mention its name, saying that it was a myth, and who would dare to administer such drugs now-a-days?

Another institution in Pánipat is the *zanána mandli*, which comprises some 25 or 30 persons and is a well-known class or circle in the town. It consists of adult and young men, who flirt and pretend to imitate the gait of women. They learn to dance and sing, and pass their days in indolence. They can be recognised by their *matak chál* (behaving like females). Each of them has a "husband." For some years past the *zanánas* have celebrated the Holi as a carnival. They assume female names, by which they are called in their own circle. Most of them are beardless youth; those who have beards shave them. *Náz nakhra* (flirtation) becomes their second nature. There is no distinction between Hindu and Musalman in the *mandli*, but most of its members are the latter: they wear narrow *paijámas* and a cap. In Delhi also the *zanánas* are a recognised class: they hire *kothas* or the upper storeys of shops like prostitutes They are invited to wedding parties, where they dance and act as buffoons (*nakkál*), and their fees are high. Their 'friends' are *sakkás* (watermen), *kunjrás* (vegetable-men), and other low castes. The eunuchs speak of them tauntingly, and say that all the members of the *zanána-mandli* are impotent men given to sodomy, though some of them are married and have children. "They are prostitutes," remarked a eunuch "if we acted like them, how could our *jujmáns* allow us to come near them? They have deprived the prostitutes of their means of livelihood: we are not such."

Asked why they do not get more recruits from the *zanánas*, the eunuchs say that any such attempt is resented by the relations of the *laundas* (boys); but if a stranger boy comes and asks for admission they initiate him. It is alleged that the number of the *zanánas* is on the increase in Pánipat.

A eunuch once initiated very seldom deserts the "brotherhood." If a *chela* goes away no other eunuch can keep him without repaying his *guru* the expenses of his initiation and keep. And if he goes to the Khojas the eunuchs are powerless. The Khojas are a separate class who live in villages. They are married men with families, but earn their livelihood by levying *birt* fees like eunuchs. They employ a eunuch to dance for them and play on the drum after him. If they cannot get a eunuch they get a boy of their own to dance.

The eunuchs in Pánipat are fairly well off. Their house is full of furniture and necessaries, and they levy *birt* or charitable fees on certain occasions. At a wedding or the

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* Probably for excellent reasons: see the next foot-note.

† Eunuchs are undoubtedly made by mutilation. There is a custom of placing 5 pice under the foot of the boy who is to be operated on. Apparently this is done to prevent pain as a similar custom is believed to be followed at births.

birth of a son they go to the family concerned, dance at the house and sing, and receive Re. 1-4-0, or sometimes less. The *zamindárs* do not acknowledge them as their *kamins* and they have no claims upon them; but persons of the lower castes, such as Telis, Rains, Jhíwars, etc., dare not refuse them their fees, and every shopkeeper has to pay them one pice in the year.

Eunuchs do not appear to be employed in mosques in the Punjab.*

HINDAL, a Muhammadan tribe found in Montgomery (doubtless Handal).

HINDKI, a generic term, half contemptuous, applied to all Muhammadans, who being of Hindu origin speak Hindko and have been converted to Islám in comparatively recent times. In Bannu the term usually denotes an Awán or Jáṭ cultivator, but in a wider sense it includes all Muhammadans who talk Hindi, Panjábi or any dialect derived from them. The local proverbs† are not complimentary to the Hindki. One says:—

(*a*) "If a Hindki cannot do you any harm, he will leave a bad smell as he leaves you."

And again—

(*b*) "Though you duck a Hindki in the water he will come up with a dry seat (hence he is lucky)."

(*c*) "Get round a Paṭhán by coaxing; but wave a clod at a Hindki."

(*d*) "Though a Hindki be your right arm, cut it off."

HINDÚRIA, a Hindu Rájput sept of the 1st grade found in Hoshiárpur.

HINDWÁL, a synonym of Hindkí.

HINDWÁL, apparently a sub-tribe of Tanáolis in Hazára: but probably only a variant for HINDKI.

HINDWÁNAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HINJRÁ, HINJRÁÍ, HINJRÁON‡ (or, incorrectly, Hijrá), (1), an important Jáṭ tribe, indigenous to the Gujránwála Bár. Once a pastoral tribe, perhaps of aboriginal extraction, they own 37 villages in Gujránwála which is their home, but have spread both east and west under the hills. They claim to be Saroha Rájputs by origin and say that their ancestor Hinjráon came from the neighbourhood of Hissár to the Háfizábád *pargana* in Gujránwála and founded a city called Uskhab, the ruins of which still exist. Their immediate ancestors were Mal and Dhol,§ and they say that half their clans still live in the Hissár country.

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* The Persians in remote times were waited by eunuchs as we learn from Herodotus (lib. 6) and some attribute to them their invention. But Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. 14) ascribes it to Semiramis. In *Al-Islám* the employment of such persons about the mosque is a *bidaat* or custom unknown in the time of the Prophet. It is said to have arisen from the following three considerations: that (*i*) these people are concentrated in their profession: (*ii*) they must see and touch strange women at the shrines: and (*iii*) the shrines are *harím* or sacred, having *adyta* which are kept secret from the prying eyes of men, and, therefore, should be served by eunuchs. It is strange that the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the Moslem mosque, should have admitted such an abomination. Though the principal of the mosque, or *shaikh al-harim*, is no longer a neuter... ....his *náib* or deputy is a black eunuch, the chief of the *aghawat*, upon a pay of 5,000 piastres a month. From Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, Vol. I, p. 371, Burton goes on to describe the organisation of the attendants of the mosque at Medínah, who are all eunuchs.

† Thorburn's *Bannu*, p. 245 note; pp. 246, 247, 250 and 254.

‡ The original form of the word must have been Hinjráma: *cf.* Jagráma, now Jagráon *gráma*, now *gráon*.

§ Or Kaholia, according to the *Hist. of Siálkot*, p. 26.

(2) A clan of the Muhammadan Pachádas, found in Hissár,* and also claiming descent from Saroha Rájputs.

The Hinjrá are also found in Sháhpur, as an agricultural clan, and in Montgomery, in which latter District they are all Hindus.

HÍR, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery (doubtless Her).

HIRÁJ, one of the principal clans of the Siyáls.

HIRRA, a Khokhar clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

HITHÁRÍ, the inhabitants of the Hithár.

HLONDUKPA (fr. Hlo, 'Bhuṭán'), a Buddhist sect, founded in the 15th century by N(g)a(k)uang Namgial: Ramsay, *Dicty. of Western Tibet*, p. 83. See also under Drugpa.

HOLÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HONAI, see Hanni.

HONDAL, a Jáṭ tribe, found in Siálkoṭ, where they claim Súrajbansi Rájput origin and say that Sarb, their ancestor, migrated from Ajudhia to Amritsar, whence his descendants came to Siálkoṭ. They are governed by the *chundavand* rule of inheritance.

HOṆDÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HORAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

HOT, one of the original main sections of the BALOCH and very widespread. They still form a powerful tribe in Mekrán and ruled at Dera Ismáíl Khán for 200 years. Part of the Khosa tribe and the Bálácháni Mazáris are said to be of Hot descent, and they are also found wherever Baloch have spread. In Montgomery tahsil they are classed as an agricultural clan, and are also found in Lyallpur.

HOTAK, one of the two great divisions of the Gugiáni Paṭháns.

HUBAIRIAN, one of the Súfi sects, founded by Khwája Hubaira Basari, whose shrine is at Marash in Turkey.

HÚDA, SÚDA, a Jáṭ tribe found in the Rohtak and Sámpla tahsils. It claims Chauhán Rájput origin and descent from one Súdal, who settled some 35 generations ago in Rewárí (where the people interchange *s* and *h*).

HUJJHAN, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

HURAL, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery (doubtless Harral).

HUSAINÍ, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery. See under Sayyid. For the Husaini Brahmans see under Brahman, *supra*.

* Hindu Hinjraon Pachádas are also said to be found, but not in Hissár.

I.

ICHHAR, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

ICHHIADHÁRI, one who follows his own desires in all things, possibly a Gulábdásí.

ICHHRAL, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

IDAL, see under Hatikhel.

IDIA, see under Utmánzai.

IKWÁN, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

ILIÁSZAI, one of the main divisions of the Yúsufzai Paṭháns. They hold western Buner.

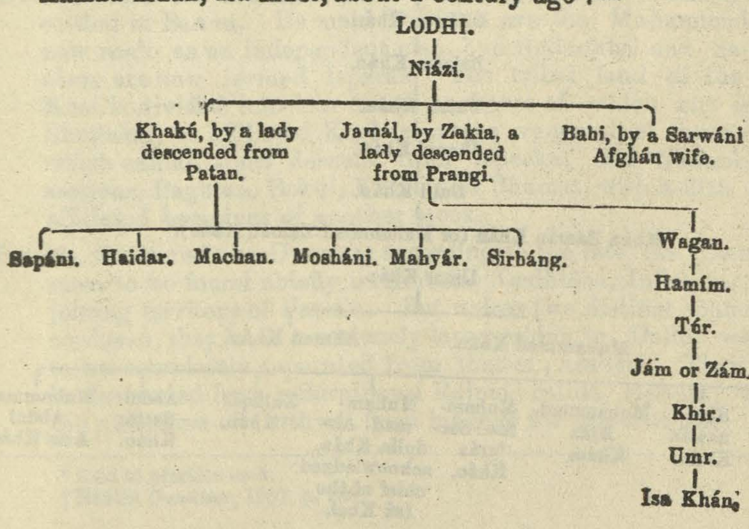
IMÁMIA, a synonym of Shia: one who believes that the Muhammadan religion consists in recognition of the true Imám.

INDAURIA.—(1) A sept of 2nd grade Hindu Rájputs in Káńgṛa, among whom all sons inherit equally in the *bás* or residential estates, while the remainder, called the *chaudhár* go to the eldest son as *chaudhri*, though the custom is now disputed. (2) An *al* or sept of Gauṛ Brahmans found in Gurgáon. They are *parohits* of the Lohain Jáṭs. In both cases the name is territorial.

IRÁNÍ, an inhabitant of Irán: sometimes used as equivalent to QIZZILBÁSH. Also Iráni, or Baloch.—According to Mr. J. P. Warburton the gypsies of Central Asia who migrate between Asiatic Turkey and the extreme south and east of India. They are sometimes to be met with in the cold weather with herds of sorry ponies, and earn a living by selling sham ancient or foreign coins, Brummagem ware and trinkets, and by fortune-telling. Audacious frauds and cheats, they have the impudent and truculent demeanour of the Sánsi and like them are good linguists and very loquacious. They are also addicted to open pillage and the village folk are afraid of them.

ISÁ KHEL, (1) the branch of the NIÁZI tribe of the Paṭháns, which gives its name to the Isá Khel tahsil of Miánwáli.

The following pedigree is preserved in an unpublished work, entitled the *Tazkara-i-Afgháni* which was compiled under the supervision of Ahmad Khán, Isá Khel, about a century ago :—



But the *Makhzan-i-Afghání* gives the following table of descent*;—

- SHÁH HUSAIN.
  - Lodhi.
    - Dotanni.
    - Siyáni.
    - Niázi.
      - Khaku.
        - Khizr.
        - Músa.
        - Isa.
          - Kundi.
          - Ala.
            - Sarháng.
            - Súd.
        - Mahyár.
        - Asad.
      - Jám or Zám.
        - Jakki.
        - Marhal.
          - Hamim.
          - Lele or Lelah Niázi.
        - Ali.
        - Isa.
        - Daulat.
        - Khán.
        - Sumbal.
        - Bindar.
      - Bahi.

* It will be noticed that Jamál has here been confused with Jám or Zám. Jamál was th son of Niázi. It is highly improbable that Isá Khán, a contemporary of Sher Sháh Súr and Salím Sháh Súr, was a grandson of Niázi.

The present Kháns are thus descended from Isá Khán :—

- ISA KHAN.
  - Zakhú Khán, the Zakhú Khel branch is named after him.
    - Khwája.
      - Dalú Khán.
        - Sher Khán.
          - Diláwar Khán.
            - Bairám Khán.
              - Fateh Khán.
                - Jhangí Khán.
                  - Dalíl Khán.
                    - Khán Zamán Khán (or Muhammad Zamán Khán).
                      - Umar Khán.
                        - Muhammad Khán.
                          - Muhammad Alam Khán.
                          - Shah-nawáz Khán.
                          - Muhammad Ajaz Khán.
                          - Muham-mad Sar-faráz Khán.
                          - Muham-mad Ab-dulla Khán, acknowledged chief of the Isá Khel.
                          - Zulfiqár Khán.
                          - Abdul Sattár Khán.
                          - Muhammad Abdul Azíz Khán.
                        - Ahmad Khán.

Raverty, on the other hand, writes that Jám or Jál, son of Niázi, had by his three wives seven sons, *viz.*, Isá, Ali and Daulat, by the first: Sunbal and Pindár or Pandár, by the second; and Maṛhal and Jalai or Jakai, by the third. But another account gives Jám an eighth son, Khán, and adds that Jám had two brothers, Bai and Khánko. From the latter are descended the Sahrángs of Míánwáli, the Mahyárs, Míchan Khel, the Musiáni Isá Khel, and the Kundi*, who are confined to Ṭánk. The earlier history of the Isá Khel belongs to that of the Niázis, but, it may be noted, they were in possession of the Khusháb *pargana* of the Siad-Ságar Sarkár before the close of the 16th century, and prior to that period Bábar alludes to their village of Isá Khel as concerned in a night attack on his camp in 1505 A. D.

(2) There is also an Isá Khel sub-division of the Tarakzai branch of the Bar Mohmands on the Pesháwar border.

Isákhel, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Isázai, one of the principal clans of the Yúsufzai Paṭháns. They hold the north-east slopes of Mahában and the mountainous country on both sides of the Indus in Hazára and the Gadún valley. They have three clans, Hassanzai, Akazai and Medu Khel in Hazára, and in 1907 elected a Khán to their vacant Khánship.†

Iseke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Isezaí, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Isháqzai, one of the four main clans of the Khalíls in Pesháwar.

Ismáílkhel, a clan of Paṭháns found in Pesháwar.

Ismáílzai, a sept of the Kamálzai clan of the Usmánzai branch of the Mandaur Paṭháns found in Pesháwar.

Iso, see under Wazír.

Isot, Sot, an offshoot of the great Panni tribe of the Afgháns which formerly held a great part of Síwí or Síhístán. Their lands lie west of the Jáfir Paṭháns on the Dera Ismáíl Khán border.

Isperka, one of the five clans of the Ahmadzai branch of the Wazír Paṭháns settled in Bannu. Its main divisions are the Muhammad Khel, who now rank as an independent clan, and Sudankhel and Saddakhel who alone are now termed Isperka. The tribal land of the Muhammad Khel is divided into four *tarafs* or shares of which one is held by the Shudakai, an affiliated Khel from the remnant of some old hill tribe which cannot trace descent from Isperka. The Sudankhel has four sections, Baghlan, Bokul, Kundi and Bharrat, with a fifth called Dhir, affiliated *hamsáyas* of another stock.

Ithwál, the Ithwál or Uthwál, according to the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, seem to be found chiefly in Ambála, Ludhiána, Jullundur, and the adjoining territory of Paṭiála. But unless two distinct names have been confused, they have a curiously large colony in Delhi, which appears to be completely separated from that of Ambála. They are said to be descended from a Súrajbansi Rájput called Mahárāj who received the nickname of Unthwál from his love for camel-riding.

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* Said to practise *vesh*.

† Hazára *Gazetteer*, 1907, p. 185.

[illegible] by [illegible] the Isa, [illegible] by the first [illegible] Mandar [illegible] by the second; and [illegible] by the third. [illegible] and [illegible] had two brothers, [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible] the latter are descended the [illegible] Malyárs, [illegible] Khel, the [illegible] Khel, and the [illegible] who are confined [illegible]. The [illegible] history of the Isa Khel belongs to that of [illegible] and it may [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] the 15th [illegible] and [illegible] concerned in a [illegible] in 1505 A. D. [illegible]

(2) There is also an Isa Khel sub-division of the [illegible] the [illegible] on the Peshawar border.

Isapuri, a Patháu clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Isazai, one of the principal clans of the Yusufzai Pathans. They [illegible] the northern slopes of Mahában and the mountainous country [illegible] both sides of the Indus between [illegible] and the Indus river. They [illegible] three clans, Hassanzai, Akazai and [illegible] Khel. [illegible] alluded [illegible] in their [illegible] history.

Isra, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Isra, a Patháu clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Isranwal, one of the four main [illegible] of the [illegible] in [illegible].

[illegible], a clan of Pathans found in [illegible].

[illegible], a sept of the [illegible] clan of the [illegible] Musalmán Patháns found in [illegible].

Iri, see under Wazir.

Itor, [illegible] an offshoot of the great [illegible] tribe of the Afgháns which formerly held a great part of [illegible]. Their lands [illegible] of the [illegible] Pathans on the [illegible] border.

[illegible], one of the five sons of the [illegible] branch of the Wazir [illegible] settled in Bannu. [illegible] Muhammad Khel [illegible] now rank as an independent clan [illegible] alone are now termed [illegible]. The [illegible] Khel is divided into four [illegible] shares of which [illegible] is held by [illegible] an affiliated Khel [illegible] the remnant of some old [illegible] which [illegible]. The [illegible] Bakal [illegible] with a fifth called [illegible] affiliated [illegible] of another [illegible].

[illegible], the [illegible], according to the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, seem to be found chiefly in [illegible], Jullundur, and the [illegible] joining territory of [illegible]. [illegible] two distinct names have [illegible] confused. They have a [illegible] in Delhi, which [illegible] separated from that of Ambala. They are [illegible] descended from a [illegible] Rájput called [illegible] who [illegible]. The [illegible] of [illegible].

J.

Jabar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jabli, a group of Sayyid families found near Kahror in Multán. So called from some mountain (*jabl*) in Arabia.

Jaboke, (1) a Kharral clan and (2) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (both agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jáchak, a beggar, an examiner, a prover,* from *jách*, guessing, an estimate, trial or skill.† The word **Jájak** appears to be a corruption of Jáchak.

Jáḍ, Jár, Zád or **Zar**, a group or class of Kanets found in Kanáwar and comprising many *khels* or septs. But other Kanets do not form matrimonial alliances with them, because they are considered of low status.

Jadrán, Jandrán, one of the sections of the Bálá or Upper Bangash tribe of the **Mangali** Paṭháns settled in Kurram, on the borders of Khost.

Jádú, Jádúbansi, a Rájput tribe of Lunar race, who are called by Tod "the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind." But the name has been almost overshadowed by Bhaṭṭi, the title of their dominant branch in modern times. They are returned chiefly from Delhi and the south of Paṭiála.

Jadún, see Gadún. The form Jadún is clearly the later, and it is impossible to follow James‡ in identifying the Jadún with the Jádú or Yádú Rájputs.

Jáfir, a weak Paṭhán tribe, which holds the village of Drúg in the pass of that name on the eastern slopes of the Sulaimán range. It is an offshoot of the Miána Paṭháns, being descended from Jáfar, one of the thirteen sons of Miánai. With the Jáfar are found the Rawáni or Raháni sept, descended from a brother of Jáfar. Jukes describes the Jáfar Paṭháns as speaking Jáṭki or Western Punjábi:§ (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán,

Jáfiráni, a clan of the Bozdár Baloch.

Jága, "awakener," see under Bháṭ, but *cf.* Jhánga.

Jággel, a clan of the Khosa Baloch.

Jag, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jagal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jaghdál, the Multáni and Balochi term for a Jáṭ.

Jaglán, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Karnál. They are descended from Jagla, a Jáṭ of Jaipur, whose shrine at Isrána is worshipped by the whole *thápa* or group of 12 Jaglán villages which forms the *bárah* of Naultha. Their ancestor is also worshipped at the village shrine called *deh*, which is always surrounded by *kaim* trees, and if a woman who has

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* *Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 463.
† Jukes' *Western Panjábi and Eng. Dicty.*, p. 103.
‡ Peshávar Settlement Report, 1862, § 17.
§ Jukes' *Western Panjábi and Eng. Dicty.*, p. iv.

married into a Jaglán family, passes a *kaim* tree, she always veils her face as if it were an elder relative of her husband. In Jínd the Jaglán are described as descendants of Jágu, founder of Jáglán in Hissár.

JAHÁṆBAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JAHÁNBO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JAHANGÍRÍ, a dynasty of Sultáns who, according to Raverty, once ruled from Nangrahár to the Jhelum, but, by the time the Kheshi Paṭháns overran Swát, their sway did not extend far beyond the Indus on the east. The last Sultán of Swát and of the Gibari tribe was Awes, a son of Sultán Pakhal,* whose subjects, a Tájik race known as Dihkáns or Dihgáns, were expelled by the modern Swáti Paṭháns from Swát. Sultán Awes retired northwards towards the sources of the Oxus and for several generations he and his descendants ruled therein as far as the frontier of Badakhshán after which they are suddenly lost sight of, but the rulers of Chitrál, Shighnán and Wákhán may be their descendants, and like them, they claim descent from Alexander the Great.† The Jahángíri also appears to survive as a sept of the Gibari.

JAHOJA, a Purbiá caste which keep milch cattle. It is Muhammadan in the United Provinces.

JAI, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Shujábád tahsil, Multán district. Its eponym was a brother of NÚN.

JAIKÁRI (A), a group of Rájputs, entitled to the salutation *jai dia.*

JAIKISHENI, see under Krishni.

JAIN, a generic term for all who affect the Jain religion. It is now recognised that the Jain faith is older than Buddhism and that Buddha's doctrines were probably adaptations or developments of Jain tenets. A full account of the Jains and their tenets would be entirely beyond the scope of this article, and the following accounts of the Jains as a religious community, in part from the pen of Lála Jaswant Rai, a Jain of Hoshiárpur, are reproduced as giving, as far as possible in the words of a Jain, an account of their representatives in the Punjab.

"The Jains are so called as being the followers of the Jinas‡, Arhats or Tirthankaras who were 24 in number, but they are also called Saraogis, a corrupt form of Sharawaka or 'disciple' (*sewak*). They are recruited from various groups of the Bániás, such as the Aggarwál, Oswál, Shrímál and Khanderwál, the last three of whom are also called BHÁBṚAS—a corrupt form of Bhao-bhala (from *bhao*—motive and *bhala*—good) or 'those of good intent'. Their chief aim is to injure no living creature and to attain *nirvána* or peace. Among the Jains it is a strict rule that no flesh or intoxicant shall be touched.

As a religious community, the Jains are divided into two great sects, *viz.*, the Swetambara and Digambara.

SWETAMBARA.—The Swetambaras worship idols, which are often adorned with gold and silver ornaments set with jewels, such as

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* From whom Pakhli in Hazára derives its name. He was a descendant of a Sultán Bahrám.

† Raverty in his Trans. of the *Tabáqát-i-Násiri* II, pp. 1043-4.

‡ The word Jina is derived from the Sanskrit root *ji*—to conquer, hence Jain means 'conqueror',

Mukta, Angia, etc. They have their eight sacred days, *viz.*, the Pajusanas, beginning from the 12th *badi* to the 4th *sudi* (both days inclusive) in Bhádon, the 8th day being called Chhamachhri, the holiest day of the Jains. During these holy days, they spend much time in reading and listening to their scriptures, the Sutras, and much money in performing certain ceremonies in their temples and in saving the lives of living creatures. During these days a fast is kept; some fasting for one day, some for 2, 3, 4 and some for all the eight days."

Mr. Fagan writes that the Swetambaras believe that a woman can attain salvation (*mukti*), while other Jains hold that she must first be born again as a man. In Hissár the principal caste which follows the Swetambara doctrine is the Oswál BANIA.

The Swetambaras have ascetics who are thus initiated. A man who wishes to become an ascetic must first live for some time with an ascetic and become fully acquainted with the austerities which he will have to undergo. On an auspicious day the Saraogis of the neighbourhood are invited. The candidate is then first rubbed with *batna** (barley flour, oil and turmeric), and then bathed. He is now dressed in handsome apparel, and, seated on an elephant, is carried in procession through the *bázár* to a Jain temple or such other place as may have been made beforehand to resemble a Jain temple. There his head is shaved, and his tutor or *guru*, after performing certain religious rites, gives him saffron clothes, the *ugha* or *rajoharna* (a kind of brushing stick), the *munh patti*, (a piece of cloth placed before the lips when speaking or reading), *patras* (wooden utensils) and a stick. He accepts these things joyfully and makes the five following vows (*pancha mahabratas*) of the Jain monk :—

1. I take the vow not to destroy life (*ahinsa*).
2. I take the vow not to lie (*asatya*).
3. I take the vow not to take that which is not given (*asteya*).
4. I take the vow to abstain from sexual intercourse (*brahmchárya*).
5. I take the vow to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to call nothing my own (*aparigraha*).

Thus he becomes a monk and is often styled a *sambegi sádhu.*

A Sádhu has to walk barefoot; to use no conveyance when travelling, to take no food or drink after sunset; to abstain from touching a female; to refuse to accept uncooked vegetables, and only to eat certain of them if cooked; to use wooden utensils; never to prepare his own meals, but, always to beg food of his followers and others; always to drink boiled water; never to give an opinion on any worldly matter; and never to possess a farthing. In short, he has to break off all connection with the world and lead the life of a strict hermit.

The chief aim of the *sádhu* is to liberate himself from the bondage of *karma* and thus obtain salvation.

In Hissár the priests of the Swetambaras are however called *jati.*

* As if he were a bridegroom.

The *sádhu** is in reality an ascetic of a different order to the *jati* and their practices vary in important points.

Both orders admit females, widows as well as unmarried women. The main rules of the two orders are noted below :—

Sádhus.	*Jatis.*
1. A *sádhu* must touch nothing feminine whether human or animal. If he do so inadvertently he must undergo certain rites of expiation and be re-initiated. Conversely, a *sádhwi* must touch nothing male.	1. The *jatis* have no such restrictions.
2. The *sádhus* have no proselytizing zeal and admit no disciple who is not desirous of entering the order.	2. The *jatis* are active in making converts and sometimes buy children of destitute parents making them disciples (*chelas*).
3. A *sádhu* must not touch coin, nor anything of metal or made of a combination of metals. All their ordinary utensils are of wood.	3. The *jatis* have no such rules.
4. The *sádhus* are itinerant monks, never halting at any place save to recover from fatigue, regain strength, or to preach to the people.	4. The *jatis* live permanently in *upásaras* and do not regard itineration as a religious duty.
5. A *sádhu* must not use a razor or scissors and his hair therefore remains unshorn. The hair of the beard may however be broken, if it grow too long, but not more than twice a year.	5. The *jatis* have nó such rule.
6. A *sádhu* may not wear shoes or ride.	6. The *jatis* may do both.
7. A *sádhu* may not travel by night.	7. This is permitted to a *jati*.
8. *Sádhus* and *sádhwis* travel together, lodge in the same house, and study together by night.	8. Among *jatis* the men and women have separate quarters (in the *upásaras*).

The *sádhus* are admittedly superior in religious merit to the *jatis*, and if a *jati* meet a *sádhu* the former makes obeisance to the latter. A *sádhu* may however read the *sutras* with a learned *jati*.

In Bíkáner the *sádhus* have three sects :—Dhundia, Samegi and Terapanthi.

Of the 84 sects or orders of the Jain priesthood or Samegi *sádhus* only four appear to be represented in Baháwalpur and these are the Kharatara, Tapa, Kanwala and Launka *gachhas*. There is an *upásra* or monastery of *jati gurus* or celibate priests of these orders at Maujgarh, and pilgrimages are also made to the *upásras* at Bíkáner, Rani, Rájgarh, Sujángarh, Choru, Bídáspur, Sardár Shahr and Rajab Desar in Bíkáner State. *Upásras* are to be found at every locality where Oswáls live in any numbers.

Dhundia. Alexander Kinloch Forbes writes in his *Hindu Annals of the Province of Gujrát in Western India*, that "this sect did not arise, it is said, before Sambat 1700 (A.D. 1664)". They neither use temples nor worship idols, they do not believe in all the Jain Scriptures, but only in 32 scriptures and of even these in the text only. They disapprove of commentaries, etc., and condemn the learning of Sanskrit grammar.

* Feminine *sádhwi*. *Jati* is also the feminine form.

They too have eight sacred days, *pajusanas.* The Dhundia ascetic is a disgusting object, he wears a screen of cloth, *munh-paṭṭi,* tied over his mouth, his body and clothes are filthy and covered with vermin. The Dhundia is also called *sádhmárgí* or *thánakbási.* He is initiated like a *sambegi sádhu* with some differences in certain rites. The Dhundias are divided into several sub-divisions such as Báís-tola, Jíva Panthí, Ajíva Panthí, Tera Panthí, etc.

These sub-divisions originated in this way :—The Lanka sub-division of the Swetambaras was split up into three *gaddis* or schools, *viz.*, Nagari, Gujaráti, and Uttarádhi (northern). Under the influence of 22 *gurus* the Nagari became a large sect, distinct from the Swetambara and indeed from all the other Jains. It became known as the Báís-tola and eventually Dhundia. This schism occurred in 1909 Sambat. In 1817 Sambat, however the Dhundias were in turn split up by the defection of the Terapanthi or "sect of the 13." It has had 5 *gurus* whose seat is Rájnagar in Bíkáner.

The Báís-tola reverences the 32 Sutras of Mahávír which form the Jain scriptures, but the Terapanthís have a scripture of their own consisting of 52 *slokas.* They refuse to protect an animal from the attacks of another, but the Báís-tola rise to even that height of regard for life. The Terapanthís are on the whole more advanced, if more heterodox, than the Báís-tola.

Digambaras.—The Digambaras worship naked idols and their monks are also naked. They also keep fasts and have eight sacred days, called *athái,* which occur every fourth month—in Asárha, Kártika and Phálgun of each year. They have besides ten sacred days (called the Das Lakshni), from Bhádon *sudi* 5th to 14th. Many of their tenets agree with those of the Swetambaras. They are divided into two divisions, Bís-Panthi and Tera-Panthi.

The Bíspanthi reverence the 24 *arhats,* the Guru and the Shástras, while the Terapanthi deny that there is any *guru* save the Shástras themselves. "They clothe their idols, worship seated, burn lamps before them, but present no flowers or fresh fruit to them, holding it to be a sin to take away even vegetable life, though they will eat vegetables if any one will give them ready cut and prepared for cooking, while the Bíspanthí worship standing before naked idols, and refuse to burn lamps before them."

According to Professor Wilson they both deny the supremacy of a *guru* and dispense with the ministrations of Brahmans, and according to the same authority the Bíspanthís are the orthodox Digambaras, while the Terapanthís are dissenters. The Bíspanthís are the more orthodox, and they are divided into four sub-sects—Nandi, Sen, Singh, and Bír—called after the names of their Rishís. The Terapanthí appear to be far the more numerous of the two.

The Jains in Hissár are thus described by Mr. P. J. Fagan :—

"The Jains appear to revere the gods of the Hindu pantheon, but reject the divine origin of the Vedas. Their supreme deity is Nirankár, corresponding apparently with the Hindu Náráin, but their

immediate objects of reverence and worship are the 24 *arhats* or saints who have obtained final union (*mukti*) with Nirankár. They do not appear to reverence or feed the Brahmans, but they have *sádhus* or priests of their own, and their *pun* on meritorious conduct consists to a large extent in worshipping Nirankár and in feeding the *sádhus*. They do not wear the *janeo* or sacred thread, they have a certain amount of reverence for the cow; bathing is not considered any part of their worship, nor do they appear to reverence the Ling, the symbol of Siva. Their scriptures consist of the 32 Sutras written by Mahávír, the last *arhat*. The leading principle of conduct inculcated by their religion is abstention not alone from taking human life but from causing harm to any kind of living creature (*jív*)."

Mr. Fagan describes the Jains as "divided into two main sections Mandirpanthí (or Pujárí) and Dhundía-panthí, the former being successors and representatives of the original Jains while the latter are a schismatic offshoot. The Mandirpanthis are again sub-divided into 'Swetambaras and Digambaras,' the ancient sects, of which the former are the 'white-clothed' and the latter the 'sky-clad' or naked, though they also wear tawny clothes. "The Swetambaras," to quote from the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, are somewhat less strict in their observances than the Digambaras: their ascetics will feed after sunset, are said to use wine, and will eat out of a dish and from the hands of any Hindu: whereas a Digambara devotee must have his food placed in his hand by another of the faith. Various stories are current as to the origin of the two sects. One account relates how in the time of Chandra Gupta a famine fell upon the country of Ujain, and how a part of the Jains there consented to accept clothes, without which they were not allowed to enter into the city to beg for alms, while the other section emigrated southwards rather than abandon the nakedness which had till then been the common rule of the faith. But the older and better account is that of the 23rd and 24th *arhats*, Párasnáth and Mahávír, who were probably real persons and the actual founders of the Jain religion: the former wore clothes, while the latter did not, and the disciples of each adopted the example of their leaders."

'The least punctilious of the Jains are sometimes known by the name of Márgí: they follow the path (*márg*) of the Jains in some particulars, such as in their scrupulous regard for animal life, but in other respects revere Brahmans and follow the greater number of Hindu prevalent practices. The word Márgí, however, is also used as an euphemism for Bám-márgí—those who follow the left-hand path.

The History of the Jain Sects.

The Jains, as a body, have a remarkably complete historical and religious literature which has been, or is being, thoroughly studied by German scholars. Unfortunately the results are hardly yet available in a form intelligible to any but specialists. Further, the Digambara tenets, which are of great interest, are also contained in an extensive literature, but as their *pandits* preserve the old-world hostility to printing, little has as yet been published regarding them.

To make clear what follows it should be noted that the 42 semi-divine Jinas, whose series ends with Mahávíra, Mahábír, ('the great hero'), were succeeded by a line of human teachers, called *suris*, a term we may translate by 'pontiff.' Of these the first was, according to one sect (that of the Kharatara *gachha*), Mahávíra himself, and his first disciple was Gotama (Buddha), who did not however succeed him, Sudharman becoming the second pontiff. The other sect, the Tapa *gachha*, regards Sudharman as the first pontiff. Both these sects trace, though with some differences, the pontifical succession down to Uddhyotana, who founded the 84 *gachhas** of the Jain (? caste) which still exist, and was 38th in succession from Mahávíra.

After the time of Uddhyotana there are two distinct lines of pontiffs. One, reverenced by the Kharatara *gachha*, is a succession of pontiffs who all (with the exception of Abhayadeva who was a leper) bear the title of Jina.† The other, accepted by the Tapa *gachhas*, bears various titles, and was founded by Jagach Chandra, 44th in succession, according to the Tapa *gachha* records, from Sudharman. These two historical *gachhas* or sects of the Jains have apparently been lost sight of in the maze of sects and orders into which the community has become divided in more recent times.

The origin of the Digambara and Swetambara sects is very obscure. According to one account the former sect was founded by Nataputta Nirgrantha (or Nigantha), who has been identified with Mahábír himself. Indeed it has been held that Mahábír only reformed an ancient order of naked ascetics. According to the Kharatara records the Digambaras arose in the time of the 18th pontiff, Chandra, whereas the Tapa *gachha* account is that the name of the Nirgrantha sect was changed to Kotika *gachha* as early as the time of the 9th pontiff. It thus seems likely that the Digambaras represent an older phase of belief than even Jainism itself, but, however this may be, it is certain that in the time of Bhadrabahu, the 27th in succession from Gotama, the Digambaras and Swetambaras had finally separated. The Digambaras forthwith split up into various sects or rather orders under the following pontiffs‡ :—

Digambara Pontiffs.			Date of accession.	
Bhadrabahu II	...	...	Sambat	4
Guptigupta	...	...	"	26
Maghanandin	...	...	"	36
Jinachandra	...	...	"	40
Kundakunda	...	...	"	49

The Digambara orders.

The successor of Guptigupta founded the great order of the Nandi Sangha, *sakha*, or school, which from its importance appears to have overshadowed the three minor orders founded by his other disciples

* These include the Khandewál, Agarwál, Srimal, Vanswál or Oswál '*gols*' or *gachhas* according to Wilson; *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, p. 345.

† Probably as re-incarnations of the Jinas or *arhats*. The Tapa *gachhas* by denying to their pontiffs that title may signify their rejection of the doctrine that they re-incarnate the *arhats*.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* XX (1891), p. 341 and XX, p. 570.

and which is, it would seem, often regarded as co-extensive with the whole Digambara sect. These four orders were thus designated :—

Order.	Synonyms.	Titles of Munis.	Founder.
I.—Nandi Sangha	Parijata* Gachha. Balatkara † Gana.	Nandin,‡ Kirtti .. Chandra, Bhushana	Maghanandin : who observed the period of the rainy season under a *nandi* tree (*cedrela toona*).
II.—Sena Sangha	Pushkara Gachha. Surastha Gana. (Vrishabha Sangha).	Raja, Bhadra ... Vira, Sena ...	Vrishabha : who observed it under a Jinasena or *sena* tree.
III.—Simha Sangha	Chandra-Kapata Gachha. Kanura Gana.	Simha, Asrava ... Khumba, Sagara ...	Simha : who observed it in the cave of a lion.
IV.—Dewa Sangha	Pushtka Gachha. Desi Gana.	Dewa, Naga ... Datta, Langa ...	Dewa : who observed it in the house of the courtezan Devadatta.

The Digambaras insist strongly on the essential unity in matters of doctrine and observance between all four orders, whose members alone can consecrate images. Collectively these four orders appear to be known as the Saraswati *gachha*, though perhaps that term is in strictness only a synonym of the Nandi Sangha. So too they appear to be called Kundakundanwaya, or 'the line of Kundakunda,' their fifth pontiff. In some obscure way the three minor orders would seem to be subordinate to the chief order, the Nandi Sangha, as they all four owe allegiance, it appears, to the same pontiffs.

Later sects.

Subsequent to the rise of these four orders or *sakhas*, there arose four other *sanghas*, *viz.*, the Mula, Kashtha, Mathura and Goppa Sangha. But Mula Sangha means literally 'the Original Communion,' and the term is also used of the whole Jain community and of the Digambaras before they spilt up into sects.

Still later there arose various *panthis*, such as the Visa-, Tera-, Gumana, and Pota-Panthis, *i.e.* those who worship a *book* (pustaka) in lieu of an image. And again it is said that, in Sambat 1709, Lavaji of the Lumpaka sect,§ together with one Dharmadasa, a cotton-printer, founded the mouth-covering Dhundakas. These divided into 22 sections (presumably the Báís-tola), one of which was called Dhanaji. Dhana's disciple was Budhara, and the latter's disciple Raghunáthji, whose disciple Bhishma founded the Terapanthis or Mukhabandhas (mouth-coverers). Whether these sects are confined to the Digambaras or not it is impossible to say.

But even these do not exhaust the list of sects. The Kharatara *gachha* records enumerate ten *gachhabhedas*, the last of which was founded as late as Sambat 1700, but whether these still exist or not is not known. Indeed we do not know if they are sects or orders, or

* Parijata is the name of the celestial tree, and also of the coral tree (*erythina indic*).
† The 'powerful' order.
‡ Strictly speaking then these titles are confined to the Nandi order.
§ *Indian Antiquary*, 1892, p. 72.

merely theological schools. The Tapa *gachhas* also have various divisions, such as the Vrihad- or Vada- (Vata-) *gachha*, so called because Uddyotana consecrated Sarvedevasari, or according to some, 8 *suris*, under a large fig-tree (*vata*).

The Jain tenets.

The Jain Jínas, Tirthankaras or Arhantas were 24 in number, each having his separate *chinha* or cognizance and being distinguished by the colour of his complexion. Images of one or more Arhantas figure in every Jain temple. Thus Risábha-Nátha or Adinátha has as his cognizance the elephant, Sambhava has the horse, Sumati the curlew, and other Arhantas the lotus, the *swástika* (doubtless a sun-symbol), the moon, a crocodile, the *srivatsa* (like a four-leaved shamrock in shape), a rhinoceros, a buffalo, a tortoise, or a boar. Parasva-Nátha's cognizance was the hooded snake, (*shesha-phani*), and that of Mahávíra, the last of the Jinas, a lion. These two latter, with Risábha-Nátha, are the most widely worshipped, and next to them come Santi (the antelope), and Nemi (the blue water-lily). To what primeval cults these *jínas* may point one can hardly conjecture.

It is easy to point to the resemblances between Buddhism and Jainism. Apart from mere religious phraseology, which tends to be the same in every religion, Buddha was often called Jína, 'the victorious': his death was the *nirvána*: both Buddhists and Jains also employ the *swastika* or *satya* as a sacred symbol: the Buddhists also have or had a Digambara or order of naked ascetics. Further the Jains indicate South Bihar as the scene of the life and labours of nearly all their Tirthankaras, as it was of Buddha's, and Mahávíra is said to have died at Pawa, to which place also Buddha's death is assigned. The colossal statues of the Jains also resemble those of the Buddhists.*

The Jain ritual is exceedingly complicated, but it has few features of interest. Their places of pilgrimage are five in number, *viz.*, Satrunjaya, Parasnath, in Bihar, Mount Abu, Girnar, and Chandragiri in the Himalayas. The oldest Jain remains are probably at Girnar, a hill also sacred to Buddhists and Hindus. Their holy seasons appear to be peculiar to themselves, but the observance of the rainy season as a sacred period of the year is also characteristic of Buddhism.†

It is not at all easy to say in what points the Jain doctrines diverge from those of the Hindus, but apparently the chief differences are that the Jains repudiate the Vedas, and disavow the authority of the Brahmans. In other words, they represent an element of Hinduism which never submitted to, or at an early period revolted from, the quasi-social supremacy of the Brahman caste, and in this they have much in common with the Buddhists and Sikhs. They also resemble the latter in having a line of spiritual teachers whom they reverence to the more or less complete exclusion of the Brahmans.

* *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, pp. 14, 134, 254, *Ib.* 1884, p. 191.
† *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 1882, p. 247, and IX, 1880, p. 100.

The Jain sútras.

The Jains hold that their religious books or *sútras* were 84 in number. About 1,500 years ago the whole of India was visited by a famine which lasted for full 12 years, and during that period 39 *sútras* were lost, only 45 being preserved.

No Jain in Baháwalpur will reveal the name of a *sútra* because, he says, he cannot accurately pronounce it, and mispronunciation of its name would bring upon him the wrath of the gods. This, however, is an excuse, and the truth is that an orthodox Jain is reluctant to tell an outsider the names of his sacred books. The *sútras* are believed to be written in Magdhí Bháka (or Bhásha), the language presumably of the Magadha empire. The Jains believe that Magdhí was spoken by the god Indra.

It is also a tenet of the Jain faith that 8,400,000 (84 lakhs) *jíws* or invisible and visible *germs* exist in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms and in *surg, narq*, etc., according to the details given below:—

Number of *jíws*.	Where found.	Explanation.
7 *lákhs*	Prithwí ke	In the outer crust of the earth.
7 "	Áp ke	In water.
7 "	Báo ke	In the air.
7 "	Teú ke	In fire.
10 "	Prílák Banáspatí ...	In underground vegetation, *e. g.*, carrots, turnips, onions, etc.
14 "	Sadháran Banáspatí ...	In vegetations above the surface of the ground, *e. g.*, shrubs, trees, etc.
2 "	Do Indríwále *jíw* ...	In animals having a body and mouth.
2 "	Tín Indríwále *jíw* ...	In animals having a body and mouth and eyes.
2 "	Cho Indríwále *jíw* ...	In animals having a body, mouth, nose and eyes.
4 "	Devta	*i.e.* In the *surg* or paradise of the Jains.
4 "	Narq ke	In hell.
14 "	Manukh ke ...	In one-legged and two-legged men.
4 "	Pazindrí or Pashú ke ...	In quadrupeds.

Perhaps the above tenets anticipate the modern science of bacteriology.

The Jain caste.

How far the Jains constitute a true caste it is not possible to say, for the community appears to be organized on two distinct but concurrent principles, one based on natural descent and so on caste, the other sectarian, *i.e.*, on the beliefs of the different sub-sects within the sect. Hence arise cross-divisions which have yet to be elucidated. For example, the Nandi Sangha* or order is also called the Nandi Amnaya, but *amnaya* means simply *kula* or family, so that Nandi Amnaya means the 'generations of Nandi.' *Gachha* (with which *gana* is said to be synonymous) is used indifferently for the religious sects or orders, and for the natural groups within the caste, there being 84 *gachhas* or *gots*, *i.e.*, families or races of the Jains. Whether these are in any way connected with the spiritual *gachhas* or not cannot be definitely stated.

* This was a matam or *mat*, (monastery), founded by the Lekhaka Lunka, in Sambat 1508, and from this *mat* the Veshadharas took their rise.

It is curious, if Mr. Fagan's classification be correct, that the Swetambara and Dhundia sects intermarry, at least in Baháwalpur (where apparently the Digambara do not intermarry with the other two sects). The Jain teaching strongly reprobates polygamy and in consequence monogamy is practised by the Bhábras generally, *e. g.*, in Siálkoṭ, while in Ferozepur they disallow polygamy under pain of exclusion from the caste. On the other hand, Jainism has little effect on social observances for at weddings in the latter District the Jain Bánia (Aggarwál) bridegroom mounts a she-donkey, after putting a red cloth on her and feeding her with gram. He then mounts a mare, according to the usual Hindu custom. The donkey-ride is a form of Sítla worship.

JAIRÁMI, 'followers of one Jairám,' a sect whose founder was also known as Bábá Kúrewála or Bhangewála, which would point to a low origin.

JAISAK, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

JAISWÁRÁ, a Purbia caste. In the United Provinces a Jaiswárá section is found in many castes, such as the Chamár, Dhának, Kalál, Kurmí, Telí, Bánia and Rájput. The name is supposed to be derived from the town of Jais in Oudh. The Jaiswárá of the Punjab cantonments is probably a Chamár, and many of them are grooms or grass-cutters, though a few take service as bearers.

JAJ, (1) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery: (2) a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

JAJAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

JÁJAK, the term for a Hindu *nái* in the Ráwalpindi Division, and the Deraját, according to Sir Denzil Ibbetson. But in Multáni the word is said to mean 'priest' and to be the same as JÁCHAK, and in Derá Gházi Khán the Jájik is a sewer of shrouds. The Jájik is certainly distinct from the JHÁNGA.

JÁJI, a tribe now ranking as Paṭhán, and claiming descent from Khugiáni, son of Kakai, but perhaps of Awán stock. The Durráni Afgháns, however, admit that the Khugiáni are akin to them. The Jáji lie west of the Turis on the western border of Kurram, holding the Iriáb valley west of the Paiwar pass. One of their sections, the Uji Khel, holds Maidán, a large village in the valley of that name, and another section is the Shúmu Khel. The Jájis are now at bitter feud with the Turis.

JAJJAH (AND) JATHOL, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Siálkoṭ. They claim Solar Rájput origin and say that their ancestor, Jám, migrated from Moltán. His two sons Jáj and Jathol founded villages in the Pasrúr tahsil of Siálkoṭ. Their *mirásis* are Posla, their Brahmans Badhar and their *náis* Khokhar by *got*. According to the *Customary Law of Siálkoṭ* the Jajjah is distinct from the Jathaul.

JAJOHÁN, a Jáṭ or Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JÁKHAR.—A tribe of Deswálí Jáṭs, claiming Rájput (Chauhán or Udhí) descent. Jákú, their eponym, migrated from Bíkáner to Jhajjar in Rohtak. A Rájá of Dwárká had a bow which Jáku failed to bend, in spi

the promised reward. In shame he left his native land and settled in Bíkáner. The legend clearly points to the loss of military status by the Jákhars. Of the same stock are the Sángwán, Píru, and Kádián Jáṭs. The Jákhar are almost confined to Gurgáon and the adjoining Jhajjar tahsil of Rohtak. They also own a large village in Hánsi.

Jakhar, a Muhammadan Jáṭ or Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery, where they appear also as a clan of the Bhaṭṭi Rájputs.

Jakho, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jálabke, a sept of Kharrals, which like the Piroke is of supposed Chuhṛá descent. Both are hence called Chuhrere. The legend goes that Sáudal the famous Chuhṛá dacoit who gave his name to the Sándal Bár, demanded a Kharral bride as his fee for allowing them to graze in that tract. But the Kharrals blew up Sándal and his followers and took the Chuhṛá women as their booty.

Jaláír, 'a well-known Mughal tribe,' according to Raverty. Not apparently represented among the modern Mughals in the Punjab.

Jalálání, a clan of the Bozdár Baloch.

Jaláḷí, one of the regular Muhammadan orders, founded by Sayyid Jalál-ud-dín, a pupil of Baháwal Haqq, the Sohrwardi saint of Multán, and a native of Bukhára whose shrine is at Uch in Baháwalpur. This teacher was himself a strict follower of the Law, but his followers, who call themselves Jalális, are in many ways backsliders. They pay little attention to prayer. A candidate for admission to the order shaves completely his head, face, and body, burns his clothes and is branded on his right shoulder.

Jálap, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur and in Jhelum. In the latter District they were classed by Thomson with the Lillas and Phaphras as a "semi-Jáṭ tribe," while Brandreth referred to them as being, like the Khokhars, a "*quasi*-Rájput tribe," who helped to oust the Janjúas from the Pind Dádan Khán plain. They are the predominant tribe in the "Jáḷap *iláqa*," the rich well tract between the river and the hills east of Pind Dádan Khán, and in position and influence are one of the principal tribes of that tahsil, though their numbers are small and they actually own little more than 25 square miles of land: this is their only seat in Jhelum, and they are not known to hold land in any other district, except to some small extent on the opposite side of the river.

They say that they were originally Khokhar Rájputs, who took the name of their eponym, Jálap, who became a famous Pír, and was buried at Rámdiání in the Sháhpur district, where they then dwelt, and where they still go to do reverence at his tomb: they moved to their present location in the time of Sidháran, who was several generations in descent from Jálap. Another account states that in the time of the emperor Sháh Jahán they were established on the banks of the Chenáb, when one of their chiefs was asked by Sháh Jahán to give him a daughter in marriage, as other Rájputs had done; the Jálap agreed, but the brotherhood disapproved of his action, and when he came home to fetch his daughter, set upon him and killed him. Sháh Jahán sent an army to punish them, and being driven from their homes they crossed the

Jhelum, and after many fights with the Janjúas established themselves where they are now found. A third version, given by the detractors of the tribe, is that in the time of the Janjúa Rájás of Nandana, a fisherman was casting his net in the river, which was then close under the hills, and drew out a box containing a small boy: the child was taken to the Rájá, who called him Jálap, because he was found in a net (jál), and made over to him as his inheritance the lands along the river: according to this account the Jálaps are really Máchhís.

These fables throw little light on their real origin. Their neighbours do not admit their claim to be considered Rájputs; and in social standing they stand much below the tribes locally supposed to be of Rájput descent, though on the other hand they rank considerably above the Jáṭs. There is no striking difference between them and the surrounding tribes, either in physique, appearance or manners: as agriculturists they are fair: of martial spirit they have shown but little in recent times, and very few of them are in the army, which may be as they say, because they mostly have large holdings, and can well afford to live at home; and it is certain that without fighting qualities they could not have established and maintained themselves in the most valuable tract in the District, against the Janjúas and others: there is no bar to their enlistment, and there are some signs that they may in future betake themselves to military service more freely than in the past. Their customs are those of the tract generally, but they maintain relations with Brahmans as *parohits*: and various common Hindu customs are observed by them at marriages. Their marriages are mostly *inter se*; but they take girls from the Khiwa, Kallas and Bharat, to whom they do not however give their daughters: in marriages with the Janjúas and Khokhars, on the contrary they give daughters but do not receive them. Widow remarriage is very rare amongst them.

Jalapke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery; doubtless the same as the Jalabke.

Jáli, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Jínd. Kalu, their *jatherá*, has a *math* at Laháwaṛá in Paṭiála. They offer him 1¼ *man* of sweet cakes (*puṛás*) at weddings, and these are taken by a Brahman.

Jallád, fr. the Arab, *jild*, 'skin'; a flogger or executioner. It was applied to the Kanjars in Ambála who were employed as executioners at the Delhi court, and in the south-west Punjab is a common term for a sweeper (see Chúhṛa). *Cf.* the derivation of **Kurtána**, 'whipper.'

Jaloke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jalozai, a tribe of doubtful origin, affiliated to the Turi branch of the Khattak Paṭháns.

Jalwáni, a small Paṭhán tribe lying, with the Haripál, to the south of the **Shiráni**.

Jám, a Sindhi title, meaning chief or headman. When borne by the headmen of a Punjab tribe it usually points to a Sindhi origin, *i. e.*, to its migration from Sindh or the valley of the Indus. In former times Sindh denoted that river valley as far north as the modern Miánwálí.

Jammun, (1) a Rájput and (2) a Muhammadan Kamboh clan (both agricultural) found in Montgomery. Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jamogí, an *al* of the Kanets which derives its name from Jamog, a village in Dhámi, and is one of the chief tribes in that State. (See Bathmánu.)

Jámra, a Jáṭ tribe, of notably fine physique, found in Dera Ghází Khán district. Probably aboriginal or immigrants from the eastward.

Jamun, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jamwál, a Hindu Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery: and also in Siálkoṭ where two accounts of their origin are current. According to their *mirásis* they are of Solar Rájput descent, and their ancestor Agnigar migrated from Ajudhia to the Rechna Doáb. His son Jammu defeated one Rája Chanda Rihás and founded the town of Jammu, whence their name, Jamwál. One of the chiefs, however, by name Milhan Minhás, took to agriculture and founded the Manhás tribe. The other account is that Bham Datt, migrating from Ajudhia to Kashmír, returned and settled at the place where Mankoṭ now stands. His descendant Jammu founded an independent state of that name, and fourth in descent from him reigned Jográj, *circa* 474 Sambat. From him descended the Deo dynasty of Siálkoṭ, whose pedigree is thus given:—

- **Rájá Rám Deo**, 11th in descent from Jográj.
  - Sajji Deo.
    - Narsingh Deo.
      - Jodh Deo.
        - Mal Deo.
          - Pakhar Deo.
          - Hamír Deo.
            - Raja Khokhar Deo.
              - Jas Deo, founder of Jasrota.
            - Kapur Deo.
              - Sindha, founder of Sansa.
                - The Sunial Rájputs.
              - Singrám Deo.
                - Dhruk Deo.
                  - Rája Ranjít Deo.
                    - Brij Ráj Deo, killed at Ruwal by the Sikhs and the last of the Deo dynasty.
                  - Balwant Deo.
                  - Mansa Deo.
                  - Surat Singh.
                    - Kasúr Singh.
                      - Rájá Guláb Singh, founder of the ruling house of Jammu and Kashmír.
                      - Rájá Dhián Singh.
                      - Rájá Suchet Singh.
          - Mának Deo, founder of Mankot.
            - The Mankoṭias.
        - Jhagar Deo.
          - The Minhás.
    - Jaisingh Deo.
  - Rai Jaggu.
  - Sansár Deo.

In Hoshiárpur the Rájputs rank as a sept of the 1st grade.

JAN, a wild and lawless tribe dwelling in the southern part of the Bári Doáb, and famous marauders: *Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 475. Probably the same as the JÚN.

JANDÁNI, a clan of the Khosa Baloch.

JANDAPUR, see Gandapur.

JAṆDI, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

JANDRAKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

JÁNDRA, 'cotton-clad,' a term applied to the Hindus of the plains as opposed to those of the hills, *e. g.*, the Gaddis, who wear wool. (Káṅgṛa).

JANDRAN, (1) an Aráiṇ, (2) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (both agricultural) found in Montgomery, and (3) an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

JANEṚ, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Kapurthala, whither it migrated from the east, beyond the Jumna.

JAṆGAL, a Gújar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

JANGÁLÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JÁNGLA, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) settled in Multán from Jhang in Mughal times.

JÁNGLI, a generic name for the nomads of the Sándal Bár. The term is of recent origin: see Hithárí.

JÁNÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

JANIKHEL, see under Utmánzai.

JÁNÍL, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JANJÚA, a Rájput tribe found, though not in large numbers, throughout the eastern Salt Range, their head-quarters, in the south-west Punjab including Baháwalpur,* in Hoshiárpur and Amritsar. The Janjúa once held almost the whole of the Salt Range tract, but were gradually dispossessed by the Gakkhaṛs in the north and by the Awáns in the west, and they now hold only the central and eastern parts of the Range as tribal territory, which is exactly what they held at the time of Bábar's invasion. They still occupy a social position in this tract which is second only to that of the Gakkhaṛs, and are always addressed as Rájá. Various origins have been ascribed to the Janjúa.

According to Bábar the hill of Júd was held by two tribes of common descent, the Júd and Janjúhah. The Janjúhah were old enemies of the Gakkhaṛs.† Bábar records that a headman among them receives the title of Rái (the same purely Hindu title was used by the Khokhars and Gakkhaṛs), while the younger brothers and sons of a Rai were styled Malik.

According to a modern account Rájá Mal, Ratnor, had six sons: Wiriál and Jodha, whose descendants intermarry, their settlements being contiguous; while those of the other four, Khakha, Tarnoli, Dabochar and Kálá, do not. Disputes between the brothers led to their dispersion and disintegration, so that the septs regard themselves as distinct tribes. Moreover many adopted various handicrafts, so that

* Where they are said to be a clan of the Gakkhaṛs.

† E. H. I. IV, pp. 232, 234-5. Nearly all traces of the Júd, as a tribe, have disappeared but see under Jodh.

Janjúa *gots* are now found among the Telis, Lohárs, Tarkháns and even Musallis: and the Ghumman, Ganjiál, Bhakriál, Nathiál, Bánṭh, Basoya and other Jáṭs are of Janjúa descent.

The four younger septs are each endogamous, and it is considered discreditable to marry outside the sept. Widow remarriage is strictly prohibited. Their observances are the same as those of the Chibhs. The following pedigree comes from the *mirási* of the tribe:—

RAJA MAL.

- Raja Wir.
  - Achar.
    - Kirpál.
      - Chohar.
        - Daulat.
          - Descendants at Dalwál in Jhelum.
- Rájá Jodh.
  - Sanpal.
    - Bilawal.
      - Amli Khán.
        - Kiás-ud-dín.
          - Taman.
            - Budha Khán.
              - Azíz.
                - Sultán Saht.
                  - S...n Bahats.
                    - At Bádsháhpur in Jhelum.
                  - Sultán Álam.
                    - Sultán Khair Muhammad.
                      - Sultán Tája.
                        - Descendants in Makhyála and villages near Jhelum.
                      - Sultán Rája.
                        - Dasondi.
                          - Descendants in Khaul, Tahsil Khárián.
                        - Nana Khán.
                          - Islám Kuli.
                        - Chuhar.
                        - (Islám Kuli and Chuhar:) Descendants at Rajur in Khárián tahsil.
                  - Sultán Sangu.
                  - Sultán Ali.
                  - (Sultán Sangu and Sultán Ali:) Descendants in Jhelum.
                - Nur Ali.
                  - Descendants in different localities.
- Khakha.
  - Descendants found in Kashmír.
- Tarnoli. In Hazára.
  - Pesháwar and the *iláqa* of Pakhli in Hazro.
- Dabuchara.
  - Descendants numerous in Hazára: some also found in Siálkot.
- Pír Kála.
  - Descendants in *iláqa* Kahro in Ráwalpindi.

Another pedigree* makes them descendants of Jaipál who opposed Mahmúd of Ghazni at Nandana 900 years ago. Bábar certainly describes them as rulers, from old times, of the Salt Range hills and of the tract between Níláb and Bhera. He also describes Malik Hast, Janjúa, as *hákim* of the *íls* and *ulúses* in the neighbourhood of the Sohán. As rulers the Júd and Janjúha ruled according to fixed customs, not arbitrarily, realizing a *sháh-rukhi* (2½ rupees) yearly on every head of cattle and seven *sháh-rukhis* on a marriage.†

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* Jhelum *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 93.

† Sháh Rukh was a son of Tímúr and succeeded to his father's empire in 1404-05, A. D. The fact that his coins were in use among the Janjúa points either to their having been tributary to him or to the inclusion of the Salt Range in his dominions. The latter conclusion is the more probable.

Mr. Thomson's account of the tribe in Jhelum, which follows, is not contradicted on any material point by the present day Janjúas :—

"At some uncertain period, then, some clans of Rahtor Rájputs, emigrating from Jodhpur, occupied the uplands of the Salt Range. The leader of this movement according to the common account, was Rája Mal; but this chieftain is a little mythical, and any large act of doubtful origin is apt to be fathered upon him. The Rájputs first seated themselves at Malot in the west Salt Range. This place, although picturesque, is so inaccessible and unfruitful, that it must have been chosen for safety more than convenience. From here the Rájputs extended their supremacy over the uplands of Jhangar and Kahun and the plain country near Girjákh and Dárápur. In these regions they were rather settlers than conquerors. They not only ruled, but to a great extent occupied also. It seems very doubtful whether their real territories ever extended much further, but their traditions certainly point to a former lordship over the western upland of Vánhar, and over much of the present tahsils of Tallagang and Chakwál. If Bábar's account be read with attention, it will be seen that he represents the Janjúas as confined to the hills, and ruling over various subject tribes who cultivated the plains. This account serves to explain the utter extirpation that has befallen the Janjúas in the Vunhár and elsewhere. If we conceive them as holding detached forts in the midst of a foreign population which gradually grew hostile, then this extirpation can easily be understood. This also serves, to explain how one or two villages of peasant Janjúas have escaped, while all the Chiefs and Rájas round about have perished. The vague accounts of the people seem to point to some such history as this, and not to any great racial or tribal war.

The Janjúas were long the predominant race in the centre and west of the District. Rája Mal is said to have reigned in the days of Mahmúd of Ghazni, and his authority was probably more or less recognised from Ráwalpindi to the Jhelum. When Mahmúd invaded India the Janjúas opposed him, were defeated, and fled to the jungles. Mahmúd followed them up, and succeeded in capturing Rája Mal himself. The Rája was released on condition that he and his tribe should embrace Islám. When this conversion took place, the *janju* or caste-thread was broken, and the neophytes have been called Janjúas ever since.*

Rája Mal is said to have left five sons. Three of these settled in Ráwalpindi or Hazára. Two, Wir and Jodh, remained in Jhelum. They speedily divided their possessions. Wir took the west, and Jodh the eastern share. Choya Saidan Sháh was the boundary between them. Wir's descendants are now represented by the Janjúas of Malot and the Kahún *iláqa*. Their chief seat is at Dilwál. Jodh's descendants have split into many branches. A general supremacy was long exercised by the Sultáns of Makhiála in Jhangar. But the chiefs of Kusak and Bághánwála soon became practically independent, as did also those of Dilúr, Karangli, and Girjákh, whose descendants are now either extinct or much decayed. The plain *iláqa* of Dárápur and Chakri seems to have broken off from the main stock even earlier than the others. This passion for separatism is fatal to any large authority. The feuds to which it gave rise, joined with an endless Gakkhar war, and the establishment of new and strenuous races beyond the mountains brought the Janjúa dominion to destruction. The Dhani country, called Malúki Dhan after the great Rája, and the forts in Tallagang and the Vunhár seem to have been all lost not long after the time of Bábar. But in the centre and east Salt Range and round Dárápur the Janjúa supremacy remained undisputed until the advent of the Sikhs. And the rich Salt Mines at Khewra and Makrách must have always made this territory important. The Sikhs conquered the whole country piecemeal. Ranjít Singh himself besieged and captured Makhiála and Kusak. Most of the influential chiefs received *jágírs* but were ousted from their old properties.

The Janjúas are physically a well-looking race. Their hands and feet in particular are often much smaller and more finely shaped than those of their neighbours. They largely engage in military service, where they prefer the cavalry to the infantry. They are poor farmers, and bad men of business. They are careless of details, and apt to be passionate when opposed. Too often they fix their hopes on impossible objects. As landlords they are not exacting with submissive tenants. They are willing to sacrifice something to retain even the poor parodies of feudal respect which time has not destroyed. Their manners are

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* The Janjúas themselves now reject this story, which is not in itself very plausible: they say the name of the tribe is derived from that of one of their forefathers, Janjúha, who in most of the genealogies comes eight or nine generations before Rája Mal. It is moreover improbable that the general conversion of the Janjúas took place 900 years ago; it is likely enough that Mahmúd made converts, and that these reverted as soon as his back was turned; but the Janjúa village pedigree tables nearly all agree in introducing Muhammadan names only about 15 generations back, which would point to their general conversion about the middle of the 15th century. Cracroft however noted that the Janjúas in Ráwalpindi still continued to feast Brahmans, etc., at weddings.

often good. They have a large share of vanity which is generally rather amusing than offensive. They are at the same time self-respecting, and not without a certain kind of pride, and are eminently a people with whom slight interludes of emotional government are likely to be useful."

In Hoshiárpur the Janjúás are fairly numerous to the north-east of Dasúya.* The Bihále of Badla are said to be an *al* or sub-division of the Janjúa which takes its name from the village of Beata in *tappa* Kamáhi. *Bah* means a settlement, and the Janjúa villages seem often to begin with *Bah.* The Janjúas in this District say they migrated from Hastinapura to Gaṛh Makhiála in Káwalpindi or Jhelum, and thence, to escape Muhammadan oppression to Badla under Rájá Sahj Pál, 8th in descent from Rájá Jodh. His son Pahár Singh held 132 villages round Badla. They claim to be Ránás of the Ḍogars, and the head of the family is installed † with the common ceremony of the *tika* under a banian tree at Barnár or Bah Ata, though Badla (Bar- or Boharwála) also claims the honour, amidst the assembled Ḍogars of Mehr Bhatoli, a village near Badla, who present a horse and shawl, while the Bihále pay a *nazar* of Re. 1 or Rs. 2 each. They are said to only give daughters to Dadwáls, who are 1st grade Rájputs, and to take them from Barangwáls, Laddús, and Ghorewáhás, who are in the 3rd grade.

The Badliál is another Janjúa sept, deriving its name from Badla, the ancient Rájput *tíka.* Badla is now in ruins and its *ráná's* family is extinct, but the sept has made one of its members their *ráná* and presents *nazarána,* etc., to him as usual. Still, as he has not been installed or made a *tilakdhári,* his *ránáship* does not count for much.

Janjuhan, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Janjunha, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Janoha (doubtless Janjúa).—A Rájput sept, an offshoot of the Bhaṭṭis whose ancestor Johad (? Judh) came to Gaṛh Makhila in Akbar's reign and founded Núrpur Janoha in Kapúrthala.

Jansan, a Muhammadan Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Janwas, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jáṛ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Járá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Jaráh, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jaría, a sept of Jáṭs found in Jínd. In that state five *gots* of Jáṭs derive their names from as many parts of the *beri* tree, *viz.* :—

(*i*) Rangi, from the *rang,* or bark of the *beri* tree used for dyeing,
(*ii*) Jaria, from *jar,* the root,
(*iii*) Beria, from *ber,* the fruit,
(*iv*) Jhari, or seedlings, and
(*v*) Khichar, or bud.

These five *gots* may however intermarry and are, collectively, called Jaria, which is also said to be derived from *jorá* and to mean 'twin.'

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* The Pahri of Kuhi is a branch of the Janjúas which has taken to *karewa* and so lost status, so that Janjúas and clans of equal or higher grade do not intermarry with them.

† The formalities at the accession of a new Sultán of Makhiála are somewhat similar: 7, 9, 11 or 13 days after his predecessor's death the principal men of the tract are feasted; in the afternoon they assemble at a rock behind the Sultán's house and the family Brahman puts the *tika* on his forehead. The Sultán then appoints a *wazír* and four *díwáns.*

Jariál, a clan of Hindu Rájputs found in Hoshiárpur, in greatest numbers in the north-east of Dasúya tahsil. Also a clan of agricultural Brahmans in the Rájgiri *taluka* of Hamírpur tahsil in Kángṛa. They rank in the 2nd grade in both castes.

Jarola, (1) an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur, (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jarráh, a surgeon and dentist who is almost always a *nái*.

Jarsodh, *Balochi*: a washerman, fr. *jar* clothes, *shodhagh* to wash.

Jarwár, a clan of the Khosa Baloch.

Jasgam, a clan of Muhammadan Rájputs, found in the Murree hills. Like the Dhúnds and Khatríls they claim descent from Manáf, an ancestor of the Prophet, and got possession of the tract they now occupy under Gakkhaṛ rule, when one Zuhair, a descendant of the Prophet, came from Arabia and settled near Kahúta.

Jasíál, a clan of Hindu Rájputs, of Salámia status, found in Hoshiárpur.

Jaspál, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Jasrá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Jasrotia, a Rájput clan, an offshoot of the **Jamwál**. It derives its name from Jasrota and is of Jaikaria status.

Jaswárá, see Jaiswárá.

Jasṭar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jaswál, an offshoot of the Katoch, the great Rájput clan which gave rulers to the kingdom of Trigarta. It derives its name from (or possibly gives its name to) the Jaswán Dún of Hoshiárpur, and at its original seat, Bhir Jaswán, are remains of buildings, wells and fountains which attest its former power. It still ranks high, being of Jaikaria status. In 1596 the Jasuwálas were described as 'Zamíndárs with an army' and gave some trouble to the imperial authorities.*

Jáṭ, fem. **Jáṭní**, dim. Jaṭeṭa, fem. -í, the child of a Jáṭ. The form Jáṭ is used in the South-East Punjab. In the Central Punjab Jaṭṭ fem. Jaṭṭí, is usual. Another dim. Jaṭúṅgaṛá, a Jaṭṭ's child, is used contemptuously. In the south-west of the Province the Multáni and Balochi term for a Jáṭ is Jagdál, and Jat (with the soft *t*) is used to denote a camel-driver, as in Upper Sindh, where *jat* now means a rearer of camels or a shepherd, in opposition to a husbandman.

The Jáṭs in History.

Fragmentary notices of the Jáṭs occur in the Muhammadan historians of India, as will be seen from the following excerpts from Elliot's *History of India*.

Ibn Khurdádba, writing *ante* 912 A. D., gives the distance from the frontier of Kirmán to Mansúra as 80 *parasangs*, and adds:—"This route passes through the country of the Zats (Jats) who keep watch over it." *E. H. I.*, I, p. 14.

* Elliot's *Hist. of India*, VI, p. 129.

According to the author of the *Mujmal-ut-Tawárikh** the Jats† and Meds were reputed descendants of Ham. They both dwelt in Sind‡ and on (the banks of) the Bahar river, and the Jats were subject to the Meds whose oppression drove them across the Pahan river. The Jats were, however, accustomed to the use of boats and were thus able to cross the river and raid the Meds, who were owners of sheep. Eventually the Jats reduced the Med power and ravaged their country. A Jat chief, however, induced both tribes to lay aside their differences and send a deputation of chiefs to wait on King Dajúshan (Duryodhana), son of Dahrát (Dhritaráshtra), and beg him to nominate a king, whom both tribes would obey. Accordingly the emperor Dajúshan appointed Dassál (Duhsalá), his sister, and wife of the powerful king Jandrát (Jayadratha), to rule over the Jats and Meds. As the country possessed no Brahmans, she wrote to her brother for aid, and he sent her 30,000 from Hindustán. Her capital was Askaland. A small portion of the country she made over to the Jats under their chief, Júdrat.§

Chach, the Brahman usurper|| of Sind, humiliated the Jats and Lohánas. He compelled them to agree to carry only sham swords: to wear no under-garments of shawl, velvet or silk, and only silken outer-garments, provided they were red or black in colour: to put no saddles on their horses: to keep their heads and feet uncovered: to take their dogs with them when they went out: to furnish guides and spies and carry firewood for the royal kitchen.¶ Of the Lohána, *i. e.* Lákha and Samma, who were apparently Jats, it is said that the same rules were applied to them and that they knew no distinction of great and small.** Muhammad bin Qásim maintained these regulations, declaring that the Jats resembled the savages of Persia and the mountains. He also fixed their tribute.††

The Bhetí Thákurs and Jats of Ghazni, who had submitted and entered the Arab service, garrisoned Ságara and the island of Bait,‡‡ in the time of Muhammad bin Qásim, *c.* 712 A. D.

The Jats, like the Baloch, the Sammas and the Sodhas, revolted against Umar,§§ but they were soon reduced to submission, *ante* 1300 A. D.

In 834 A. D., and again in 835 Ajíf bin Isa was sent against the Jats, whose chief was Muhammad bin 'Usmán|||| and commander Samlu. Ajíf defeated them in a seven months' campaign, and took 27,000 of them, including women and children with 12,000 fighting men to

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* Written *circa* 1126 A. D.

† 'By the Arabs,' the writer interpolates, 'the Hindus are called Jats.'

‡ Sind = the valley of the Indus from the modern Miánwáli down to the mouths of the river.

§ E. H. I., I, pp. 103-5.

|| His usurpation dates from 631, A. D.

¶ E. H. I., I, p. 151.

** Ib. p. 187.

†† Ib. p. 188.

‡‡ E. H. I., I, p. 187. This can hardly be the modern Ghazni. It can only be the Garh Ghazni or Ghajni of modern Ját legend, as it lay apparently on the Indus.

§§ Or Unnar: E. H. I., I, pp. 220-1.

|||| E. H. I., II, p. 247.

Baghdád, whence they were transported to the northern frontier and soon perished, exterminated in a Byzantine raid. The seats of these Jats lay on the roads of Hajar, which they had seized.

Amrán, the Barmecide governor of the Indian frontier, marched to Kíkán* against the Jats whom he defeated and subjugated. There he founded Al-Baiza, the 'white city', which he garrisoned, and thence proceeded to Multán and Kandábíl. The latter city stood on a hill and was held by Muhammad, son of Khalíl, whom Amrán slew. He then made war on the Meds, but summoned the Jats to Alrúr, where he sealed their hands, took from them the *jizya* or poll-tax and ordered that every man of them should bring with him a dog when he waited on him. He then again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats.† Amrán was appointed in 836 A. D. to be governor of Sindh.

The *Tuhfat-u'l-Kirám* appears to assign to the Jats and Biloches the same descent, from Muhammad, son of Hárún, governor of Makrán, who was himself descended from the Amír Hamza, an Arab, by a fairy.‡

The Játs of Júd, which we must take to mean the Salt Range, were, according to the later Muhammadan historians, the object of Mahmúd's 17th and last expedition into India in 1026 A. D. It is however hardly possible that Mahmúd conducted a naval campaign in or near the Salt Range, and the expedition probably never took place. It is moreover exceedingly doubtful whether the Salt Range was then occupied by Jats at all.§

Jats, under Tilak, hunted down Ahmad, the rebel governor of Multán, in 1034 A. D., until he perished on the Mihrán of Sind. For this they received 100,000 *dirhams* as a reward. The Jats were still Hindus.‖

After the defeat of Rai Pithaura in 1192, and the capture of Delhi by Muhammad of Ghor, Jatwán raised the standard of national resistance to Muhammadan aggression at Hánsi, but was defeated on the borders of the Bágar by Qutb-ud-dín Ibak who then took Hánsi. It is apparently not certain that Jatwán was a Jat leader. Firishta says Jatwán was a dependent of the Rái of Nahrwálá in Guzerat.¶

In November 1398 Timúr marched through the jungle from Ahrúní in Karnál to Tohána, through a tract which he found inhabited by Jats, Musulmáns only in name, and without equals in theft and highway robbery: they plundered caravans on the road and were a terror to Musulmáns and travellers. On Timúr's approach the Jats had abandoned the village (Tohána) and fled to their sugarcane fields, valleys, and jungles, but Timúr pursued them, apparently after

* Or Kaikán, 'which was in the occupation of the Jats': E. H. I., I, p. 449.

† E. H. I., I, p. 128: *cf.* App. pp. 448-50.

‡ E. H. I., I, p. 336.

§ E. H. I., II, p. 477.

‖ E. H. I., II, p. 133.

¶ T. N., pp. 516-7.

a contest in which the Jats had held their own, and put 2,000 of the demon-like Jats to the sword.*

About 1530 the Sultán Muhammad ibn Tughliq had to suppress the Bíráhas, Mandahárs, Jats, Bhat(ti)s, and Manhís (Mínas), who had formed *mandals* round Sunám and Sámána, withheld tribute and plundered the roads.†

"In the country between Níláb and Bhera," wrote Bábar, "but distinct from the tribes of Júd and Janjúhah, and adjacent to the Kashmír hills are the Jats, Gújars, and many others of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their *hákim* was of the Gakkhaṛ race, and their government resembled that of the Júd and Janjúhah.''‡

"Every time," adds Bábar, "that I have entered Hindustán, the Jats and Gújars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes." They had committed great depredations, and their districts now yielded little revenue. After the rest of the country had been subdued these tribes began their old practices again, and plundered the Turki garrison on its way from Siálkoṭ to Bábar's camp. Bábar had two or three of the offenders cut in pieces.§ Like the Bhukiál and other tribes the Jats were dependents of the Gakkhaṛs.|| Fath Khán, Jat of Ḳoṭ Kapura¶ devastated the whole Lakhi Jangal and kept the high roads from Lahore to Delhi in a ferment in Sher Sháh's time.

The *Tárikh-i-Táhiri* describes the tribes of the Baloch and Nahmrúí (? Brahúí), of the Jokiya** and Jat, as settled on the hills adjoining the Lakki mountain, which extend to Kích and Makrán,†† in the time of Akbar. The *Muntakhab-u'l-Lubáb* describes the Sikhs as principally Játs and Khatris.‡‡

The Játs of the south-east Punjab formed politically a part of the Bhartpur principality during the decay of the Mughal empire of Delhi. Occasionally a single village would plunder an imperial baggage-train,§§ but the tribes, as a whole, looked to Bhartpur as their capital. The Nawáb Safdar Jang employed Suraj Mal, and he obtained the whole of the Mewát, up to the neighbourhood of Delhi, besides the province of Agra.

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* E. H. I., III, pp. 428-9, 492-3.

† E. H. I., III, p. 245.

‡ E. H. I., IV, p. 234.

§ E. H. I., IV, p. 240.

|| E. H. I., V, p. 278.

¶ It is very doubtful if Kapúra is right. The *Tárikh-i-Sher-Sháhi* has "Fath Khán Jat had been in rebellion in Kayúla, and in the time of the Mughals had plundered the whole country as far as Pánípat. E. H. I., IV, p. 398.

** Possibly a misprint for Johiya.

†† Ib. p. 286.

‡‡ E. H. I., VII, pp. 413, 425.

§§ As when the Játs of Mitrol, between Kodal and Palwal, plundered the Amir-ul-Umará's baggage in 1738—the 19th year of Muhammad Sháh. The Ját plunderers were popularly called the Rám-dal, a name which appears to connote the semi-religious character of the revolt against the Muhammadan domination: E. H. I., VIII, pp. 55 and 187.

The Játs of Bhartpur.

Bajja Singh of Sansani, between Díg and Kambher.

- Churámán.
  - Mohkam Singh.
- BADAN SINGH, founder of Bhartpur, died 1760-1 A. D.
  - SURAJ MAL.
    - JAWÁHIR SINGH, died 1768.
    - RATAN SINGH.
      - Kheri Singh *alias* RANJÍT SINGH ? son of Suraj Mal, died 1806.
    - NAWAL SINGH.
    - Bhawáni Singh.
- Rája Rám.

The following account of the Jáṭs in the Punjab is largely a reproduction of the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson's account of them in the *Punjab Census Report*, 1883.* He prefaced his account by observing that the line separating Jáṭs, Rájputs and certain other castes (tribes) is almost impossible of definition.† More especially is this true of the whole of the Western Punjab, where the term for one of 'gentle' birth is *sáhu*, especially in the Salt Range, and where the land-owning and cultivating classes are organised on a tribal basis, so that stress is always laid on a man's tribe or clan and not on his status or 'caste.' As we go further east the people begin to use the caste terms, Rájput and Jáṭ, more freely, but in the vaguest possible way, so that a Muhammadan Jáṭ tribe in Gujránwála or Gujrát will appear now as Rájput and a decade later as Jáṭ, or *vice versâ*, or half the tribe will return itself as Rájput and the other half as Jáṭ, as caprice dictates. Along the Jammu border, and beyond it into Gurdáspur, the Rájputs and Jáṭs are well defined, the former being confined to the hills, the latter to the plains, as Sir Louis Dane has pointed out,‡ so rigidly that one is almost tempted to suspect that there is something in the physical nature of the plains which militates against the formation of an aristocracy. Within the hills the RÁJPUTS have their own social gradations. In the plains the Jáṭs also are tending to develope social distinctions which will be noticed later on. In the Central Punjab the Jáṭ is fairly well defined as a caste, though he is not absolutely endogamous, as marriages with women of inferior castes may be deprecated but are not invalid. Even in the eastern districts such marriages are tolerated, but in the true Jáṭ country which centres round Rohtak they are probably much rarer than in Karnál, Ambála or the central districts. Broadly speaking, the Jáṭ is a Musulmán in the Western Districts, a Sikh in the Centre, and a Hindu in the South-East, but there are many exceptions to this rule. In the Sikh Districts it is a brother's duty, as well as his privilege, to espouse

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* Reprinted as *Punjab Ethnology*.

† Jáṭs and Rájputs, as observed by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, together constitute about three-tenths of the total population of the Punjab, and include the great mass of the dominant land-owning tribes in the cis-Indus portion of the Province. Their political is even greater than their numerical importance; while they afford to the ethnologist infinite matter for inquiry and consideration. Their customs are in the main Hindu, though in the Western Plains and the Salt Range Tract the restrictions upon intermarriage have, in many cases, come to be based upon considerations of social standing only. But even here the marriage ceremony and other social customs retain the clear impress of Indian origin.

‡ *Gurdáspur Gazetteer.*

his deceased brother's wife. In the south-east the practice of widow remarriage differentiates the Hindu Jáṭ from the Rájput, but it is not universal even among the Jáṭs, for in Gurgáon some Jáṭ families disallow it and others which allow it do not permit it with the husband's relations.* In other words, as we go eastwards orthodox Brahminical ideas come into play.

The origins of the Jáṭ.

Perhaps no question connected with the ethnology of the Punjab peoples has been so much discussed as the origin of the so-called Jáṭ 'race.' It is not intended here to reproduce any of the arguments adduced. They will be found in detail in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, II, pp. 51 to 61; in Tod's *Rájasthán*, I, pp. 52 to 75 and 96 to 101 (Madras Reprint, 1880); in Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 250 to 253; and in Elliot's *Races of the N.-W. P.*, I, pp. 130 to 137. Suffice it to say that both Sir Alexander Cunningham and Colonel Tod agreed in considering the Jáṭs to be of Indo-Scythian stock. The former identified them with the Zanthi of Strabo and the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy; and held that they probably entered the Punjab from their home on the Oxus very shortly after the Meds or Mands, who also were Indo-Scythians, and who moved into the Punjab about a century before Christ. The Jáṭs seem to have first occupied the Indus valley as far down as Sindh, whither the Meds followed them about the beginning of the present era. But before the earliest Muhammadan invasion the Jáṭs had spread into the Punjab Proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the 11th century. By the time of Bábar the Jáṭs of the Salt Range had been subdued by the Gakkhars, Awáns, and Janjúas, while as early as the 7th century the Jáṭs and Meds of Sindh were ruled by a Brahman dynasty. Tod classed the Jáṭs as one of the great Rájput tribes, and extended his identification with the Getæ to both races; but here Cunningham differed from him, holding the Rájputs to belong to the original Aryan stock, and the Jáṭs to a later wave of immigrants from the north-west, probably of Scythian race.

'It may be' continued Sir Denzil Ibbetson, 'that the original Rájput and the original Jáṭ entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rájput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock; while, whether this be so or not, it is almost certain that they have been for many centuries and still are so intermingled and so blended into one people, that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate wholes. It is indeed more than probable that the process of fusion has not ended here, and that the people who thus in the main resulted from the blending of the Jáṭ and the Rájput, if these two ever were distinct, is by no means free from foreign elements. We have seen how the Paṭhán people have assimilated Sayyids, Turks and Mughals, and how

* *Pb. Customary Law*, II, (Gurgaon), p. 132.

it was sufficient for a Jáṭ tribe to retain its political independence and organisation in order to be admitted into the Baloch nation; we know how a character for sanctity and social exclusiveness combined will in a few generations make a Quresh or a Sayyid; and it is almost certain that the joint Jáṭ-Rájput stock contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Scythian, if Scythian be not Aryan. The Mán, Her, and Bhullar Jáṭs are known as *aslí* or original Jáṭs because they claim no Rájput ancestry, but are supposed to be descended from the hair (*jat*) of the aboriginal god Siva; the Játs of the south-eastern districts divide themselves into two sections, *Shivgotri* or of the family of Siva,* and *Kásabgotri* who claim connection with the Rájputs; and the names of the ancestor Bar of the Shivgotris and of his son Barbara, are the very words which the ancient Brahmans give us as the marks of the Barbarian aborigines. Many of the Jáṭ tribes of the Punjab have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin, and a rich and almost virgin field for investigation is here open to the ethnologist.

In other words, the Shivgotri Jáṭs of the south-east like the Mán, Her and Bhullar, are unassuming tribes which do not lay claim to descent from a once dominant or ruling clan, whereas nearly all the other Jáṭ clans arrogate to themselves Rájput ancestry, meaning thereby that once upon a time they, or some representatives of the clan, were sovereign or semi-independent chieftains acknowledging no *rájá* but their own head.†

* We may regard Shiva here as the earth-god and the Shivgotri as autochthones. In Hissár, where they are few in numbers, they say that their forefather was created from the matted hair of Shiva, who consequently was named Jat Budhra. Regarding their origin there is no historical account. But tradition tells that one of the clan, named Barh, became master of a large portion of Bíkáner; where at first he created a village which he called after his name; and thereafter went and resided at Jhansal, where his descendants live to this day, and which *iláqa* belongs to them. He had 12 sons:—*Punia, Dhania, Chachrik, Bali, Burbúra, Sulukhun, Chiria, Chandia, Khok, Dunáj, Liter*, and *Kakkar*. From these sprang 12 sub-divisions. (Khok is also a Gil *muhin*. Punia was ancestor of the Punnú). The descendants of the first were most in number, and had the largest possessions. They owned the country round Jhansal which was called the Punia *iláqa* and which is mentioned in the Aín-i-Akbari. Marriages among members of this clan cannot, according to their custom, be formed amongst themselves; *i. e.*, they must intermarry with the Kásabgotris. The latter are in reality degenerate Rájputs, and call themselves Kásabgotris after Kásab, son of Brahma.

† Mr. H. Davidson in the following passage clearly went too far:—

"It is not generally known that the Jáṭ race is entirely of Rájput origin. A Rájput marrying the widow of a deceased brother loses caste as a Rájput; the ancestors of all the Jáṭ families were thus Rájputs, who had taken to wife the widows of their deceased brethren, who had died without male heirs. The Phúlkián family, if questioned as to their Rájput descent, being now to all intents and purposes Játs, would state this to have been the manner of the transition. I myself have the fact from one of the most intelligent members of the family. The headmen of more than one Jáṭ village of different *gots*, or clans, have likewise given me the same information, and I am convinced of its general truth. The sub-division of (or) *gots* among the Játs is endless, and I have been at some pains to trace the circumstance, which constitutes the origin of each *got*. The result is entirely confirmatory of the above account of the general origin of the race. The Rájput ancestor, who ceased to be a Rájput, furnishes the name of the *got*, not usually directly from his own name, but from some surname he had acquired, as the 'toothless' 'the fair' or from circumstance attending his family, or the birth of his sons. A very powerful *got* is styled 'the hay-stack' from the fact of his wife having been suddenly confined near one; in some cases the name of the village he or his sons founded gave the name of the *got* which derives its ancestry from him. One *got* never intermarries within itself, one *got* marrying with another *got*. Much has been written on the peculiar meaning of the

Are the Jáṭs and Rájputs distinct?

'But' continued Sir Denzil, whether Jáṭs and Rájputs were or were not originally distinct, and whatever aboriginal elements may have been affiliated to their society, I think that the two now form a common stock, the distinction between Jáṭ and Rájput being social rather than ethnic. I believe that those families of that common stock whom the tide of fortune has raised to political importance have become Rájputs almost by mere virtue of their rise: and that their descendants have retained the title and its privileges on the condition, strictly enforced, of observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scale of precedence; of preserving their purity of blood by refusing to marry with families of inferior social rank, of rigidly abstaining from widow marriage, and of refraining from degrading occupations. Those who transgressed these rules have fallen from their high position and ceased to be Rájputs; while such families as, attaining a dominant position in their territory, began to affect social exclusiveness and to observe the rules have become not only Rájás, but also Rájputs or "sons of Rájás." For the last seven centuries the process of elevation at least has been almost at a standstill. Under the Delhi emperors king-making was practically impossible. Under the Sikhs the Rájput was overshadowed by the Ját, who resented his assumption of superiority and his refusal to join him on equal terms in the ranks of the Khálsa, deliberately persecuted him wherever and whenever he had the power, and preferred his title of Ját Sikh to that of the proudest Rájput. On the frontier the dominance of Paṭháns and Baloches and the general prevalence of Muhammadan feelings and ideas placed recent Indian origin at a discount, and led the leading families who belonged to neither of these two races to claim connection, not with the Kshatriyas of the Sanskrit classes, but with the Mughal conquerors of India or the Qureshi cousins of the Prophet; insomuch that even admittedly Rájput tribes of famous ancestry, such as the Khokhar have begun to follow the example. But in the hills, where Rájput dynasties with genealogies perhaps more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world retained their independence till yesterday, and where many of them still enjoy as great social authority as ever, the twin processes of degradation from and elevation to Rájput rank are still to be seen in operation. The Rájá is there the fountain not only of honour but also of caste, which is the same thing in India.' And Sir James Lyall wrote:—

"Till lately the limits of castes do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Rájá was the fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Rájá promoted a

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word *zamíndár*, in different parts of India. Here the use of the word is very peculiar. Those, generally, who derive their livelihood directly from the soil, are not called *zamíndárs* but *kasáns*. On approaching a village, and asking what people live in it, if any other race but Játs live in it. the name of the race will be given in reply. But if the population are Játs, the reply will be '*zamíndárs* live there'—*zamíndár log baste*; in fact the word *zamíndár* is here only applied to the Játs." This last remark, Sir Donald McLeod noted, applied equally almost throughout the Punjab, even where the Játs have been converted to Islám. Ludhiána *Sett. Rep.*, 1859, pp. 28-29. The 'hay-stack' *got* is said to be the Garewál.

Ghirth to be a Ráthi, and a Thákur to be a Rájput, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power of admitting back into caste fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement, is a source of income to the *jágirdár* Rájas. I believe that Mr. Campbell, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct Rájput stock; that in former times before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time Rájput. This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rájput families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangáhal, are said to be Brahmans by original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kángra the son of a Rájput by a low-caste woman takes place as a Ráthi: in Saráj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rájputs, and growing into general acceptance as Rájputs, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their grandfather was the offspring of a Kanetni by a foreign Brahman. On the border line in the Himalayas, between Tibet and India proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes; the noble is changing into a Rájput, the priest into a Brahman, the peasant into a Jáṭ, and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I believe, more or less in force in Kangra Proper down to a period not very remote from to-day."

A very similar process has been going on among the Jáṭs. The Golia Jáṭs were certainly by origin Brahmans and the Langriál were Chárans. And in the plains countless traditions say that the son of a Rájput by a Jáṭ, Gujar, Ror or other wife of low degree became Jáṭs. But in the plains, as in the hills, a Rájput can lose his status and sink in the social scale by allowing the practise of *karewa*, and numerous Jáṭ traditions point to the adoption of that custom as having degraded a blue-blooded Rájput family to Jáṭ or yeoman status. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote:—

'The reverse process of degradation from Rájput to lower rank is too common to require proof of its existence, which will be found if needed together with further instances of elevation, in the section which treats of the Rájputs and kindred castes. In the eastern districts, where Brahmanism is stronger than in any other part of the Punjab, and Delhi too near to allow of families rising to political independence, it is probable that no elevation to the rank of Rájput has taken place within recent times. But many Rájput families have ceased to be Rájputs. Setting aside the general tradition of the Punjab Jáṭs to the effect that their ancestors were Rájputs who married Jáṭs or began to practise widow-marriage, we have the Gaurwa Rájputs of Gurgáon and Delhi, who have indeed retained the title of Rájput because the caste feeling is too strong in those parts and the change in their customs too recent for it yet to have died out, but who have, for all purposes of equality, communion, or intermarriage, ceased to be Rájputs since they took to the practice of *karewa;* we have the Sahnsars of Hoshiárpur who were Rájputs within the last two or three generations, but have ceased to be so because they grow vegetables like the Aráiṇ; in Karnál we have Rájputs who within the living generation have ceased to be Rájputs and become Shaikhs, because poverty and loss of land forced them to weaving as an occupation; while the Delhi Chauhán, within the shadow of the city where their ancestors once ruled and led the Indian armies in their last struggle with the Musalmán invaders, have lost their caste by yielding to the temptations of *karewa*. In the Sikh tract, as I have said, the Jáṭ is content to be a Jáṭ, and has never since the rise of Sikh power wished to be anything else. In the Western Plains the freedom of marriage allowed by Islám has superseded caste restrictions, and social rank is measured by the tribe rather than by the larger unit of caste. But even there, families who were a few

generations ago reputed Jáṭs have now risen by social exclusiveness to be recognised as Rájputs, and families who were lately known as Rájputs have sunk till they are now classed with Jáṭs; while the great ruling tribes, the Siál, the Gondal, the Tiwána are commonly spoken of as Rájputs, and their smaller brethren as Jáṭs. The same tribe even is Rájput in one district and Jáṭ in another, according to its position among the local tribes. In the Salt Range the dominant tribes, the Janjúa, Manhás and the like, are Rájputs when they are not Mughals or Arabs; while all agricultural tribes of Indian origin who cannot establish their title to Rájput rank are Jáṭs. Finally, on the frontier the Paṭhán and Baloch have overshadowed Jáṭ and Rájput alike; and Bhaṭṭi, Punwár, Túnwar, all the proudest tribes of Rájputána, are included in the name and have sunk to the level of Jáṭ, for there can be no Rájputs where there are no Rájás or traditions of Rájás. I know that the views herein set forth will be held heretical and profane by many, and that they ought to be supported by a greater wealth of instance than I have produced in the following pages. But I have no time to marshal my facts; I have indeed no time to record more than a small proportion of them; and all I can now attempt is to state the conclusion to which my enquiries have led me, and to hope to deal with the subject in more detail on some future occasion.'

These conclusions are confirmed by facts observed with regard to other so-called castes, such as the Gaddis, Gujars, Kanets, Meos, and others too numerous to mention. The term Jáṭ may now connote a caste in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but whatever its derivation may be, it came to signify, in contradistinction to Rájput, a yeoman cultivator, usually owner of land, and in modern parlance Jáṭ-zamíndár is the usual description of himself which a Jáṭ will give. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson said :—

The position of the Jáṭ in the Punjab.

'The Jáṭ is in every respect the most important of the Punjab peoples. In point of numbers he surpasses the Rájput, who comes next to him, in the proportion of nearly three to one. Politically he ruled the Punjab till the Khálsa yielded to our arms. Ethnologically he is the peculiar and most prominent product of the plains of the five rivers. And from an economical and administrative point of view he is the husbandman, the peasant, the revenue-payer *par excellence* of the Province. His manners do not bear the impress of generations of wild freedom which marks the races of our frontier mountains. But he is more honest, more industrious, more sturdy, and no less manly than they. Sturdy independence indeed and patient vigorous labour are his strongest characteristics. The Jáṭ is of all the Punjab races the most impatient of tribal or communal control, and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly. In tracts where, as in Rohtak, the Jáṭ tribes have the field to themselves, and are compelled, in default of rival castes as enemies, to fall back upon each other for somebody to quarrel with, the tribal ties are strong. But as a rule a Jáṭ is a man who does what seems right in his own eyes and sometimes what seems wrong also, and will not be said nay by any man. I do not mean however that he is turbulent: as a rule he is very far from being so. He is independent and he is self-willed; but he is reasonable,

peaceably inclined if left alone, and not difficult to manage. He is usually content to cultivate his fields and pay his revenue in peace and quietness if people will let him do so; though when he does go wrong he "takes to anything from gambling to murder, with perhaps a preference for stealing other people's wives and cattle." As usual the proverbial wisdom of the villages describes him very fairly, though perhaps somewhat too severely: "The soil, fodder, clothes, hemp, grass fibre, and silk, these six are best beaten; and the seventh is the Jáṭ." "A Jáṭ, a Bháṭ, a caterpillar, and a widow woman; these four are best hungry. If they eat their fill they do harm." "The Jáṭ, like a wound, is better when bound." In agriculture the Jáṭ is pre-eminent. The market-gardening castes, the Aráín, the Máli, the Saini, are perhaps more skilful cultivators on a small scale; but they cannot rival the Jáṭ as landowners and yeoman cultivators. The Ját calls himself *zamíndár* or "husbandman" as often as Jáṭ, and his women and children alike work with him in the fields: "The Jáṭ's baby has a plough handle for a plaything." "The Jáṭ stood on his corn heap and said to the king's elephant-drivers—'Will you sell those little donkeys?" Socially, the Jáṭ occupies a position which is shared by the Ror, the Gujar, and the Ahír, all four eating and smoking together. He is of course far below the Rájput, from the simple fact that he practises widow-marriage. The Jáṭ father is made to say, in the rhyming proverbs of the country side—'Come my daughter and be married; if this husband dies there are plenty more.' But among the widow-marrying castes he stands first. The Bánia with his sacred thread, his strict Hinduism, and his twice-born standing, looks down on the Ját as a Sudra. But the Jáṭ looks down upon the Bánia as a cowardly spiritless money-grubber, and society in general agrees with the Jáṭ. The Khatri, who is far superior to the Bánia in manliness and vigour, probably takes precedence of the Jáṭ. But among the races or tribes of purely Hindu origin, I think that the Jáṭ stands next after the Brahman, the Rájput, and the Khatri.

There are, however, Jáṭs and Jáṭs. I shall here do nothing more than briefly indicate the broad distinctions. The Jáṭ of the Sikh tracts is of course the typical Jáṭ of the Punjab, and he it is whom I have described above. The Jáṭ of the south-eastern districts differs little from him save in religion; though on the Bíkáner border the puny Bágri Jáṭ, immigrant from his rainless prairies where he has been held in bondage for centuries, and ignorant of cultivation save in its rudest form, contrasts strongly with the stalwart and independent husbandman of the Málwa. On the Lower Indus the word Ját is applied generically to a congeries of tribes, Jáṭs proper, Rájputs, lower castes, and mongrels, who have no points in common save their Muhammadan religion, their agricultural occupation, and their subordinate position. In the great western grazing grounds it is, as I have said, impossible to draw any sure line between Jáṭ and Rájput, the latter term being commonly applied to those tribes who have attained political supremacy, while the people whom they have subdued or driven by dispossession of their territory to live a semi-nomad life in the central steppes are more often classed as Jáṭs; and the state of things in the Salt Range is very similar. Indeed the word Jáṭ is the Punjábi term for a grazier or herdsman; though Mr.

E. O'Brien said that in Jaṭki, Jáṭ, the cultivator, is spelt with a hard and Ját, the herdsman or camel grazier, with a soft *t*. Thus the word Jáṭ in Rohtak or Amritsar means a great deal; in Muzaffargarh or Bannu it means nothing at all, or rather perhaps it means a great deal more than any single word can afford to mean if it is to be of any practical use; and the two classes respectively indicated by the term in these two parts of the Province must not be too readily confounded.'

The Jáṭ elements.

The traditions of some of the more important Jáṭ tribes as to their origin are summed up below, but it must be confessed that these traditions are not only hazy but often inconsistent and not infrequently contradicted by legends current among the same tribe in another locality.

Afghán origin is asserted by the Langáh. *Arab* origin is claimed by the Tahim and Lilla. *Brahman* descent is alleged by the Golia and Langriál—who say they were 'Brahman Cháraus.' *Ját* descent is admitted by the Bhullar, Her, and Mán; by the Sipra (Gils by origin), the Bhangu, who say they came from Nepál, by the Waráich and apparently the Nol. *Rájput* origin is vaguely alleged by the Bal, Chhandhar Dhindsa (Saroha), Ghatwál (Saroha), Hijrá (Saroha), Mahal and Sumrá.

Other Jáṭ tribes have more specific claims to Rájput ancestry. Thus *Solar* Rájput origin is claimed by the Aulakh,* Bains,† Janjúa, Bhutta, Buttar, Chábil (Túnwar), Deo, Dhotar, Ithwal, Kang, Lodika, Punnun, Sáhi, Sindhu and Tárar; *Lunar* Rájput by the Dhillon (Saroha), Ghumman, Goraya (Saroha), Kahlon.

And in many cases the Jáṭ tribe can point to the Rájput tribe from which it sprang. For example, Bhaṭṭi Rájpút descent is claimed by the Dhariwál, Randháwa, Sará,‡ and Sidhu; Chauhán Rájput descent by the Ahláwat, Bajwá, Chatta, Chíma, Dehia, Jákhar, Marral, Sargwán, and Sobal: Manhás Rájput blood by the Wirk: Punwár Rájput descent by the Kharral, Harral and Sarai: Raghobansi Rájput origin by Gil: Túnwar, by the Dhankar, Ráthi and Sahráwat: and Ruthor by the Dalál and Deswál.

Similarly, in Gujrát the Muhammadan Jáṭ tribes claim very diverse origins. Thus *Mughal* origin is claimed by the Bhaddar, Malána, Marar and Narwai, who claim to be Barlás; and by the Bahlam, Chaughatta, Phiphrá, Mander and Babál, who claim to be Chaughatta. *Awán* origin is claimed by the Bhagwál, while the Hír claim to be descendants of Qutab-ud-Dín, like the Awáns and Khokhars. *Quraish* descent is claimed by the Jam.

Khokhar Rájput descent is asserted by the Jáli; Punwár Rájput ancestry is claimed by the Jakkhar and Siál; Sombansi descent and Rájput ancestry, *i. e.*, a last status as Rájputs—are claimed by the Janjúa Játs, Chauhán Játs, Dhúl, Sohiál, Kaliál, Goráyá, Langarbal, Maral, and Mangat; Janjúa Rájput origin is claimed by the Bhakrel, Tatla, Dahb, Kanjiál and Ghumman; Gakkhar origin is asserted by the Kotharmal; Bhaṭṭi Rájput origin is claimed by the Bhaṭṭi, Dháriwál Paroí, Torá, Dhamál, Dháli, Randháwa, Sahotra, Soya, Sarai, Kalwál, Kaher, Kawár, Korantáná, Guhlo Gudho, Gujrál, Liddar, Mehar, Mahota

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* But one tradition makes them Lunar.

† Bains is one of the 36 royal families of Rájputs, but was believed by Tod to be Suryabansi.

‡ Also claim Lunar descent.

Multáni, Nijjrá, Hunjar and Hatián; Punnu (Surajbansi) origin is claimed by the Dudhrai Poti, Gil, Thuthál, Mathi, Nat; Raghbansi by the Rahang Chauhán; Rájput origin is claimed by the Thanel, Gohi and Kaler; Túr Rájput descent is claimed by the Takkhar; Langáh Rájputs gave birth to the Chách, and Manhás to the Raihsi, Katwár Lohdrá, Mahé, Mair, Nangiál and Wirk; Gondál Jáṭ extraction is admitted by the Tolá, Jaspál, Sandrána, and Ghug; Waraich by the Suggar; Dháriwál by the Sidh, and Ránjha by the Khamb, Gudgor.

Distribution of the Jáṭs.

Beyond the Punjab, Jáṭs are chiefly found in Sindh where they form the mass of the population; in Bíkáner, Jaisalmer, and Márwár, where they probably equal in numbers all the Rájput races put together, and along the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jumna, from Bareli, Farrukhábád, and Gwálior upwards. In the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province they are especially numerous in the central Sikh districts and States, in the south-eastern districts, and in the Deraját. Under and among the hills and in the Ráwalpindi division Rájputs take their place, while on the frontier, both upper and lower, they are almost wholly confined to the cis-Indus tracts and the immediate Indus riverain on both sides of the stream. The Játs of the Indus are probably still in the country which they have occupied ever since their first entry into India, though they have been driven back from the foot of the Sulaimáns on to the river by the advance of the Paṭhán and the Baloch. The Játs of the Western Plains have almost without exception come up the river valleys from Sindh or Western Rájputána. The Jáṭs of the western and central sub-montane have also in part come by the same route; but some of them retain a traditional connection with Ghazni, which perhaps refers to the ancient Gajnípur, the site of the modern Ráwalpindi, while many of them trace their origin from the Jammu Hills.

The Jáṭs of the central and eastern Punjab have also in many cases come up the Sutlej valley; but many of them have moved from Bíkáner straight into the Málwa, while the great central plains of the Málwa itself are probably the original home of many of the Jáṭ tribes of the Sikh tract. The Jáṭs of the south-eastern districts and the Jumna zone have for the most part worked up the Jumna valley from the direction of Bhartpur, with which some of them still retain a traditional connection; though some few have moved in eastwards from Bíkáner and the Málwa. The Bhartpur Jáṭs are themselves said to be immigrants who left the banks of the Indus in the time of Aurangzeb. Whether the Jáṭs of the great plains are really as late immigrants as they represent, or whether their story is merely founded upon a wish to show recent connection with the country of the Rájputs, I cannot say. The whole question is one in which we are still exceedingly ignorant, and which would richly repay detailed investigation.

The Jáṭ migrations.

A noteworthy feature of the Jáṭ traditions is their insistence on the recent advent of nearly every Jáṭ tribe into the Punjab, or at least into its present seats. Probably the only tract in the Punjab in which the Jáṭ has been well established from a period anterior to the first Muhammadan invasion is the Rohtak

territory. If the history of the various tribes in Multán be investigated it will be found that there is scarcely a single important tribe now found in the District which has not immigrated within the last 500 or 600 years. The whole population in Multán has for many centuries been in a state of constant flux, and it is of very little use trying to discover who the original inhabitants were even in the pre-Muhammadan times. The Khaks, Pándas, Pahors and Sahús in Kabírwála tahsil, the Dhudhis in Mailsi, and the Kharas, north of Multán, are reputed vaguely to have been converted to Islám in the Multán district during the 13th century, but the traditions cannot be trusted. When the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled the Sahús, Sandas, Marrals, Tahíms, Ghallus, Channars, Joiyas, Utheras and Khichis were settled in or near their present seats, and tradition assigns many tribal immigrations to Akbar's time.* The same might be said with much truth of almost every Jáṭ settlement throughout the Punjab plains. If we except the Nol and Bhangu in Jhang, the Hinjra in Gujránwálá and a few other clans, tradition almost always makes a Jáṭ tribe a comparatively recent settler in the Punjab. In Dera Ismail Khan, where the term Jáṭ is applied to Siáls, Awáns and a host of petty tribes of miscellaneous origin, the lower portion of the District was probably occupied by a few scattered tribes of pastoral Jáṭs before the 15th century. Early in that century all tradition goes to show that an immigration of Siyars, China, Khokhars, etc., set in from Multán and Baháwalpur. Passing up the Indus these Jáṭ tribes gradually occupied the country on the edge of the Míánwáli Thal and then crossed the Indus. East of that river the Jáṭs and Sayyids maintained a dominant position, in spite of the somewhat later Baloch immigration which was of the nature of a military occupation rather than a permanent colonisation, and the whole of the Kachi or riverain on the east bank of the Indus was divided in blocks among the Játs, a strip of the Thal or steppe being attached to each block. Jáṭ tribes settled also in the Thal itself, notably the Chinas and Bhidwál, the latter a good fighting tribe. The China tract stretched right across the Thal. The modern District of Dera Ismail Khán was settled in much the same way by the Jáṭs, but the Baloch also occupied it as cultivating proprietors, leaving the actual occupation however to the Jáṭs. Early in the 19th century Sarwar Khán of Tánk located large numbers of Jáṭs in the south-east of the present Tánk tahsil and this settlement gave the tract its name of the Ját-átar.† Jáṭs however appear to have been settled in the modern Nutkáni Baloch country prior to that period, and to have formed its original population.

The migrations of the Jáṭs into Kapurthala also illustrate the history of the population of the Punjab. Thus from Amritsar came the Gil, Padah, Ojla, Dhol, Randháwa, Khera and Samrai; from Hoshiárpur the Dhadwál; from Siálkoṭ came the Bajwá or Bajwai, Goráya and Ghumman; from Gurdáspur the Mahesh; and from Lahore the Wirk, Sindhu and Bhullar; from Gujránwála came the Dhotar, Baraich (Waráich), Pánglai, Kaler and Johal, Suján and Baṭṭah; from the Málwá the Dháríwál; and from Patiála the Chábil; from Delhi came the Hundal, Dhadah, Bhaun, Bal, Bhandal, Bisal and Bulai; from Sirsa the

* *See* Mr. E. D. Maclagan's interesting sketch of the tribal immigrations in the *Multán Gazetteer*, 1901-02, pp. 144-5.

† There is also a Jatátar in Gujrát—see p. 306 *supra*. It appears to be identical with the Herát, which may derive its name from the Her Játs, though a local tradition derives it from Herát in Afghánistán. It is curious that the Játs give their name to no other tracts.

Basrai and Daulat; while from beyond the east of the Jumna came the Nijhar and Janer; and from Sahâranpur, the Dhillon: while the Baich say they came from the Ganges. The Paddah have a tradition that they came from Ghazni.

The cults of the Jáṭ tribes.

The Jáṭs of the Punjab cannot be said to have any distinctive tribal cults. When Muhammadans or Sikhs they follow the teachings of their creeds with varying degrees of strictness. When Hindus they are very often SULTANIS or followers of the popular and wide-spread cult of Sakhi Sarwar Sultán. In the south-east many are BISHNOIS. The Shib-gotri Jáṭs do not form a sectarian group. The only distinctive Jáṭ cults are tribal, and even in their case the *sidh* or *sati*, Jogi, Gosáín or Bairági, whose shrine is affected by the tribe, is doubtless worshipped by people of other tribes in the locality. For detailed accounts of these tribal cults reference must be made to the separate articles on the various Jáṭ tribes in these volumes, but a few general notes may be recorded here. It will be observed that these customs are not as distinctive of the Jáṭs of Siálkoṭ as Sir Denzil Ibbetson thought.* Parallels to them will also be found among the Khatris, and it is very doubtful whether they can be held to indicate aboriginal descent.

Jaṭhera.—Among the Hindu and Sikh Jáṭs, especially in the north-central and central Districts, a form of ancestor-worship, called *jaṭhera*, is common. It is the custom of many clans, or of a group of villages of one clan, for the bridegroom at his wedding (*biáh* or *shádi*) to proceed to a spot set aside to commemorate some ancestor who was either a *shahíd* (martyr) or a man of some note. This spot is marked by a mound of earth, or it may be a *pakka* shrine. The bridegroom bows his head to the spot and walks round it, after which offerings are made both to the Brahman and the *lági*.† If the mound is of earth, he throws a handful of earth upon it. The name given to the *jaṭhera* may be, and generally is, that of an ancestor who was influential, the founder of the tribe, or who was a *shahíd*.

Janḍi káṭna or *Janḍián*, the cutting of a twig of the *janḍ* tree.—The bridegroom, before setting out for the marriage, cuts with a sword or *talwár* a twig from a *janḍ* tree anywhere in the vicinity. He then makes offerings to Brahmans. This ceremony ensures the success of his marriage.

In those parts of the Gurgaon District which adjoin the Jaipur, Alwar and Nábha States it is customary to fix a small wooden bird on the outer door of the bride's house, and before the bridegroom is welcomed by the women standing there he is required to strike it with his stick. This ensures the happiness of the marriage. The rite is reminiscent of the old Tar Pariksha or test of the bride. The bird is made of *janḍ* wood. This is almost the only trace of any *janḍián* ceremony in the southern Punjab.‡

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* Ibbetson, § 421.

† The menial who is entitled to receive dues (*lág*) at weddings, etc.

‡ In Hissár the *janḍián* rite is rare, though that of *jaṭhera* is said to be almost universal. But in that District the observances are local, rather than tribal and the Bágṛi Jáṭs do not perform the *janḍián* in Hissár though they would observe it in the Bágaṛ, where it is general.

The *janḍián* rite is very common in the central Punjab,* but it assumes slightly different forms. Thus among the Hans Jáṭs of Ludhiána the bridegroom's uncle or elder brother cuts the tree with an axe or sword and the bridal pair play with the twigs, *chhiṭián*, the boy first striking the girl seven times with them, and she then doing the same to him. Worship is then offered to a Brahman and after that the house-walls are marked with rice-flour. The pair solemnly prostrate themselves, worship Sakhi Sarwar and give the offerings made to him to a Bharái. The Daleo, Aulakh, Pammar, Basi, Dulat, Boparai, and Bal, have the same usage as regards the *chhiṭián*, but among the Gurum Jáṭs the boy himself cuts the tree and both he and his bride 'worship *chhatras*.' But the Lat do not cut the *janḍi* at all.

Chhatra.—In connection with the observance, common at Hindu weddings, of the *ṭika*, there is a curious custom called the *chhatra* (ram) or *chhedna* (to bore—the ram's ear). In this a ram is hired, 8 *paisa* (Nának-sháhi) being paid to its owner. The bridegroom cuts off a small piece of its ear and rubs this piece on the cut till the blood flows. He then places the piece in the centre of a *chapáti*, with some rice and, smearing his thumb with the mixture, imprints a *ṭika* or mark with it on his forehead. The *chapáti* is then offered at a shrine, food is distributed and the *lágís* each receive at least 14 *paisa* (Nának-sháhi). In some cases the ram or goat is also sacrificed.

Among the Jáṭs of the south-eastern Punjab the *chhatra* rite, involving as it does animal sacrifice, is unknown. This is clearly due to Jain influences. It is very rare in the central Districts too, and is said to be unknown in Jullundur, but in Ludhiána it is not uncommon for the bridegroom's forehead to be marked with blood from a goat's ear, *e. g.* among the Chela, Bhangu and some others.

Not only do these usages vary among different tribes, some not observing them at all while others perform one or two or all of them, but a given tribe may have varying usages in different localities. Thus the Bhúlars' cult of Kalanjar has already been described at p. 108 *supra*, but they are also said to have a *jaṭhera* called Pír Yár Bhuráwála,† a revered ancestor who performed a miracle by turning a blanket into a sheep, and to this day the Bhular will not wear, sit or sleep on a striped blanket. Their Sidh Kalenjar or Kalangar is also called Kalandra, and he has a tomb at Mári in Paṭiála where the first milk of a cow is offered to him on the 8th *badi* of the month. A Bhúlar too can only build a house after offering him two bricks. The Bhúlar also avoid the use of *ak* fuel.

The Cháhil as noted on p. 146 *supra* affect a Jogi *pír*, but he is also said to have been their *jaṭhera*. He was killed in a fight with the Bhatti Rájputs at a place in Paṭiála, but his body remained on his horse and continued to smite the foe after his head had fallen, so a shrine was built to him on the spot where he fell and it also contains

* But it is said to be unknown in Jullundur.

† Apparently the Bhúrá *Sidh* of the Siálkot Bhulars. *Bhúrá* means a striped blanket, of light brown with black stripes, or black with white stripes, and the *Bhúrá* are also said to be a division of the Játs. *Bhúrá* also means brown, *Panjábi Dicty.*, p. 146. Clearly there is either a pun in the name or *Bhúrá* was the original name of the tribe.

the tombs of his hawk, dog and horse. It lies in a grove, and the milk of a cow or the grain of a harvest are never used without offering first fruits to this *pír*. The fact that the *pír* is called or named Jogi points to a Shaiva origin for the cult.

The Chíma again are said to be served by Jogís, and not by Brahmans. They perform *jaṭhera* and *chhatra* as follows :—Eight or ten days before a marriage rice is cooked and taken to the spot dedicated to their ancestor; from one to five goats are also taken thither and washed and a lamp is lighted. One of the goats' ears is then cut, and the brotherhood mark their foreheads with blood (*chhatra*). The goat is killed for food, but the immediate relatives of the bride do not eat of its flesh, which is divided among the others; the rice, however, is distributed to all.

The Deo have their *jaṭhera* at a place close to some pool or tank where on certain occasions, such as a wedding, they congregate. The Brahman marks each man's forehead as he comes out of the pool with blood from the goat's ear: this is done to the bridegroom also. The bread at the feast is divided, 9 loaves to every bachelor and 18 to every married man.

As already noted, on p. 236 *supra*, the Dháriwál have a *jaṭhera* and also a *sídh*, called Bhai or Bhoi. The latter was slain by robbers. A Brahman, a Mirási, a Chúhra and a black dog were with him at the time. The Brahman fled, but the others remained, and so Mirásís receive his offerings, and at certain ceremonies a black dog is fed first. The Sidh's tomb is at Lálowála in Paṭiála, and his fair is held on the Nimání Ikádshí.

The Dhillon appear to have several *jaṭheras*, Gaggowahna being mentioned in addition to those described on p. 238 *supra*. No particulars of these are forthcoming. But the fact that Dhillon was Rájá Karn's grandson is commemorated in the following tale :—Karn used to give away 30 *sers* of gold every day after his bath but before his food. After his death the deity rewarded him with gold, but allowed him no food, so he begged to be allowed to return to the world where he set aside 15 days in each year for the feeding of Brahmans. He was then allowed to return to the celestial regions and given food.*

Other *jaṭheras* are Bábá Alho, of the GAREWÁLS, Rájá Rám of the GILS, Rájput (*sic*) of the KHAIRA, Sidhsan, of the RANDHÁWAS, Tilkara, of the SIDHUS and Kálá Mihr of the SINDHUS.†

The Dhindsa have a *sidh*, of unrecorded name, at a place in Paṭiála and offer milk, etc., to his *samádh* on the 6th *sudi* of each month. The

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* The Dhillons have the following *kabit* or saying—*Sat jindki bahin, Dhillon kadh kosatti nahin*, meaning that a Dhillon will always perform what he has promised.

† "Among the genuine Játs, or those who can look back to a Rájput origin, it is not uncommon to find a great veneration paid to the *thehs* or mounds which in bygone days were the sites of their first location. They are marked by a few scattered tombs or a grove of trees, or have since been selected by some shrivelled *faqir* as the place suitable for a solitary life. With the Játs, it is also curious to which the reverence they pay to the *jand* tree, which is often introduced into these places of worship. The Rájputs are more lofty in their religion, and more rigorous in their discharge of it."—Prinsep's Siálkot Sett. Rep., p. 27.

Gil *sidh* is named Surat Rám and only gets a goat and a handful of *gur* at weddings, an offering which is taken by Mírásis. The Gandi have a *sati* whose *mat* or shrine is in Paṭiála.

Jaṭheras are also commonly worshipped in the central Districts, but the rites vary. Thus in Ludhiána nearly every Jáṭ tribe has a *jaṭhera* though his name is rarely preserved, and a very common fond of worship to him is to dig earth from a tank at weddings in his honour. Thus Tulla, the Basis' *jaṭhera*, who has a *mat* or shrine, is commemorated in this way and earth is also dug on the Diwáli night. The Sarapiya and Sodi Jáṭs also dig earth to their unnamed *jaṭheras*—and the Daula, Dhad, Sangra and many others do the same. The Dhanesar have a special custom, for after the *janḍi* has been cut, water is poured over a goat's head, and if he shivers the ancestors are believed to have blessed the pair. The goat is then set free. The GHANGHAS in this District appear to have no *jaṭhera* but make offerings, which are taken by Sikhs, to the *samádh* of Akál Dás, their ancestor, at Janḍiála in Amritsar, where an annual fair is held.

Thus the *jaṭhera* rite is essentially a tribal, not a village, institution and this is strikingly brought out by the fact that in villages composed of several tribes each tribe will have its own *jaṭhera*. Thus in Kang, in Jullundur, the Kang Jáṭs have no *jaṭhera*, but they have one at Dhauli Mambli in Garhshankar tahsil, and say he was a refugee from Muhammadan oppression. The Mors of Kang have their *jaṭhera* at Khankhána, the Birks theirs at Birk, the Rakkars theirs at Rakkar, the Jhalli theirs at Dhamot in Ludhiána. But the *jaṭhera* is often a *sati*, and the Her in Jullundur have a *sati's* shrine at Kála Májra in Rupar tahsil. And it is not necessarily the progenitor of the clan, or even the founder of a village who is worshipped, but any prominent member of it who may be chosen as its *jaṭhera*. Thus among the Dhillon of Mahrampur it is not Gola, its founder, who is worshipped, but Phalla, his descendant and a man of some note. And at Garcha the Garcha Jáṭs worship Adhiána, a spot in the village named after Adi, one of their ancestors who was an ascetic. The place now forms a grove from which fuel may be gathered by Brahmans, but no wood may be cut by Jáṭs under penalty of sickness or disaster. When the *jaṭhera* is at any distance it is sufficient to turn towards it at a wedding and it is only visited at long intervals.

In marked contrast to the tribal *jaṭhera* is the village *bhúmia* of the south-eastern Punjab. There, when a new colony or village is founded in the south-east Punjab the first thing to be done before houses are actually built is to raise a mound of earth on a spot near the proposed village and plant a *janḍ* tree on it. Houses are then built. The first man who dies in the village, whether he be a Brahman, a Jáṭ or a Chamár, is burnt or buried on this mound, and on it is built a masonry shrine which is named after him. The fortunate man is deified as the Bhúmia or earth-god, and worshipped by Hindus of all classes in the village, being looked upon as its sole guardian deity. At weddings the bridegroom before starting to the bride's village resorts to this shrine and makes offerings to him. If an ox is stolen, a house is broken into, or pestilence breaks out, if crops fail or the rainfall is scanty, if locusts

visit the village or any other calamity befall, Bhúmia's shrine is the first place to which the Jáṭs resort for divine help.

Such faith is placed in this deity that in the event of plague the villagers will not vacate their houses without consulting the Bhúmia.

Thus in Jínd we find the PHOGÁT with a tribal Sidh and also a Bhúmiá in every village. Nearly every Jáṭ tribe in that State has its Bhúmia, but some have a Khera instead, and others again style their *jaṭhera* Khera Bhúmia. Such are the Cháhil. The Labánah affect the Khera alone. The Dalál reverence Jogis and the Bhanwála Gosáins, while the Gathwál and Lámbe are said to have Bairágis as their *jaṭheras*; and the Ridhu have Nágás for *jaṭheras*, but also worship Khera Bhúmia. Probably the Jogi, Bairági, Gosáin or Nágá is the tribal, and the Khera the village deity or his representative. But several tribes, the Bhondar, Bhangu, Kharod, Radhána and Tamána worship the Khera as their *jaṭhera*, and a few, the Baring, Baniwál, Boparai, Jatána, Khagura, Lát, Sohi, Thand and Tur have no *jaṭhera* at all.

Instances of Játs accepting votive offerings appear to be very rare, but Jáṭs, not Brahmans, take the offerings made in cash or kind at the shrine of Sítla Devi at Gurgáon.

The divisions of the Jáṭs.

The Jáṭs of the south-east Punjab have two territorial divisions, Deswáli from *des*, the plain or country, and Bágṛi, from the *bágaṛ* or upland in Bíkáner. The Deswáli claim to be superior to the latter, but it is often difficult to say to which group a tribe belongs. Thus the Bhainiwál claim to be Deswáli, but they are really Bágṛi as are probably the CHÁHALS—whose connection with the legend of Gúga is consistent with their immigration from the Bágaṛ.

The Jáṭs of the south-east have also two other divisions, Shib-gotra and Káshib-gotra. The former are also called *asl* or real Jáṭs and confess that their progenitor sprang from Shiva's matted hair and was so called *jat bhadrá*. They have 12 *gots*, which are descended from the 12 sons of Barh, who conquered a large part of Bíkáner. His descendants are chiefly sprung from Punia and they held the country round Jhansal.

These 12 *gots* are—

1. Punia.	5. Barbra.	9. Khokha.
2. Dhanian.	6. Solahan.	10. Dhanaj.
3. Chhacharik.	7. Chiria.	11. Letar.
4. Bali.	8. Chandia.	12. Kakar.

At weddings the Brahman at the *sakha* or announcement gives out their *gotra* as Káshib-gotra—not Shib-gotra. These 12 *gots* are said not to form exogamous groups, but only to marry with the Káshib-gotra* who claim Rájput descent. The Shib-gotras must, however,

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* *Original Rájput clan.*	*Jáṭ tribes derived from it.*
Tunwar	... Palániá, Bachhi, Nain, Mallán, Lánbá, Khatgar, Karb, Jatáasrá, Dhánd, Bhádo, Kharwál, *Dhákâ*, Sekhirá, Bánchiri, Málú, Ronil, Sákan, Berwál and Nárú.
Chauhán	... Bhákar, Khongá, Lákhlán, Sawánch, Sohú, Cháhal, Ghel, Ráo, Nahrá, Pankhál, Lúni, Jáglán, Chhanni-

form exogamous sections, though it may be that, as a general rule, they give daughters to the Káshib-gotra. The term Shib-gotra clearly implies some disparagement, but the Punia were once an important tribe because there used to be six cantons of Jáṭs on the borders of Hariána and Bíkáner, and of these four, *viz.*, Punia, Kassua,* Sheorán and Godára consisted of 360 villages each.†

The Bágṛi Jáṭs have certain sections which might appear totemistic, but very rarely is any reverence paid to the totem. Such are :—

Karír, a tree, Kohár, a hatchet, Waihṛi, a young heifer, Bandar, monkey, Gídar, jackal; also Katáriá, sword, and Gandásiá axe, Piplá, *pípal*, and Janḍiá, *janḍ* tree, all in tahsil Hánsi. The JARIA and others are said to be named from parts of the *ber* tree, but Jaria itself is also explained as meaning 'descended from twins, *jora*,' and they are said to be an offshoot of the Gathwál. Mor is so called because a peacock protected their ancestor from a snake. Pankhal, peacock's feather, is so called because a Dohán Jáṭ girl had been given in marriage to one Tetha, a Rájput of Musham. The couple disagreed and Tetha aided by the royal forces attacked the tribe and only those who had placed peacock's feathers on their heads were spared.

Júṇ is said to mean louse, and Goráya, blue cow or *nílgái*.‡

	wál, Legha, Janáwá, Bedwál, Mahlú, Wihá, Mehrán, Rápariá, Bháriwás, Bohlá, Mor, Sinhmár, Máhil, Goyat, Lohán, *Sheorán*,* Lobháwat, Ṣomaddhar, Dohan, Helá, Lohách, *Rámpúriá*, Sedhú, Hodá, Sámin, Rojiá, Bháná *alias* Chotiá, Bhattú, Rár and Lomadh.
Bhaṭṭi ...	Láhar, Sará, Bharon, Mákar, Mond, Kohár, Sabáran, Isharwál, Khetalán, Jatái, Khodmá, Blodá, Batho and Dhokiá.
Saroyá ...	Kaleráwan, Bhore, Hinjráwan, Saroyá, Kájlá, Ghanghas, Saráwat, Sori, Khot and Balrá.
Punwár ...	Kharwán, Pachár, Loh-Chab and Mohan.
Khokhar ...	Bohlá and Khokhar.
Joiyá ...	Pásal, Mondhlá, Khichar, Jáni, Máchrá, Kachroyá, Sor and Joiyá.
Ráthor ...	Dulláh and Gáwarná.
Gahlot ...	Godárá.
Puniár ...	Sondá and Tarar.
Lal ...	Jariá.
Ude ...	Jákhar.
Kachhwái ...	Dhondwál.
Kihchi ...	Khichar.

* The Kassua cannot be traced.

† Elliot's *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, II, p. 55.

‡ Certain villages in Hissár derive their names from a tradition that a giant was killed and each of his limbs gave a name to the place where it fell, *e. g.* :—

1.	Sarsud	=	where the giant's *sar* (head) fell.
2.	Balak	=	" " " *bál* (hair) fell.
3.	Palra	=	" " " *pab* (foot) fell.
4.	Bichpari	=	" " " middle part (*bich-ka-hissa*) body fell.
5.	Kanwa	=	" " " *kan* (ear) fell.
6.	Hathwa	=	" " " *hath* (hand) fell.
7.	Jeura		" " " *jewar* (ornament) fell.

Social distinctions among the Jáṭs.

Among the Jáṭs the only* social distinctions are the well-known 'Akbari' or Darbári *makáns*—35 in number according to the usual account. But in Amritsar the Akbari is only the highest of a series of four grades, the Aurangzebi (or those admitted to this rank in the time of Aurangzeb), Khalsái (or those admitted in Sikh times) and Angrezi (or those admitted since British rule began) being the other three, and no less than 150 villages, all generally speaking in the Mánjha, now claim Darbári status. There is also a Sháhjaháni grade, the Sánsi Jáṭs, of Rájá Sánsi, having been admitted in the reign of Sháh Jahán. The origin of the Akbari group is thus described. When the emperor Akbar took in marriage the daughter of Mihr Mitha, a Jáṭ, of the Mánjha,† 35 of the principal Jáṭ, and 36 of the leading Rájput families countenanced the marriage and sent representatives to Delhi. Three of those Jáṭ families are still found in Hoshiárpur, and are called the Dháíghar Akbari, as they comprise the Bains Jáṭs‡ of Máhilpur, the Lahotas of Gaṛhdiwála and the Khungas of Budhipind, which latter is styled the 'half' family, so that the three families are called the 2½ (*dháíghar*). The Akbari Jáṭs follow some of the higher castes in not allowing remarriage of widows, and in practising *darbára*, which is a custom of giving *vails* at weddings to the *mirásis* of other Akbari families. Their *parohits* also place the *janeo* on them at their marriages, removing it a few days afterwards. *Below* the Akbari (according to the Hoshiárpur account) is the Darbári grade, descendants of those who gave daughters to the emperor Jahángír. Thus some of the Mán Jáṭs are Darbáris, and they will only marry with Darbáris as a rule. But they will accept brides from Jáṭs of grades below the Darbári provided the dower (*dahej*) is sufficiently large.

As regards Gurdáspur, Sir Louis Dane wrote:—" Some of the better *gots* of Hindu Jáṭs or those living in celebrated villages or *námas* will not give their daughters to men of *gots* considered socially inferior, and the restriction often gave rise to female infanticide, as eligible husbands were scarce."

Jatála, (1) an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Amritsar, (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jatátir, a Jáṭ clan found in Siálkoṭ.

Jathedár, a Sikh title. Lit. one who keeps the *jaṭ* or uncut matted hair of a *faqír* and so a strict Sikh as opposed to the Munna Sikh who shaves. See also under Jogi.

Jathiána, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

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* Mr. J. R. Drummond indeed observed :—" There can be no question that the Randháwas, who are still Thákurs in their native homes, I believe, in Rájputána, are at the head of the hypergamous scale among those Jáṭs who have a more or less distinctly Rájput origin, such as the Gil, Sindhu, Sidhu-Barár (or Variár), Pannu and the like." Unfortunately no one seems able to say what the hypergamous scale among the Jáṭ *gots* is, and several informants explicitly say that there is none.

† The Mihr Mitha who figures in the tradition of the Dháriwáls must be intended. It is hardly necessary to say that neither Akbar nor Jahángir ever took a Jáṭ bride.

‡ The Bains Jáṭ have a *bára* or group of 12 villages near Máhilpur, but the possession of a *bára* does not appear to make the Gil Sanghe or Pote Jáṭs Akbari though they too possess *báras*. The Mán too have a *bára*, but some of them are only Darbári and not all of them have that standing.

Jaṭhol, a small Jáṭ clan found in Siálkoṭ, and in Amritsar (where it is classed as agricultural). Its *jaṭhera*, Bábá Amar Singh, has a *khângáh* of masonry, to which offerings are made at weddings.

Jatiána, a clan of the Siáls.

Jatkatta, from *jat*=wool or the hair of the body; and *kattá*—spinning: a weaver (Gujrát *Sett. Rep.*, Mackenzie, § 53).

Jatke, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Játle, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jatoi, (1) an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur; (2) one of the original main sections of the Baloch, but not now an organised tribe. Found wherever the Baloch have spread. In Montgomery it is classed as agricultural. In the Chenáb Colony it is the most numerous of the Baloch tribes.

Jatowál, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Játu, a Rájput tribe, said to be a Túnwar clan who once held almost the whole of Hissár, and are still most numerous in that District and the neighbouring portions of Rohtak and Jínd. When the great Chauhán Bisaldeo overthrew Anangpál II, the Túnwar king of Delhi, the Túnwars were driven from Delhi to Jálopattan in the Sheikhawatti country north of Jaipur and there Dul Rám, a descendant of Anangpál, ruled. His son Jairát extended the Túnwar dominion to Bágar in Jaipur and the tract is still called the Túnwarwati. In fact the Túnwar of Hariána are said to have been divided into three clans named after and descended from, three brothers, Játu, Raghu and Satraula, of which clans Játu was by far the largest and most important, and once ruled from Bhiwáni to Agroha. They are the hereditary enemies of the Punwár of Rohtak, and at length the sandhills of Mahm were fixed upon as the boundary between them, and are still known as *Játu Punwár ka daula* or the Játu-Punwár boundary. In Karnál, however, the Játu describe themselves as Chauhán also.

Jairát, the Túnwar, had a son, Játu, (so-called because he had hair, *jâta*, on him at the time of his birth) by a Sánkla Rájputní, and his son migrated to Sirsa where he married Palát Devi, daughter of Kanwarpál, a Sirohá Rájput and sister of the mother of the great Gúga Pír. Kanwarpál made the tract about Hánsí over to his son-in-law and the latter sent for his brothers Raghu and Satraula from Jilopattan to share it with him. Játu's sons, Sidh and Harpál, founded Rájli and Gurána villages, and on the overthrow of the Chauhán Rai Pithaura by the Muhammadans the Játus extended their power over Agroha, Hánsi, Hissár and Bhiwáni, their boast being that they once ruled 1,440 *kheras* or settlements. Amrata also seized 40 villages in the Kánaud (Mohindargarh) *iláqa* of Paṭiála. The three brothers, Játu, Raghu and Satraula divided the *pargana* of Hánsi into three *tappas*, each named after one of themselves. Umr Singh, one of their descendants took Toshám, and after him that *iláqa* was named the Umrain *tappa*, while that of Bhiwáni was called the Bachwán *tappa*, after one Bacho, a Játu. At Siwáni Játu's descendants bore the title of Rai, those of TalwaṇḍiRáná that of Ráná, while those at Kulheri were called Chaudhri. In

1857 the people at once revived all their ancient titles, but the descendants of Harpál, a son of Játu, remained loyal, the descendants of Sádh, another of Játu's sons, having rebelled.

The Játus, Raghus and Satraulas do not, it is said, intermarry. The Játus are nearly half Hindus, the rest being Muhammadans. The Játus appear to give their name to Jatusána in Gurgáon.

JAUN, a tribe of Jáṭs descended from an eponym, who was a Jáṭ of Hinjráon descent.

JAUND, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

JAURA, (1) a Hindu and Muhammadan Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery, (2) a Khokhar clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

JAUSAN, (1) a Hindu Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery; (2) a Khatrí *got.*

JAWÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JAWAKI, a well-known sept of the Adam Khel Afrídis, dwelling in the range between Kohát and Peshávar. In Kohát they hold Upper Gandiáli and Togh.

JAWÍA, a tribe of Jáṭs, immigrants from Sirsa but found in Siálkoṭ. They claim kinship with the Bhaṭṭís, but now intermarry with Jáṭs.

JETHAL, a small clan, found only in the Jhelum Thal between the river of that name and the Lilla estates. It claims Bhaṭṭi Rájput descent, but its pedigree is traced to Bhutta who some 12 or 14 generations ago married the sister of Ghorian king's wife. The king, however, drove Bhutta with his 21 sons into the Bár, whence Jethal crossed the Jhelum and settled at Ratta Pind, now a mound near Kandwál. They also say they were settled at Neh of Sayyid Jalál in Baháwalpur which points to descent from the Bhuttas of Multán. They usually intermarry among themselves, but occasionally with the Lillas. Omitting the mixture of Hindu and Musalmán names which appears in the earlier part of their pedigree table, it is given as follows:—

Rájá Panwár.
|
Gandar.
|
Salangí.
|
Víran.

} These four names appear in the tree of the BHUTTAS.

|
Bhutta.
|
Jethal (and 20 others, including Langáh, Bhatti, Kharral and Harrar).
|
Akkí.

Sárang.	Mela.	Káh.	Wasáwá.
(11th generation now in Jethal.)		(10th generation in Kahana.)	(12th generation in Dhudhi and Musiana.)

JETOZAI, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

JEWÁTHA, a sept of the Silhuria Rájputs, found in Siálkoṭ.

Jhabel (or as they are called in the *Ain-i-Akbari* **Chhabel**), a fishing tribe found in the Multán and Muzaffargarh districts, and in Jullundur, Hoshiárpur, Kapurthala and Gurdáspur. Closely resembling the **Kebals** and Mors the Jhabels in Muzaffargarh once had the reputation of being cannibals. They live mainly by fishing and gathering *pabbans* (seeds of the water-lily), say they came from Sindh and of all the tribes in the District alone speak Sindhi. They also enjoy the title of Jám. Many have now taken to agriculture and all are reckoned good Muhammadans. They are fond of growing *samúka,** a grain sown in the mud left by the rivers. In Gurdáspur they say they came from the south, and that their ancestors were sportsmen, a Bhaṭṭi, founder of their Katre *got,* a Nárú, from whom sprang their Nareh and Bhugge *gots,* and so on. They fell into poverty and took to selling game. These Jhabels do not intermarry with those on the Indus and Sutlej, but only with those on the north bank of the latter river. Some are cultivators and even own land. Others are *shikáris,* but some are boatmen and they look down on those who are and refuse to marry with them. The Jhabels of Jullundur have the same usages as the Meuns and other fisher-folk of that District. Some of them, owing to want of employment as boatmen have left their villages for the towns and taken to tailoring, weaving, well-sinking, *chaukidári,* and small posts in Government service.

The Jhabels also preserve the *jhulka* custom. The large fire needed for cooking the eatables required at a wedding must be lighted by a son-in-law of the family, but when he attempts to bring a blazing bundle (*jhulka*) of wood, etc., and put it under the furnace, he is met by all the females of the family and has to run the gauntlet, as they try to stop his progress with pitchers full of water, bricks, dust, and sticks. This game is played so seriously that the women's dresses often catch fire and they, as well as the son-in-law, are seriously hurt. When he finally succeeds in lighting the fire, the son-in-law gets a turban and a rupee, or more if the family is well-to-do. This usage is occasionally observed among Aráíṇs, Ḍogars, and Gujars too, but it is falling out of fashion.

Like the Meuns the Jhabels will not give the milk or curds of an animal which has recently calved to any one, not even to a son-in-law, outside the family. After 10 or 20 days rice is cooked in the milk and it is given to *maulavis* or to beggars. It can then be given away to anybody. The Jhabels are good Muhammadans, but revere Khwája Pir or Khwája Khizr, the god of water, and offer porridge to him in lucky quantities at least once a year. It is taken to the river or a well and after some prayers distributed there or in the village to all who are present.

Jhad, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jháik, a sept of Kanets which derives its name from Jhálri in Ráwin *pargana* of Jubbal and supplies hereditary *wazírs* to that State. At one time these *wazírs* virtually ruled Jubbal.

Jhajhar, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

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* *Ophismenus frumentaceus.*

Jhakar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Shujábád *tahsil*, Multán District.

Jhàkkar, son of Jai and eponym of a tribe in Multán : see Nún.

Jhalan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jhalli, a small clan of Jáṭs in Ambála. The word is said to mean "mad."

Jháman, Chháman, a man, apparently a Chuhṛa, who fulfils the functions of a Brahman at a Chuhṛa wedding and conducts the seven *pheras* at it : (Sirmúr).

Jhamat, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and Montgomery. *See* Jhummat.

Jhanda, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jhandir, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán.

Jhandír, a semi-sacred tribe of Muhammadans said to be of Qureshi origin like the Nekokára. Though they do not openly profess to be religious directors, there is a certain odour of sanctity about the tribe. Most of them can read and write, and they are "particularly free from ill deeds of every description." They own land in the extreme south of the Jhang District and are also found in the Mailsi *tahsil* of Multán. They are said to have been the standard-bearers of one of the great saints, whence their name.

Jhando, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jhanduana, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jhanjote, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jhara, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jhari, a sept of Jáṭs in Jínd : see under Jaria.

Jhatta, a section of the Mirásís, from one of whose families Jahángír (they assert) took Núr Jahán, who was a Mirásan, and so it got the title of *jhatta*.

Jháwarí, a Ṛájput clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

Jhedu, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jhínwar, Jhíwar. The Jhínwar,* also called Kahár in the east, and Mahra,† where a Hindu, in the centre of the Province, is the carrier, water-man, fisherman and basket-maker of the east of the Punjab. He carries palanquins and all such burdens as are borne by a yoke on the shoulders; and he specially is concerned with water, insomuch that the cultivation of waternuts and the netting of water fowl are for the most part in his hands, and he is the well-sinker of the Province. He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues and performing customary service. In this capacity he supplies all the baskets needed by the cultivator, and brings water to the men in the fields at harvest time, to the houses where the women are secluded, and at weddings and other similar occasions. His

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* Or Jhír, fem. Jhírí, in Kángṛa, where the Jhír is a water-carrier.

† Mahra seems to be a title of respect, just as a Bhishti is often addressed as Jamadár. But in Jínd at least the Mahra is a palanquin-bearer and the Saqqá is a water-carrier. *Mahár* is a synonym for "chief" in the south-west of the Province. When employed as a waterman the Jhínwar is often called Panihárá.

The carriage of burdens slung from a *bángi* or yoke seems to be almost unknown in the west of the Punjab.

occupations in the centre and west of the Province are described under MÁCHHI. His social standing is in one respect high; for all will drink at his hands. But he is still a servant, though the highest of the class. The Bhishtí, Máshkí and Saqqá, the terms for Musalmán water-carriers, may be of other castes than Jhínwar, but as a rule they would belong to that caste.

The Jhíwars, as a caste, are one of these occupational groups found in the Punjab which are conventionally called castes but which really include or overlap numerous other 'castes' of similar status and kindred occupation. When a man of the Jhíwar caste is a baker or seller of ready-cooked food he is called and apparently becomes a Bhatiára by caste as well as by occupation. Similarly, the Jhíwar who parches gram is styled a Bhaṛbhúnja in the east of the Punjab or a Bhojwa,* whereas in the west of the Province he remains a Jhíwar or rather a Máchhi and is on the Indus styled a Chatári.

If the Jhíwar on the other hand plies a boat or skin for hire he will be called and become a MALLÁH, a Daryái, a Dren, a Táru or even a Jáṭ or a Mohána according to the locality in which he works, his religion, and the kind of craft he uses. Malláh is the most usual term for a boatman, but Mohána which is said to mean a fisherman in Sindh, is in the Punjab as often applied to a fisherman as to a boatman. The Daryái is a Persianised form of Dren, the Muhammadan waterman who ferries people across and down the rapid hill rivers on inflated hides. If a Hindú he is styled Táru. On the Indus the boatman ranks as and would be called simply a Jáṭ. Lastly, the MÁCHHI may acquire land, form a tribe and rank as a land-owning community under its own tribal chiefs, as in Baháwalpur; or the Dhínwars may sink to the level of a criminal tribe. But even these do not exhaust the synonyms and sub-divisions of the Jhínwar caste.

As in the case of the Máchhís, the sub-divisions of the Jhínwar are very numerous, the largest are the Khokhar, Mahár, Bhatti, Manhás, Tank and Suhál. These groups do not appear to be found in any numbers among the Bhatyára or Bhaṛbhúnja.

Jhíwar origins.

According to one account Akís, a Chauhán Rájput of Gaṛh Mukhiála (in the Salt Range), died leaving a son of tender age named Dhíngar. The people treated him as a servant and nicknamed him Jhíwar. Bhát, his son, who fed the people at each full moon with rice, had four sons, who founded 4 *muhins*, each containing several *gots* :—

Muhins.	*Gots.*	*Muhins.*	*Gots.*
1. Lúngo	Mákhu, Sotre, Dhaín, Dhengí ?	3. Dhengí	Manni, Mande, Langtra, Bhal.
2. Ghul	Gádrí ?, Harení, Waddan, Malle.	4. Ták	Khone, Gadri ?, Dhogle.

* The Bhojwa is also a grain-parcher. Bhujwas form an "occupational" rather than a regular caste and in the United Provinces include Kayaths, Ahirs, etc. In the Punjab Muhammadans also ply this trade and most of them are immigrants from the united Provinces who accompanied the British troops in the Sikh Wars,—N. I. N. Q. I., 918.

According to Sir Richard Temple* a Jhíwar is said to have taken to wife Ráni Kokilán, the guilty heroine of the Rája Rasálu legend and she had by him three sons from whom are sprung the three Punjab *gots*—Sabír, Gabír and Sír.

Territorial groups.

The territorial grouping of the Jhínwars is vague. In the Shakargarh tahsil of Gurdáspur is a Dogra group. In the Jullundur Doáb the groups appear to be three in number (*i*) Panjábi or indigenous, (*ii*) Bángrú,† immigrants from the Bángar, and (*iii*) Chhangru. In Patiála we find the usual grouping, Deswál and Multáni, but in Jínd Bángrú and Panjábi are reported. Lastly, in the south-east about Nárnaul are found the Bágrís.

The Bángrú do not intermarry with the Panjábís. The former ascribe their immigration to Akbar's reign, during which at the siege of Chittaur, a Jhíwar was killed and his brother desired to marry his widow, but she refused to consent and fled to the Bíst *doába* with her infant son.

The remaining groups appear to be usually, but not rigidly, endogamous.

Occupations and occupational groups.

The Jhínwars are a remarkably composite caste and comprise several groups whose names depend on their various occupations, and indeed probably vary with the occupations they pursue from time to time. In the south-east we find Dhínwar‡ as a synonym of Jhínwar.

Kahár may also be regarded as a synonym in the sense that it designates a Jhíwar employed as a carrier, especially a *dolí*-bearer.

Sodiá is the term applied to a Jhínwar who has taken the *pahul* as a Sikh. The word means pure or purifier and the Sodiá is employed as a cleaner of utensils. Sikh Jhíwars are also employed as *jhaṭkaís* or butchers who slaughter by *jhaṭká* ; and in Sikh regiments they work as bakers (*lángrís*).

We may thus regard the Jhínwar as *par excellence* the drawer of water and palanquin-bearer of the Hindu community, and Panihárá and Kahár as synonyms of the caste, as a whole, Sodiá being restricted to the Sikh Jhínwars.

But the Jhínwar has many other occupations. His association with water confers on him such purity that he can enter any Hindu's kitchen, even a Brahman's *chauka,* provided that culinary operations have not reached the point at which salt is mixed with the food. Nevertheless Brahmans, Khatris and even Bánias will not eat *kachi* food at a Jhínwar's hands.

But besides cookery the Jhínwar follows almost any occupation connected with water. He is a fisherman, or *máchhí,* and sometimes a

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* *Legends of the Punjab*—I, 65.

† The Bángrú extend into Siálkot.

‡ Platt gives *dhívar, dhímar,* as the fisher caste, *kohár,* a fisherman. He does not give *jhíwar.*

boatman,* a sinker of wells, *chobhá;* and in the villages he makes baskets, mats and fans. Last, but not least, the Jhínwar is a cultivator, especially of the *singhára* or water-nut.†

Jhínwar women also follow divers callings. As a pure caste they parch grain, but they also act as midwives.

Finally, there is a group of Jhínwars called Búriá or Búḍná,‡ which appears to be the same as the Kalbút, Changar or Machhera group, and whose members live by extracting oil from animals and practise cupping (*singí*). This group is looked down upon by the other Jhínwars and is not allowed intermarriage with them. It thus forms an endogamous sub-caste, if indeed it can be regarded as a branch of the Jhínwars at all.

Sometimes Saqqás, Máchhís, Panjariás, Meos, Çhiṛímárs, Chhanbals, Bor, Mír Shikárís, Malláhs, Bhaṭiárás, Pakhiwárás and Gagrás claim Jhínwar descent, or assert that they are *jhínwars* because they follow the same calling, but they have no real connection with the Jhínwar caste. Similarly, Ghirths, Chhangs and Bahtís work as water-carriers, etc., but they are not thereby Jhínwars.

The social grouping of the Jhíwars is nebulous to a degree. One account divides them into 4 *muhins*, thus :—

1. Máhar. }
2. Naṛaniá. } Forming an endogamous group.
3. Jamoe. }
4. Búḍná§ or Búriá { Loráhá. Kachhwáhá.

The last, as already mentioned, being excluded from all social intercourse with Nos. 1—3.

The term Mahr || or Mahrá however is applied to all Jhíwars, and it is generally understood in an honorific sense, though it is also said to mean effeminate and to be applied to the Jhíwars because they are employed in domestic service. *Panch*¶ or headman is sometimes applied to them. On the other hand, they are contemptuously termed Táhlí tap, or servile (?) and Bándar-zát or monkey caste (?)

In Gujrát the Jhíwar claim descent from the (Bárí) Khatris and are as such called Barhia Jhíwars.

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* They are said to have learnt the art of rowing from Manauti, Jhíwar. (Another account says Kálú *bhagat* was of the Manwauti *got*).

† When the *singhárá* crop is ripe the family *got* is bidden to a feast, the amount spent being proportioned to the value of the crop and varying from 1¼ to 5¼ *seers*, which quantity, or its value is given to the *chela* of Kálú *bhagat*.

‡ In Karnál the Búḍnás are also said to be called Kanchhí and to worship Lál *Gurú*, as well as Kálú *bhagat*.

§ The Jhínwars of Pánipat in Karnál have two groups Máhir and Boḍne or *Kanchhis* which are divided into a number of *gots*.

|| *Mahr*, H. = *mehtar*, chief headman, is applied to men of the Rain, Gujar and Jhíwar castes. In Panjábi it takes the forms *mahir* and *mahirá* fem. *mahirí*. Platts says *mahrá* (an effeminate man) is applied to *kahárs* because they have access to the women's apartments.

¶ For *panch* and *mahr* in the sense of 'chief' or 'headman' *cf. naik*, among the Lobánas.

The Cult of Kálú Bhagat.

The cult of Kálú *bhagat* is professed by the Jhínwars in particular, and by members of a certain number of other castes also. Báwá Kálú was by caste a Hindu Jhíwar, of the Manauti *got*, born at Barial near Hariána in Hoshiárpur and buried at Panch Nangal in the same tahsil. His temple, however, lies in Pánchhat, in the Kapúrthala State. Of his two sons Ganesha and Mahesha the latter alone left issue, so his descendants, who are styled Báwás, live in the three above places and in Khutiar and Kahnpur also. They receive presents from the Hindu Jhíwars, as well as from some Sáhni Jáṭs, Chuhṛás and Chamárs.

Various stories are told of Kálú's origin. According to one Párbatí made a clay image of a boy and gave it life, leaving it near a well. Two women, a Brahmani and a Jhíwarí, came to draw water, and each claimed the child. The village elders decided that it belonged to her from whose breasts milk flowed, and the Jhíwarí fulfilled this test. She named her child Kálú or 'the dark one.' As a boy Kálú was employed as a cowherd, and a *sádhu* bade him milk an ox, which he did successfully. In remembrance the *sádhu* gave him his *gudṛi* (quilt) which conferred on him omniscience. Then Kálú wandered over the world until he came to Panch Nangal, where he died, and there his *gudṛi* and sandals (*pavve*) are preserved.

Kálú left four* disciples—Lachhmí Chand, Srí Chand, Megh Chand and Tára Chand, from among whose descendants a priest is elected by divination.† He makes visitations to his followers, going every year or two to every part of the Province, and collecting alms. Each *panchá-yat* gives him Re. 1-4, and in return he bestows four cardamoms, and a red and blue thread (*Ganga-jamni-dhága*) at every *mat*. This thread is worn tied round the neck. Females are not permitted to assume this thread, but they and the Jhíwar children of both sexes wear the *kanthi*, a necklace of black wool and cotton.

'He who chooses the life of an ascetic,'—says Kálú—'of him both his enemy and his king are afraid.'

Another version is that Kálú was a Rájput‡ who lived in Hastinapur. Once he was catching fish on the bank of the Jumná against the order of the king, and seeing the king with his retinue coming towards him from a distance and being afraid, he threw his net, etc., into the river, rubbed earth on his body, so as to look like a *faqír*, closed his eyes and sat down near the bank of the river. As the king with his officials passed by, he supposed Kálú to be a *faqír* and threw some money to him. When the king had passed by, Kálú opened his eyes and saw the money, and was so much impressed by the incident that he remained a *faqír* till the end of his days, and spent the rest of his life as

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* Some add a fifth—Kánh Chand.

† All the available persons are invited to a feast, and dishes (chiefly of rice) are set before each and covered over with a cloth. After a few minutes the cloths are removed and he, in whose dish worms are found, is elected. He must remain celibate and eat fruit only, not grain, except porridge made of *singhára* flour. He receives all offerings made at the *samádh*. The idea underlying this rite of divination appears to be that he who has given up eating grain, and before whom grain turns into worms is the destined priest.

‡ Or a Máhir Jhínwar, says a third version.

an ascetic at Panchnangla. He found fishing less profitable than begging and justly remarked :—

Báná bará diál dá, tilak chháp (gal) aur mál,
Jam darpe, Kálú kahe, to bhai máne bhopál.

" The garb of an ascetic, with marks of a sacred order on his person and a rosary on his neck, is a great thing. (Before it) even the Angel of Death shrinks back, says Kálú, and a king is overtaken with fear."

The Jhínwars in Gurgáon have the following 13* sections :—

1 Borna Kanthewálá.
2 Badhia.
3 Changar (Machhera or Kalbút).
4 Charihar.
5 Dhanwár, a corruption of Dhínwar.
6 Dharia.
7 Guria.
8 Kalbút (Machhera or Changar).
9 Machhera (Kalbút or Changar).
10 Mahar.
11 Taráha.
12 Tathi.
13 Tulati.

The Jhínwars of Gurgáon are Kálúbansi of the Boria Kanshíwála caste which contains 84 groups.

Guild organisation.

Despite its complex and perhaps heterogeneous character, the Jhínwar caste possesses a fairly strong guild organisation. Thus in Jínd the caste has a *sadr* or principal *chauntra,* with subordinate *chauntras.* Each *chauntra* has a *chaudhri* and two *kotwáls* as his assistants with a *chobdár,* who acts as convener of the *pancháyat.* In Rohtak district there are 6 Jhínwar *thappas* or jurisdictions which are apparently subordinate to the *chauntra* at Rohtak itself, and in that town lives the *chaudhri* who has 84 villages under his control. Each village sends *sardárs* or *panch* as its representatives to the *chauntra.* Delhi is the great centre of the Jhínwar guild in the south-east Punjab. Other accounts make the *panch* synonymous with the *chaudhri* and the organisation is doubtless as loose and elastic as such organisations usually are, though its strength is indisputable. The office of *chaudhri* is hereditary, as a rule, but if the successor is deemed incompetent election is resorted to. A *chaudhri* gives *lág* on ceremonial occasions, receiving double *bhájí.*

In Siálkoṭ the *chaudhri* or *panch* receives a turban and some money at festive gatherings. He has under him a *kotwál* or messenger, and *bedhaks* or singers, who sing on such occasions.†

The Dhínwars have already been noticed, but fuller information as to their organisation is here given. In Gurgáon they are locally called Malláhs or Thanterias, from their largest village, Thanteri : they are, however, found on the banks of the Jumna as far down as Agra and have three groups—the Bharbhúnjas, those who live by service as water-carriers, and the pilfering section who are called Thagáras. They appear to have three tribes—Sakkrawál,‡ from Rákota in Agra, Dewál and Nadma, in Gurgaon. The Dhínwar *gots* are very numerous and

* Of these Nos. 1, 10 and 11 can smoke together but not intermarry.

† The Jhínwars held musical *reunions* at which their well-known *wárs* are sung. These *wárs* describe Akbar's dealings with the Rájputs and their heroes' prowess. The song of Jaimal and Fatah is the most famous of these *wárs.*

‡ Thanteri formerly belonged to a race called Paroki, but they abandoned it. It was granted to Harpál, leader of the Sakkarwál, 580 years ago, but the Malláhs own no land in it now.

include such names as Jaislán, Túnwar, Jádhún, Gaur, Punwár, Badiá, Baḍgújar, Jádbansi, Chiṛímár, Dikhat, Chán, Morathia, Najár, Rámandoa, Dhanu, Mihránia, Besli, Chhataiya, Bharáya, Ganglina, Dholána, Baisla, Sakráwan, Chauharma, etc., in Gurgáon, and Chauhán, Dhankar and Jhánga, from Muttra, etc.

JHONJAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JHOON, see under Pacheda.

JHOR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and Amritsar.

JHOṬAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

JHUJH, (1) an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur; (2) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

JHULLAN, an agricultural tribe found in Baháwalpur. They claim descent from Rai Gájun, and pay *dán* or *nazar* to their chief. The Drighs are said to be akin to the Jhullar, but others say they are a Bhaṭṭi sept.

JHUMMAT, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur.

JHUMRIÁLA, *lit.* "family servant," a term applied in Chambá to any tenant who rents land in cash or kind.

JHUNJH, a tribe in Baháwalpur which claims to be a branch of the Janjuhas though others say they are Bhaṭṭís. They have three septs: Gasúra, Ghakhkhar and Tánwari.

JILDI, see under Ulamá.

JINDEKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

JINDWÁLI, a sept of Rájputs descended from Mának Chand, son of Sangar Chand, 16th Rájá of Kahlúr.

JISTKÁNI, formerly a powerful tribe in the Sindh Ságar Doáb, with head-quarters at Mankera and still numerous there. They take brides from the Lasháris, of whom they are believed to be a branch. Found also as a clan in the Gurcháni and Dríshak tribes. Mackenzie calls them Jaskáni and says they have 10 septs.*

JO, (1) *vulg.* Ṭhákur.—A title applied in Láhul to the noble families which rank with the *Nonos* of Spiti and the old ruling family of Ladákh. The *Jos* of Barthog in Láhul frequently marry princesses of that family, a privilege bestowed on them because, when the Kullú Rájás attempted to wrench Láhul from Laḍákh, they remained true to their allegiance. Like the *Nonos* of Spiti the *Jos* of Láhul cannot always find husbands for their own daughters, and so some of the minor *Jo* families have begun to sell their girls to ordinary Kanet families in the Kullú valley, the climate of which is very trying in summer to ladies born and bred in Láhul. On the other hand, the *Jos* have begun to marry Kullú women. (2) a Jáṭ sept without whose nominal leave the Mair *chaudhris* of Kot Khilán in Jhelum cannot give a girl in marriage.

JOCHO, fem. JO-JO, Tib., the son-in-law of a high-class family, in Spiti: see Cháhzang.

JODH, see under Janjúa. The Júd of Bábar's time, the Jodh still hold a few villages in the Chakwál tahsil of Jhelum and claim Janjúa descent.

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* *Jaskáni*, Sargáni, Múráni, Shaháni, Mandráni, Momdáni, Kandáni, Lashkaráni, KUPCHÁNI and Malliáni: Capt. Hector Mackenzie, Leia and Bukkar *Sett. Rep.*, 1865, p. 23. For their history see under Mirráni.

Jodhá, Jodah, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jodhra, Jodra, a Rájput tribe of the Attock District, where it holds the south-east of Pindigheb tahsil, owning a little less than a third of its cultivated area and paying more than a third of its revenue.

It is said to have come from Jammu or, according to another story, from Hindustán and to have held its present tract before the Gheba settled alongside of them. The Jodhras' eponym was, they say, converted by Mahmúd of Ghazni, yet they still retain traces of Hindu customs in their festivals and ceremonies. They appear to have come to the District about the end of the 16th century, and possessed themselves of the Soán and Síl *iláqas* which, with much of Tallagang tahsil, they ruled from Pindi Gheb.* They found Awáns in possession of the soil and retained them as tenants. Malik Aulia Khán was the first Jodhra Malik of any importance known to history. Under the Mughals he held Pindi Gheb, Tallagang and parts of Chakwál and Fatehjang tahsils as revenue assignee and he probably it was who overran Tallagang. The Sikhs found the Jodhra power at its zenith, but it rapidly decayed owing to the secession of important branches of the tribe and the rise of the Ghebas. The tradition that the Gheba is really a branch of the Jodhra is supported by the fact that the town of Pindi Gheb is held by the Jodhra, not by the Gheba. Cracroft described them as "fine spirited fellows who delight in field sports, have horses and hawks, are often brawlers, and are ever ready to turn out and fight out their grievances, formerly with swords, and now with the more humble weapons of sticks and stones." The Maliks of Pindi Gheb are the leading Jodhra family.†

Jodsi, see Jotsi. *Jodsi* is the form used in Láhul, where the *jodsis* or astrologers hold a little land rent-free, called *mngo-zing*, and could not apparently now be evicted, however inefficient. The *beds* or physicians hold *man-zing* land on a similar tenure. *Cf.* Hensi and Lohár.

Jogi; fem. Jogin.‡—A devotee, a performer of *jog*. The Yoga system of philosophy, as established by Patanjali, taught the means whereby the human soul might attain complete union with the Supreme Being. The modern Jogi, speaking generally, claims to have attained that union and to be, therefore, a part of the Supreme§ and, as such, invested with powers of control over the material universe. The history of the deve-

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* Settling originally on the north bank of the Sil the Jodhras founded Pindi Gheb, then called Dirahti. Later they moved their colony to the south bank of the Sil. Pindi Gheb was also named Pindi Malika-i-Shahryár and Pindi Malika-i-Aulia, the village of the royal princess or queen of the saints, according to Raverty.

† For a detailed account of the Jodhra families see the Attock *Gazetteer*, 1907, pp. 78-81.

‡ Jogini is a female demon, created by Durgá, a witch or sorceress: see Platt's *s. v.* The Yoginis or sorceresses of Hindu mythology may be of a modification of the Yakshinis or Dryads of Buddhist iconography.—Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 111. The *jogini* is a sprite common in modern Punjab folklore, especially in the Hills. Thus in Kullu besides the *devtas* there are other beings who must from time to time be propitiated, but who do not generally possess temples. The woods and waterfalls and hill-tops are peopled by *jognis*, female spirits of a malignant nature, the gray moss which floats from the branches of firs and oaks in the higher forests is "the *jognis*' hair." The *jogni* of Chul, a peak of the Jalori ridge, sends hail to destroy the crops if the people of the villages below fail on an appointed day to make a pilgrimage to the peak and sacrifice sheep.

§ Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul dissents from this view and would say:—"Some of the modern Jogis claim supernatural prowess, acquired by practising austerities or by black magic." The point of the observation in the text is that the practice of austerities or religious exercises confers, directly or indirectly, dominion over the material universe.

lopment of the modern Jogi out of the ancient professors of Yoga is as fascinating as it is obscure, but it would be entirely beyond the scope of this article, the object of which is to give a matter-of-fact account of the actual beliefs and customs of the latter-day Jogi.

The term Jogi may be said to include two very distinct classes of persons. First are the Jogís proper, a regular religious order of Hindus, which includes both the Aughaṛ Jogís and the Kanphatta Jogi ascetics who are followers of Gorakh Náth and priests and worshippers of Shiva.* These men are fully as respectable as the Bairágís, Gosáíns, and other religious orders. They are all Hindus, but the *gharishti* or secular Jogi, even if a Hindu, appears to be commonly called RÁWAL and makes a living by begging, telling fortunes, singing and the like.† Another synonym for the Hindu Jogi is NÁTH. The second class is that miscellaneous assortment of low-caste *faqirs* and fortune-tellers, both Hindu and Musalmán but chiefly Musalmán, who are commonly known as Jogís. Every rascally beggar who pretends to be able to tell fortunes, or to practise astrological and necromantic arts in however small a degree, buys himself a drum and calls himself, and is called by others, a Jogi. These men include all the Musalmáns, and probably a part of the Hindus of the eastern districts, who style themselves Jogís. They are a thoroughly vagabond set, and wander about the country beating a drum and begging, practising surgery and physic in a small way, writing charms, telling fortunes, and practising exorcism and divination; or, settling in the villages, eke out their earnings from these occupations by the offerings made at the local shrines of the malevolent godlings or of the Sayads and other Musalmán saints; for the Jogi is so impure that he will eat the offerings made at any shrine. These people, or at least the Musalmán section of them, are called in the centre of the Punjab Ráwals, or sometimes Jogi-Ráwals, from the Arabic *rammál*, a diviner, which again is derived from *ramal*, "sand," with which the Arab magicians divine.‡ The Jogi-Ráwals of Káthiawár are said to be exorcisers of evil spirits, and to worship a deity called Koriál. In Siálkoṭ the Jogís pretend to avert storms from the ripening crops by plunging a drawn sword into the field or a knife into a mound, sacrificing goats, and accepting suitable offerings. Mr. Benton wrote:— "The Jogi is a favourite character in Hindustáni fiction. He there appears as a jolly playful character of a simple disposition, who enjoys the fullest liberty and conducts himself in the most eccentric fashion under the cloak of religion without being called in question." The Jogís used to be at deadly feud with the Saniásís and 500 of the former were once defeated by two or three hundred Saniásís. Akbar witnessed the fight and sent soldiers smeared with ashes to assist the Saniásís who at length defeated the Jogís.§

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* It might be more correct to say Bhairava, not Shiva.

† This was Sir Denzil Ibbetson's view, but the Gharishti or Grihasti Jogi is now accurately described as distinct from the Jogi Ráwal. The latter may be by origin a Jogi, but he is a degenerate and has now no connection with the Jogis properly so called.

‡ The derivation of Ráwal from *ramal* appears quite untenable. The word Ráwal is used as a title in Rájputána. It means 'lord' or 'ruler' and is thus merely a synonym of *náth*, but appears to be specially affected by Jogis of the Nág-nathia *panth*, see *infra*, p. 390.

§ E. H. I., V, p. 318.

The Jogís as a body cannot be said to have any history; so numerous and indeterminate are the branches into which they have split up in the course of time. Regarding their origins the Jogís have a vast body of nebulous tradition, the *débris* of much primitive metaphysical speculation now hardly recognisable in its fantastic garb.

The origin of the Jogís.

According to the *Tahqíqát-i-Chishtí*, a devotee of Shiva desired offspring, so the god, at Párbati's intercession, gave him some ashes from his *dhúni* or fire and told him his wife should eat them. The wife, however, was incredulous and did not do so, but let the ashes fall on a heap of cowdung. Eventually the devotee found a child where the ashes had been thrown, and took it to Shiva, who said it would grow up a great ascetic and should be given to him.* He named it Gorakh Náth, from the place of his birth and instructed him to find a Guru. As Shiva could find no one worthy, Gorakh Náth set forth to seek a teacher, and reaching the sea, offered there a large loaf on a *pípal* leaf. This was swallowed by Rakho, the fish, who 12 years later restored not the loaf, but a child whom Shiva named Machhendra Náth and who became Gorakh Náth's Guru. Another version makes Machhendra Náth the issue of Gorakh Náth himself.

Shiva then told Gorakh Náth that he must, though an ascetic, have children, and advised him to make disciples. Shiva also gave him *dubh* grass, saying it should be their clothing, and a stick cut from an *ak* tree, saying it should be tied to his garments, and used as a *nád*, to be sounded thrice daily, in the morning, in the evening, and before the Guru. He also asked Párbatí to bore Gorakh Náth's ears and place earthen ear-rings in them. This she did and also mutilated herself, dyeing a cloth with the blood and giving it to Gorakh Náth to wear. Gorakh Náth then made twelve disciples :—

1. Sant Náth.	5. Bairág Náth.	9. Gangai Náth.
2. Rám Náth.	6. Darya Náth	10. Dhajja Náth.
3. Sharang or Bharang Náth.	7. Káik Náth.	11. Jálandhar Náth.‡
4. Dharm Náth.	8. Nág Náth.†	12. Ním Náth.§

A tradition says that Narinjan Nirankár, the formless Creator, created Gorakh Náth from the sweat of his breast, whence he is also called Ghor Náth (fr. *ghor*, filth). The Supreme then bade him create the universe, whereupon a creeping plant sprang from his navel, and a lotus blossomed on it. From this flower sprang Vishnu, Brahma, Shiva and Shaktí, the last a woman who straightway dived beneath the waters, before earth or sky, air or fire had been created. As Earth was indispensable to the complete manifestation of the universe, the Supreme sent Vishnu down to the lower regions beneath the waters to bring Earth to the surface. When he reached the Patál Lok Vishnu saw Shaktí with a *dhúní* in front of her, while light rayed from her body.

* An instance of a child being devoted to the god from birth. This legend is doubtless of quite recent origin, made up by ignorant Jogis out of fragments from the *Puránas*. No classical authority is or could be quoted for what follows. It is pure folklore, possibly ancient but probably modern.

† Jogís of the Nág-Náthia *panth* are called Ráwals.

‡ Jogís of the Jálandhar-Náthia *panth* are called *pá* instead of *náth*.

§ Jogís of the Ním-Náthia *panth* are called Gaphain.

A Voice asked who had come, and Vishnu replied that his errand was to bring up Earth by the Supreme's command. The Shaktí answered that he could do so, provided he first wed her, but Vishnu urged that intercourse with her was impossible, since even at a distance of 12 *kos* he found her effulgence insupportable. So he returned unsuccessful. Brahma likewise failed, and so at last Shiva was sent. To his reply that 'Shiva had come,' the Voice said: 'There have been crores of Shivas, which Shiva art thou?' Shiva answered that he was the Lord of Kailás, and he agreed to espouse Shaktí when Earth and Sky had come into being. Shaktí then gave forth the four Vedas, and bestowed two handfuls of ashes with some smoke from her *dhúní* upon Shiva, who carried them up. The smoke when sent upwards became the sky, and the ashes when strewn upon the waters formed land. Hence the Jogís worship only Gorakh Náth and Shiva. By a process which reminds us of the myth of Hephaistos and Athéné,* Gorakh Náth became by a fish the father of Machhendra Náth, who forthwith went into the wastes to worship. When Gorakh Náth was reproached with his incontinence he felt that he must seek out a *gurú* of his own, but finding none better than himself, he bethought him that his own son was fitted for the office and exclaimed:—

Barte khasm, nikalte puta,
Yún bhákhe Gorakh abhdútá.

"'The husband's embraces cause sons to be born': Thus saith the ascetic Gorakh."

He then sought out Machhendra Náth, who would have fallen at his feet, but Gorakh addressed him as his own *guru*. This is how Machhendra Náth became Gorakh's *gurú* as well as his son.

The Brahmans tell quite a different tale: Bhasmasur, a *rákshasa*, had long served Shiva, who in return promised him any boon he might claim, so he demanded that which when placed on anything would reduce it to ashes. Shiva thereupon gave him his bangle. Bhasmasur coveted Párbatí, Shiva's wife, and he endeavoured to place the bangle on her husband's head. Shiva fled, pursued by the demon, and at last hid in a cave on Kailás and blocked up its entrance with a stone. Bhagwán now assumed Párbati's form and approached Bhasmasur, but whenever he tried to grasp the vision it eluded his embrace, and at last declared that Shiva used to sing and dance before his wife. Bhasmasur avowed his readiness to learn and while he was dancing as she taught him she bade him place his hand on his head. In it he held the bangle, and was burnt to ashes. Bhagwán then brought Shiva, who was afraid to show himself, out of the cave. Shiva's curiosity was now aroused and he demanded that Bhagwán should again assume the form which had enchanted Bhasmasur. This was Mohni, Párbati's double, but even more beauteous than she, and when her shape appeared Shiva by a process similar to that alluded to above became the father of Hanumán, who was born of Anjani's ear, and of Machhendra Náth. By a cow he also fathered Gorakh Náth.

Once, says another legend, the sage Bashisht recounted the following story to Sri Rám Chandrají:—"My mind was ill at ease, and I

* A. Mommsen: *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 6; and Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Hephaistos.

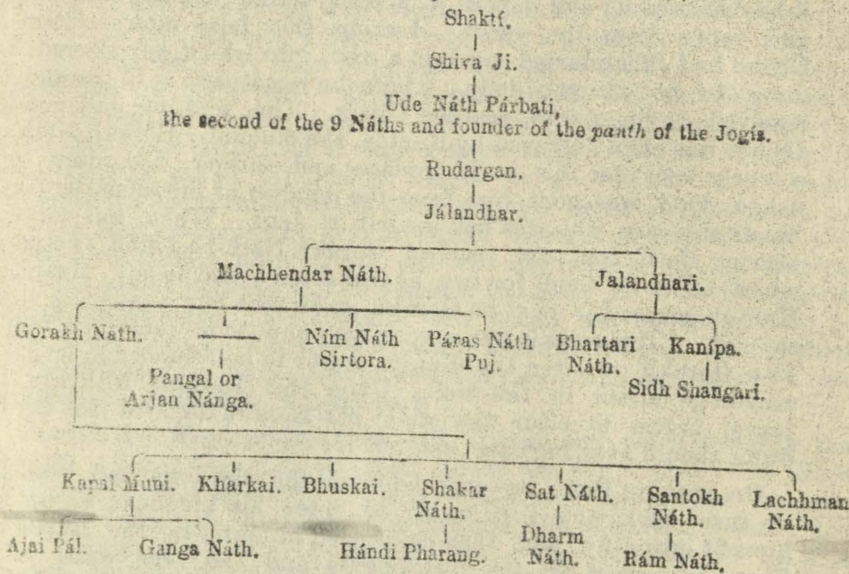
wandered until I came to Bindra Chal, on which hill I spent a long period in worship. One day I saw the wife of Brahma, my father, coming towards me. She approached and said my father was wroth with her and I resolved to go to him, so I went and found a cave whose mouth was blocked by a stone. Unable to move it I created a man by my Brahm-tej (creative power) and he removed the stone. I then entered the cave, wherein I saw a world, like the one in which I lived. In it were all the gods, and I first made a reverence (*parnám*) to Brahma and then to all the other gods. But when I told them of my errand they warned me to quit the cave at once, since the day of judgment was at hand because wives were dissatisfied with their husbands. I did as they had bidden me, but meanwhile stillness had prevailed everywhere, and all the earth had turned to water. Soon a great sound arose from the waters, and endured for a long while, but when it had nearly died away Shaktí appeared. I endeavoured to approach her, but could not even do obeisance, and stood like a statue before her. She then cast a ball into the waters, and it made a great sound. As it died away she again appeared. Thrice she did this, and the third time Vishnu appeared. Him she bade to wed her, but he refused and again she threw a ball upon the waters. Then Brahma emerged, but he too declined her hand, and again she cast a ball. Shiva then appeared in wrathful mood, and he promised to espouse her, but not yet. Though all these gods were free from *máyá*, nevertheless through it they had appeared, and each claimed superiority over the others. Meanwhile a lotus blossomed on the surface of the waters, and they agreed that he who should trace it to its root should be deemed the chief. Neither Vishnu nor Brahma succeeded in his attempt, but Shiva, leaving his body, transformed himself into an insect and descended through the stem of the lotus. But his rivals besought Shaktí to transfigure his body, so as to puzzle him on his return, and so she took some dirt off her body and of it made earrings (*kundal*). These she placed in the ears of Shiva's form, boring holes in them, and thus re-animated the body. When it stood up she demanded fulfilment of Shiva's promise, but his form refused to wed her, so in her wrath she threatened to burn it. The body, however, replied that her earrings had made him immortal. Subsequently the earrings were changed into *mundras*, as will be told later on. The Shaktí then asked whose body it was, and it replied that it was Bhogu-rikh, whereby Jogís mean one who is immortal and has control over his senses. Hence Shiva is also called Bhogu-rikh.

Meanwhile Shiva returned, having traced the lotus to its root. Failing to find his own form he made for himself a new body* and in that married Shaktí. The descendants of the pair were called Rudargan, those of Bhogu-rikh being named Jogijan. But Shiva's progeny inherited his fierce temper, and eventually exterminated the descendants of Bhogu-rikh, who told Shiva that he, as a *jogí*, was free from joy or sorrow and was unconcerned at the quarrel between their children. But Shiva replied: 'Thou art free from *máyá*, yet dost owe thy existence to it. Do thy work, I will not

* The Jogís, it is said, do not admit that Shiva thus created a second body.

interfere.' So Bhogu-rikh began his task under Shiva's counsel. Initiated by him he became known as Ude Náth Párbati* and founded the Jogí *panth* or 'door.' (Bashisht's tale would seem to end here).

The following is a table of his spiritual descendants :—



After his initiation by Shiva Ude Náth made Rudargan a *jogí* and he by his spiritual power, initiated an evil spirit (*dait*) named Jálandhar, bringing him to the right way. He, in turn, made two disciples, Machhendra Náth and Jallandaripá. The latter founded the Pá *panth*; while Machhendra Náth made Gorakh Náth his disciple. And here we must tell the story of Machhendra Náth's birth.

In the Satyug lived a Rája, Udho-dhar, who was exceedingly pious. On his death his body was burnt, but his navel did not burn, and the unburnt part was cast into a river, where a fish devoured it and gave birth to Machhendra Náth†—from *machhi*, 'fish.' By reason of his good deeds in a previous life he became a saint. Gorakh Náth was born of dung, and when Machhendra Náth found him he made him his disciple, and then left him to continue his wanderings. At length Machhendra Náth reached Sangaldíp where he became a householder,‡ killed the Rája and entered his body. He begat two sons, Páras Náth and Ním Náth. Rája Gopi Chand§ of Ujjain was

* *Lit.* Noble lord (*náth*) of the mountain (*párbati*).

† Matsyendra.

‡ *Grihisht ashram.* In other words he relapsed and abandoned the spiritual life. This appears more clearly in the following variant of the legend :—After making Gorakh his disciple Machhendra went off to Kámrúp—not to Sangaldíp—and there he found the country governed by two Ránís, who with magic aids chose themselves husbands. When Machhendra arrived he too fell into their toils and lost his reason, so the Ránís wedded him and posted watchmen to prevent any mendicants entering the kingdom to effect his rescue. Gopi Chand, however, succeeds in evading them, as will be described later.

§ The variant makes Gopi Chand sister's son of Bhartari, and his mother tries to make him a disciple of Jálandhar Náth, but instead he casts that saint into a well,

taught *yog* by his mother, and desiring to become a *jogí* sought out Jallandaripá, who taught him a certain maxim (*shabd*). Unable to understand this, he consulted his minister who falsely told him that its teaching was contrary to the Vedas and true religion, fearing that if he disclosed its real import, the Rájá would abandon his kingdom and retire from the world. Hearing this false interpretation Gopi Chand had Jallandaripá cast into a well, into which he ordered horse-dung to be thrown daily. There he remained, until Gorakh Náth, resolved on his rescue, reached Ujjain. The seat of Jallandaripá at Ujjain was then occupied by Kanípa, the *mahant*. Gorakh Náth chose a lonely spot for his bathing-place and thither, according to Jogi usage, food was sent him from the kitchen of the monastery by the hands of a man who was not himself a Jogi. When this messenger, bearing food for one, reached Gorakh Náth he found two persons: when he took food for two, he found four, and so on. Hearing this Kanípa guessed it must be Gorakh, so he sent him a taunting message, saying: 'Thy *gurú* is but a worldling, and thou canst not free him.' But Gorakh retorted that Kanípa ought to be ashamed to let his *gurú* remain so buried in the well. Upon this Kanípa, with the Rájá's leave, began to clear the well, but Gorakh declared that the horse-dung should ever increase, and left for Sangaldíp.*

On arriving there, however, he found that the Rája had posted men to turn back any *jogí* trying to enter his kingdom, so he turned himself into a fly, and thus succeeded in entering the Rájá's court. There he caused all the instruments and the very walls to chant, 'Awake, Machhendra, Gorakh Náth has come.' The Rájá bade him show himself, and he appeared before him among the musicians.

(There is clearly a gap in the recorded legend here.† It continues:—) The Rája's queen died, and, after her death, Gorakh asked Machhendra to come away with him. On the way, after a repulsive incident, Gorakh killed Machhendra's two sons and placed their skins on a tree. When Machhendra asked where the boys were, Gorakh showed him their skins, and then to comfort him restored them to life. Further on their road they were sent to beg in a village, where a man bade them drag away a dead calf, before he would give them alms. They did so and in return he gave them food, but when they reached Machhendra and Gorakh again they found it had turned to blood and worms. So Machhendra cursed the village‡ and when the people

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* Kámrúp in the variant. On the road he meets a troupe of actors (*rásdhárís*) on their way to Kámrúp, and is engaged by them as a servant. Bidden to carry all their stage properties he bears the whole burden by his spiritual power. On their arrival the *rásdhárís* perform before Machhendra but not one of them was able to play on the *tabla*, as Gorakh held it spell-bound, and they had to get him to play it. As soon as it began to play, it rang 'Awake! Machhendra!' Rásdháris are found in Lahore and Amritsar and the adjoining Districts. They are said to be called *bhagats*, like worshippers of the Devi.

† The variant too is silent on this episode. It makes the two Ránís transform themselves into kites and pursued them for a while, oft compelling them to stop, but at last they escaped from Kámrúp. As soon as they had got out of the country they halted by a well, into which Gorakh threw four gold bricks and as many gold coins, which Machhendra had brought from Kámrúp, and this so enraged the latter that he refused to go further. So Gorakh turned the water into gold, but Machhendra thinking this would cause disputes among the worldly, begged him to block up the well. Gorakh then turned the gold into crystal, the first ever created.

‡ A particular rite.

asked him to visit them he promised to do so in the Kaljug (Iron Age).* Páras Náth and Ním Náth then separated, and each founded a new *panth*, the Púj and the Sartora, with which other *jogís* have no concern. Gorakh and Machhendra now reached Ujjain, and found Jallandaripá still buried in the well. With Kanípa they rescued him, turning all the horse-dung into locusts which flew away, and, when only a little was left, forming a human body with a blanket and infusing life into it: this man they bade bring the Náth out of the dung.† The man asked him to come out and give him bread, but the Báwá (saint Jallandarípa) asked who he was. He replied 'Gopi Chand,' and the saint thereupon burnt him to ashes seven times. But at the eighth time Gorakh asked Rájá Gopi Chand to go himself to the saint. Jallandarípa then consented to come out, and declared that since he had not been consumed by fire, he should become immortal, and this is why Gopi Chand never dies.‡ He was also made a Jogi by Kanípa, with the saint's permission, and assumed the name of Sidh Sanskaripá, one of the 84 *sidhs*. The Jogís of this *panth* are called *spádhá*, as they keep snakes. They are generally found in Bengal. One of them initiated Ismail, a Muhammadan into the *panth*, and he founded a new *panth* like that of Sidh Sanskaripá.§

Gorakh and Machhendra now left Ujjain and came towards the Jhelum. There they took up their abode on the hill of Tilla. Here they initiated the following as Jogís :—(*i*) Kapal Muniji, who in turn had two *chelas*, one Ajai-pál, who founded the Kapaláni *panth*; the other Ganga Náth who established the *panth* called after his own name‖: (*ii*) Kharkai and Bhuskai, each of whom founded a *panth*: (*iii*) Shakar Náth. The last named in his wanderings reached a land where a Mlechh (low caste) Rájá bore sway. By him the Jogi was seized and promised his liberty only if he would cause it to rain sugar, otherwise he would be put to the torture. But he induced the Rájá to promise to become his servant if he performed this miracle. He succeeded, and then seizing the Rájá buried him in the ground. Twelve years later he returned, and found the Rájá a skeleton, but he restored him to life and made him his disciple and cook. Nevertheless the Rájá's disposition was unchanged, and one day he took out some of the pulse he was cooking and tasted it.¶ Bhairon chanced that day to appear in person,** but he refused the proffered food and the

* In the variant this episode is different: Gorakh goes with the boys to beg alms at a *bánia's* (merchant's) house, and they are made to take away the dead calf. When Gorakh sees their food transformed he catches them by the hand, takes them to the *bánia's* house and there murders them. Thereupon all the Bánias complain that he has polluted their *jag* (sacrifice) by this murder, and he retorts that they had polluted his *chelas*, but he agrees to restore them to life if the *bánias* will henceforth worship him and no other. They assented, and this is why Gorakh left Páras Náth, one of the two boys, with the Bánias, among whom the Jains deem him an incarnation of God.

† In the variant Gorakh makes seven bundles of grass, each of which says: "I am Gopi Chand," in reply to Jálandhar Náth, and is burnt to ashes at his command.

‡ In the variant the slabs of the well were turned into kites, and the horse-dung into locusts and so they were created.

§ So Gopi Chand also founded a *panth*, that called after his second name, *viz.*, Sidh Sanskaripá. See also *infra* p. 407.

‖ A Jogi of this *panth* in turn founded the Kajan or Kayan-náthi *panth*, found in the ancient town of Bhera on the Jhelum. This must be the Káya-Náthi panth.

¶ According to the doctrine of the *panth* the food thus became 'leavings' (*júth*).

When food is cooked, Jogís first offer it to Bhairon.

ex-Rájá's villainy was detected. As a punishment a *handi* or earthen pot was hung round his neck and he was condemned to wander the livelong day getting his food out of the pot. His punishment lasted four years, and he was then pardoned, but his disciples were called Hándí-pharang and the *panth* still bears that name: (*iv*) Another initiate was Sant Náth, whose disciple Dharm Náth founded the Dharm-náthi *panth*, which now has its head *gaddí* on the Godáwari, having replaced the Rámke *panth* there: (*v*) The next initiate, Santokh Náth, made one Rám Náth his *chela*, and he founded the Rám-ke *panth* which, replaced on the Godáwari by the Dharm-náthi, now has its chief *gaddi* at Delhi: (*vi*) Lachhman Náth succeeded Gorakh at Tilla, and his *panth* is styled Darbárí Tilla Bál Gondai. Subsequently was born a Jogi who founded a *panth* called the Sunehri Tilla, a famous order: (*vii*) Arjan Nánga, whose seat is near Jwálámukhí, founded the Man Manthí *panth*, or ecstatics, now settled at Bohar. If a *faqír* goes to the *mahant* of this *panth* he is given a hoe and some cord and told to go and cut grass. A long time ago one Sant Náth *mahátmá* of the Dharm-nathís went to this *mahant* and was bidden to cut grass like any one else. So he asked whether he was to cut the grass from below or from above. He was told by a *mahátmá* that he should so cut it that it would grow again. Accordingly ever since then when a *chela* is initiated into this ecstatic *panth* a *guru* dies. Sant Náthjí's *panth* is called the Báwájí ká *panth*. He had many *chelas*, of whom two deserve mention. These were Ranbudh and Mahnidátá. Once as the Báwá wandered north his camels were stolen and when he told the people of that part that he was their *pír* or spiritual guide, they replied that he must eat with them. When the meal was ready he bade these two disciples eat with the people, promising them immortality, but forbidding them to found any more new *panths*. So they did not do so, and are called Nángás, and to this day two persons always remain in attendance at their tombs.

One account says that Sharang or Shring Náth, who attained to the zenith of spiritual power after Gorakh Náth's death, introduced new rules of his own and bade his followers bore their ears and wear the *mundra* of wood. After his death the following sects or orders were formed—(1) the Giri Náth, who marry and indulge in such luxuries as drinking, (2) the Porináma, some of whom are secular and eat meat, (3) the Saniásis, (4) the militant Nángas, (5) the Ajaipál whose founder was ruler of Ajmere and a profound believer in the ear-pierced Jogis. His followers are said to have once ruled India. (6) the Gwáli-básda, (7) the Ismáil Jogis—one follower of Ismail was Nona Chamári, a famous professor of the black art; (8) Agam Náth, (9) Ním Náth, and (10) Jálandhar Náth.

The mythology of Gorakh.

The nine Náths and the 84 Sidhs always follow Gorakh in his wanderings, and the route can be traced by the small trees bearing sugarcandy which spring up wherever they go. It is related in the Bhágvat that Rájá Sambhú Manú once ruled in Oudh over the whole world. When the four mid-born sons of Bráhma refused to beget off-

spring, Brahma wept and a tear fell to the earth, whence sprang Sambhú. His descendants were—

Sambhú Manú (Swáyambhuva, the self-existent).

- Uthán Pád.
  - Dhruva, the ascetic.
- Piya Barat.
  - Agnídhar.
    - Nábhí.
      - Rakh Bhádeo or Rikháva (Rishábha).*
        - Bharat and 99 others.

Bharat with eight of his brothers ruled the 9 divisions (*khandás*) of the world : 81 became ascetics and Brahmans, and 9 became the *Náths* or perfected Jogís, whose names are given below.

The Náths are always said to be nine in number, in contradistinction to the *panths* which are, ideally, twelve. Their names and titles are variously given :—

1. Aungkár Adi-náth (Lord of Lords), Shiva.
2. Shel-náth (Lord of the Arrow-shaft) : variously said to be Krishna or Rám Chandra.
3. Santokh-náth (Lord of Gratification).
4. Achalachambu-náth (Lord of wondrous Immoveability) : variously said to be Hanumán or Lakshmana.
5. Gajbali Gajkanth-náth (Lord of the Eleplant's Strength and Neck) : Ganesa Gaja-karna, elephant-eared, in Sanskrit
6. Praj-náth, or Udaí-náth (Lord of the People): said to be Párvatí.
7. Máyárúpí Machhendra-náth (the wondrous Form) : *gurú* of Gorakh.
8. Gathepinde Richayakari or Naranthar : Shambujaiti Gurú Gorakh-náth.
9. Gyánsarúpe (or Purakh) Siddh *Chauranjwe-náth*, or Púran *bhagat*.†

Gorakh plays a leading part in the legend of Gúga, and naturally therefore Jogís, both Hindu and Muhammadan, take offerings made to him, giving but a small share to the Chuhras ; and also carry his flag, *chhari*, of peacock's feathers, from house to house in Bhádon.‡

The Sidhs, more correctly Siddhs, are properly speaking saints of exceptional purity of life who have attained to a semi-divine existence, but who in the eyes of the vulgar are perhaps little more than demons who obtained power from Gorakh. They are especially worshipped in the low hills,§ *e.g.* in Ambála and Hoshiárpur, in the form of stones, etc., and under various names. The distinctive emblem of their cult appears to be the *singi*, a cylindrical ornament worn on a thread round the neck. Ghází́dás is a Siddh of some repute near Una : Chánu is said to have been a Chamár, and people of that caste feast on goat's flesh and sing on certain dates to his memory. Another Siddh is the *jathera*, or ancestor, Kála Pír, who is worshipped in the low hills and throughout the eastern Districts generally and more particularly, as Kála Mahar, by the Sindhu Jáṭs as their forebear. His shrine is at Mahar in Samrála but the Sindhus of Khot in Jínd have there set up a shrine with bricks from the original tomb and there they, and the Khátis and Lohárs too,

* The Jain,

† See P. N. Q., II, § 279.

‡ P. N. Q., I, § 3.

§ Not an inappropriate tract if we regard Shiva as the great hill god and the Siddhs as emanations from him through Gorakh.

worship him. His shrine usually takes the form of a mud-pillar under a tree or by a pond, and images of him are worn in silver plates as charms. His *samádh* at Khot is in charge of the Ai-panth Jogís.

The *mundra.*—How the *kundal* was turned into a *mundra* is explained in the following story:—When Bhartari was made a Jogi he was put to a severe test. Jallandaripá was his *gurú,* but he was also a *sádiq* or pupil of Gorakh, and his chief companions were of the Kaplání *panth,* whence he was known as Bhartari Kaplání and reckoned one of the 84 *sidhs.* One day he said to Jallandaripá: "Thou hast put me to a severe test, but henceforth the *faqirs* of this *panth* will be mostly men of the world for they will mingle with such men." Gorakh said that he would be the more pleased with them, and Bhartari asked for some mark to be given them to distinguish them from worldly people. Accordingly a hole three inches wide was made in the Jogí's ears, and clay *mundras* were inserted in them. Subsequently the *mundras* were made of wood, then of crystal gilt, then of ivory. By wearing the *mundras,* a Jogi becomes immortal, as Bhogu-rikh had told Shaktí. When this practice was permitted, two *sidhs* Kharkai and Bhuskai began to bore each Jogí's ears, with Gorakh's assent. The latter with these two *sidhs* and several other Jogís settled at a place on the road to Hingláj in Balochistán, a place which every Jogi of this *panth* must visit if he wishes to be considered a perfect *sádhu* and attain *yoga.* Since then it has been usual to bore a Jogí's ears, but once when the two *sidhs* tried to bore the ears of a Jogi who had visited that place they found that they healed as fast as they bored holes in them, so they gave up the attempt, and Gorakh exclaimed that the pilgrim was 'Aughar.' Thenceforth Aughars do not have their ears bored and form a body distinct from the other Jogís.

Jogi Nature-worship.

The Jogís claim, *inter alia,* power to transmute any metal into gold or silver. In the time of Altamsh, says one legend, a Jogí named Dína Náth begged a boy sitting in a shop with a heap of copper coin to give him a few pieces. The boy said the money was not his, but his father's, and he gave the Jogí food. The Jogi prayed to Vishnu for power to reward the boy. Then he melted down the copper and turned the mass into gold by means of charms and a powder. Altamsh heard of the occurrence and witnessed the Jogi's powers, but the latter declined to accept any of the gold he had made, so it was sent to the mint and coined, with his name as well as that of Altamsh upon it. Jogís allege that these 'Dínanáthí' gold mohars are still to be found.

Similarly the Jogís claim power over hailstorms, and in Siálkot the *rathbana** is a Jogí who can check a hailstorm or divert it into waste land.

The connection between Jogís and snake-worship is naturally a close one. In some places Jogís are said to eat snakes—a kind of ritualistic cannibalism—and the snake is often styled *jogí,* just as the parrot is designated '*pandit.*'†

* *Pr. rath,* 'hail,' and *bana,* 'one who imprisons or checks.' This practice is alluded to in Prinsep's *Siálkot Settlement Rep.,* p. 37.

† P. N. Q., II, § 245.

The cults of the Jogís contain strong elements of nature-worship which finds expression in the names assumed by them after initiation. Such are Ním-náth,* Kanak-náth (wheat), Nág-náth (snake), Tota-náth (parrot).

The Jogís hold everything made of earth in great respect, whence the saying:—*Mitti ká ásan, mitti ká básan, mitti ká sarhána, mitti ká bána.*—'The earthen *ásan* (carpet), the earthen pitcher, the earthen pillow and the earthen woof.'

The Jogi Janeo.

The Jogís generally wear a *janeo* of black wool, which is made by certain members of the order, not by any member, nor by a Brahman. It is 9 cubits long, made of 3 strands each, woven of 8 threads on a bobbin, and plaited into a bobbin-thread, like an English braid necklace.† Round the waist Jogís wear a similar thread of 2 separate bobbin-threads of 8 strands each, twisted together, with a loop at one end and a button at the other.

The Kanphatta should be branded at Kalesar near Dwárká with two concentric circles within a third incomplete one, both ends of which are finished off by a circular bend in the arm.‡

The *rudraksha*§ with two facets is sacred to Shiva, and can only be worn by the Jogi who has his wife with him: One with 5 facets is devoted to Hanumán; and one with 11 is highly prized, being sacred to Gauri Shankar and worn by celibate Jogís.

The Jogi funeral rites.

A dying Jogi is made to sit cross-legged. After death the corpse is washed by the deceased's fellow-Jogís, a *langoti* tied round its waist and ashes smeared over it. A coffin is then made, if means permit, but a poor Jogi is simply wrapped in a blanket and carried by two men on two poles, and the body thrown into a river. A wealthy Jogi is, however, placed on a wooden *chauki* shaped like a palanquin, and upon this flowers are cast. The procession to the grave is called *sawári* and is headed by horses and bands playing music. The grave is made deep, with a spacious niche like that in Muhammadan graves, and the body placed in it cross-legged and facing the north¶. The Jogi's *bairágan* is placed before him, with a gourd full of water on his right, a loin-cloth, a *kanak* or staff of Mahadeo, a loaf of wheaten flour, and two earthen plates, one full of water, the other of rice and milk. An earthen potsherd is also placed on his head. Then a mound

* At P. N. Q., II, 562, it is noted that the *chela* gets a flower or plant-name for life; but animal-names appear to be also adopted.

† To the *janeo* is attached a circlet of horn (rhinoceros it should be), and to this is attached the *nád* or whistle, which makes a noise like a conch, but not so loud: P. N. Q., II, 126.

‡ P. N. Q., II, 345.

§ Beads made of the seed of the *badar* or jujube.—P. N. Q., II, 558.

|| But Jogis are said to bury their dead facing the east; Saniásis east or north-east, P. N. Q.; II, 127. In the Simla hills the Jogis were originally mendicants, but have now become householders. They *burn* the dead, and for every corpse get 4 annas in money, together with a plate of brass or *kánsi* and a woollen or cotton cloth. They also get some grain at each harvest. They are considered defiled as they take offerings made at death, and the Kanets and higher castes will not drink with them.

is raised over the grave,* and all the Jogís wash their hands with water supplied by the deceased's disciples. They then bathe and the disciples give them sweets. On the third day they are also fed (*chúrma* alone being given if the disciples are poor). Later on the *shrádh* is, if possible, performed thus:—Jogís are invited and keep a vigil all night. About a *pahr* before dawn they are fed with fish, or *pakauras* (vegetables coated with *baisan* or paste of powdered gram fried in mustard oil), or *khír, i. e.* rice boiled in milk, gram and *ghungnián,* or *piláo,* or rice, *wine, flesh,* fruit, etc. Seven thrones or *gaddís* are now erected to: (*i*) the Pír, (*ii*) Jognís, (*iii*) Sakhya or witness, (*iv*) Bír, (*v*) the Bhandári of Guru Gorakh Náth, (*vi*) Guru Gorakh Náth, and (*vii*) to Neka. *Mantras* are then repeated, and clothes: *gold, silver* and *copper*: a cow and *earth* given away in charity. The wake is now attended only by Jogís but formerly men of all classes, even Muhammadans, used to take part in it. Lastly, after all these ceremonies, a council (*pindhára*) of Jogís is held, and one of the deceased's disciples is elected Guru or Bir Mahant, three kinds of food, *puri, kachauri* and *piláo* being distributed. The deceased's clothes and the coffin are given to the *kotwáls,* or *bankias,* or else to Jangam *faqírs.* As the Jogi is not burnt his bones cannot be sent to the Ganges, so his nails are removed and taken to Hardwár. The *samádh* of a Jogi may be of earth or brick, and *belpattar* (leaves) are strewn over it. On it a lamp is also kept burning for 10 days, flowers and water being placed near it and a conch being blown. Rice balls are given in the name of the deceased for 10 days as among other Hindus. On the 10th day clothes are washed and on the 13th *kirya karam* ceremony is performed. The ceremonies are the same as among Hindus.

The following story is told to account for the fact that Jogís bury their dead: In Gorakh's time there arose a dispute between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the latter saying they were masters of the earth and of all the living and the dead. Gorakh sat on the ground, placing all his food, etc., by his side, and bade the earth yield to him, if he too had a share in it. It opened and Gorakh sank into it, and so Jogís usually bury their dead.

Initiation.

In theory any Hindu can become a Jogi, but in practice only those of the twice-born castes are admitted into the order. In theory caste is abandoned upon entering it, and as marriage is, in theory, forbidden, no question as to caste can arise in connection with it. But as marriage is in practice tolerated the original caste is preserved in practice for matrimonial purposes, though in theory all Jogis are caste-less. Further, there is a tendency to avoid marriage in the same *panth,* as all the members of a *panth* are in theory spiritually akin. Within the order there is in theory equality and no restrictions are placed upon eating, drinking or smoking together, but even a Hindu of high caste who joins the *panth* of Jálandhar Náth is excluded by other *panths.* Moreover, the theoretical equality does not extend to the women, as the Jogi does not allow his women-folk to eat with him. Women of every *panth* may, however, eat together.

* Over the grave an earthen potsherd is also placed on a three-legged stool.

A would-be disciple is dissuaded from becoming a Jogi, the hardships of the life being impressed upon him. If he persists he is made to fast for two or three days. After this, a knife is driven into the earth and the novice is made to swear by it—

(*i*) not to engage in trade;
(*ii*) not to take employment;
(*iii*) not to keep dangerous weapons;
(*iv*) not to become angry when abused; and
(*v*) not to marry.

He is also required to protect his ears, for a Jogi whose ears were cut used to be buried alive, but is now only excommunicated. After this probation his ears are bored by a *gurú*, or an adept, who is entitled to Re. 1-4 as an offering which may or may not be accepted.

Up to a certain point the Jogi initiatory rites resemble those of the Saniásís. The *choti* of the novice is removed by the *gurú*: the *janeo* is also removed: and he is given saffron-coloured clothes to wear. Of these the *kafni* is worn compulsorily. The *guru-mantar* is then communicated, secretly. After this the Jogís of 'a certain sect' pierce the *chela's* ears, and insert the *kundal* or earring, and the *chela*, hitherto an *aughar*,* now becomes a *náth*, certain set phrases (not *mantrás*) being recited. According to Macauliffe Jogis smear ashes on their naked bodies as clothing or a protection against the elements,† but the ashes appear to symbolize their death to the world, like the *kafni*.

We may thus safely distinguish three stages in a Jogi's initiation. At first he is a *chela* (pupil or candidate), then an *aughaṛ* or novice,‡ and finally a *darshani*, vulg. *kanphaṭṭa*,§ (or 'split-eared'). An Aughaṛ is not entitled to all the privileges of the sect, *e.g.*, at a feast he only receives half the portion of a Kanphaṭṭa. A Jogi who is fully initiated certainly loses all rights of inheritance in his natural family, but it is doubtful whether an Aughaṛ would do so. It is also not clear whether initiation involves the loss of property already vested in the initiate, but presumably it would do so.

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* According to this account *aughaṛ* simply means 'novice.' Náth is a title acquired by the fully initiate. An account of the Jogis of Ratn Náth says that the candidate is given a razor and scissors seven times by his *guru* who deters him from entering the Jogi order, but if he perseveres the *guru* cuts off a tuft of his hair and he is then shaved by a barber. Then he is made to bathe and besmeared with ashes, a *kafni* or shroud, a *lingoti* and a cap being given to him. The ashes and *kafni* clearly signify his death to the world. After six months' probation his ears are pierced and earthen rings inserted in them.

† *Sikh Religion*, VI, p. 243.

‡ It is indeed said that an *aughaṛ* can become a Saniási, an Udási, a Bairági, a Suthráshábi, etc., etc., as well as a Jogi or a Jangam. On the other hand, some accounts represent the Aughaṛs as a distinct order, followers of Kanípá Náth and Jálandhar Náth, while the Kanphaṭṭas are followers of Gorakh and Machhendra (in other words, the more perfect Jogís): *or* again they are connected with two schools of the Patanjali philosophy: while a third account splits up the Jogís into Shiv worshippers and Serpent worshippers.

§ Jogís themselves do not use the word Kanphaṭṭa. It is a popular term. So too in common parlance Jogís are distinguished by various names according to their dress or the penances they observe, and so on. Such are the *bastardhárí* who are decently clad and live in temples (among the Saniásís this term means 'secular'): the *dudhádhári*, who live on milk: the *jaṭádhári* who wear long matted hair: the *munis* who observe perpetual silence; and the *khar tapesari*, who stand in contemplation. The *atít*, 'destitute' or liberated from worldly restraints does not appear to be a sect of the Jogis, as Macauliffe says (*Sikh Religion*, I, p. 162), but a popular term for any mendicant: see Platts, p. 18, It is believed that Jogis live for centuries as a result of their austerities.

The derivation of Augbaṛ is obscure. The grade or order, however we regard it, does not appear to be connected with the Aghori or Ghor-panthis who are cannibal *faqírs* of a singularly repulsive type.* The Áugbaṛs of Kirána in Jhang are of good repute and retain large *jágírs* granted them by the Sikhs. They are distinguished by an ochre-coloured turban over which is twisted a black net-work of thread covered with gold. The *mahant* is styled *pír*, and once elected may never again descend the hill.

To these three degrees may perhaps be added a fourth, that of *mahátmá*, a dignity hardly alluded to in the accounts rendered of the sect. A Jogi who attains to great spiritual eminence is exempt from wearing *mundras*, the *janeo*, and so on.

After initiation a Jogí may apparently select the function which he is to fulfil. Thus he may become a militant member of the sect, vowed to celibacy and styled Nanga, Nága, Nádí, Nihang, Kanphaṛa or Kánphaṭṭa.

Or he may relapse and, breaking his vow of celibacy, become a secular Jogí, designated Bindí-Nagi, Sanyogi (Samayogi), Gharbári or Grihisti.

Lastly, the initiate Jogi may join one of the various *panths* or orders. These *panths* are in theory limited to twelve in number, but in reality they number many more than twelve.

The divisions and offshoots of the Jogís.

The grouping of the Jogís is exceedingly complex and appears to vary in different parts of these Provinces.

Thus in Kángṛa the Hindu Jogís are classed as 'Andarlá' or Inner and 'Báhirla' or Outer Jogís; and the former are further divided into Darshanís and Aughaṛs.†

The distinctions between these Inner and Outer groups are not specified, but they have different observances and their origin is thus accounted for:—Once when Gorakh gave two goats to Machhendra's sons he bade them slaughter the animals at a place where none could see them. One boy killed his goat: but the other came back with his alive, and said that he had found no such spot, since if no man were present the birds would witness the slaughter, or, if there were no birds, the sun or moon. Gorakh seated the latter boy by his side and he was called Andarlá, while the other was expelled and dubbed Báhirlá. Both groups observe the usual Hindu social customs, except at death, the only difference being that the Báhirlá only give Brahmans food and do not feast them, and at funerals they blow a *nád* instead of the conch, which is used by the Andarlás.

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* P. N. Q., I, 41, 136, 375, 473. There is no sufficient evidence to connect Aughaṛ with 'ogre.' *A-ghori* = un-terrible, Monier-Williams, *Sansk. Dicty.*, s. v. According to Platts (p. 106) *aughaṛ* means awkward, ungainly, uncouth.

† The Darshanís have four sub-groups: Khokhar, Sônkhla, Jageru and Natti; while the Aughaṛ have six: Bhambaria, Biriá, Awán, Jiwan, Kália, Bharsi and Saroe. It does not appear whether these are schools or sections.

The Báhirla are all Aughaṛs and have a number of sub-groups: Raipur Marálu, Hetam, Daryethi, Molgu, Tandiálu, Chuchhlu, Gugraon, Kehne, Tiargu, Dhamarchu, Phaleru, Sidhpuru, Karan and Jhak.

Elsewhere the Darshanís* appear as a group which is distinguished from the Nangas, who use flesh and spirituous liquor, which the former avoid. The latter also are said to wear no clothes—as their name denotes, but the Darshanís are said to be further divided into two classes, of which one is clothed, while the other, which smears the body with ashes and affects the *dhúní,* is not. However this may be the Darshanís must have their ears pierced and are thus identical with the Kanphara or Kanphaṭṭa Jogís. The latter are celibate and live by begging, in contradistinction to the Sanyogis who can marry and possess property.†

In Jínd the Jogís are said to be classed as (i) Baṛí-dargáh, 'of the greater court,' who avoid flesh and spirits, and as (ii) Chhoṭi-dargáh,‡ who do not. Both groups are disciples of Mast Náth, the famous *mahant* of Bohar. Jálandhar Náth was the son of a Rájá, whose wife remained pregnant for 12 years without giving birth to her child, and she was thought to be afflicted with dropsy (*jálandhar*). At last the Rájá vowed that, if a son were vouchsafed him, he would dedicate him to Gorakhnáth. Jálandhar Náth was born in response to this vow, and founded the *panth* named after him.

Rájá Bhartarí was the son of Rájá Bhoj, king of Dháranagar. He had 71 *ránís,* of whom one, by name Pingla, was a disciple of Gorakh,§ who gave her a flower saying it would remain ever fresh as long as her husband was alive. One day to test Pingla's love Bhartarí went a-hunting and sent back his blood-stained clothes and horse with the news that he had been killed, but the *rání,* seeing the flower still fresh knew that the Rájá only doubted her love for him and in grief at his mistrust killed herself. When she was carried out to the burning-ground the Rájá evinced great grief, and Gorakh appeared. Breaking his *chípi,*‖ the saint walked round it, weeping, and Bhartari asked him why he grieved. Gorakh answered that he could get the Rájá a thousand queens, but never a vessel like the one he had just broken, and he showed him a hundred *ránís* as fair as Pingla, but each of them said: 'Hold aloof! Art thou mad? No one knows how often we have been thy mothers or sisters or wives.' Hearing these words Bhartari's grief was moderated and he made Gorakh his *gurú,* but did not abandon his kingdom. Still when he returned to his kingdom the loss of Pingla troubled him and his other queens bade him seek distraction in hunting. In great pomp he marched forth, and the dust darkened the sun. On the banks of the Samru he saw a herd of deer, 70 hinds with a single stag. He failed to kill the stag, and one of the hinds besought him to kill one of them instead, since the stag was as dear to them as he was to his queens, but the Rájá said he, a Kshatriya, could not kill a hind. So the hind who had spoken bade the stag meet the Rájá's arrow, and as he fell he said: 'Give my feet to the thief

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* *e.g.* in Ambála. *Darshan* is said to = *mundra*: it is ordinarily made of clay or glass, but wealthy *gurús* wear *darshans* of gold.

† So at least runs one version from Ambála.

‡ But in Dera Ghází Khán we find Baṛí-dargáh given as equivalent to Ai-panthi, and the Chhoṭi-dargáh described as the foundation of a Chamár disciple of Pír Mast Náth, who bestowed the title on him in reward for his faithful service.

§ Bhartari, it is said, had steadfastly refused to become a disciple of Jálandhar Náth though repeatedly urged to do so by Gorakh himself.

‖ *Chípi,* a kind of vessel made of cocoanut and generally carried by *faqírs.*

that he may escape with his life; my horns to a Jogi that he may use them as his *nád*; my skin to an ascetic that he may worship on it; my eyes to a fair woman that she may be called *mirga-naini** ; and eat my flesh thyself.' And to this day these things are used as the dying stag desired.

On his return the Rájá was met by Gorakh who said he had killed one of his disciples. Bhartarí retorted that if he had any spiritual powers he could restore the stag to life, and Gorakh, casting a little earth on his body, did so. Bhartarí then became a Jogi and with his retainers accompanied Gorakh, but the latter refused to accept him as a disciple unless he brought alms from his *ránis*, addressing them as his mothers, and practised *jog* for 12 years. Bhartarí did as he was bid, and in answer to his queens' remonstrances said: "From the point of view of my *ráj* ye are my queens, but from that of *jog* ye are my mothers, as the *gurú* has bidden me call you so." Thus he became a perfect *jogi* and founded the Bhartarí Bairág *panth* of the Jogís.

Upon no topic is our information so confused, contradictory and incomplete as it is on the subject of the various sub-orders into which the Jogis, as an order, are divided. The following is a list of most of these sub-orders in alphabetical order with a brief note on each:

The Abha-panthi is probably identical with the Abhang Náth of *the Tahqíqát i-Chishti.*

The Aghori, Ghori or Aghor-panthi is an order which smears itself with excrement, drinks out of a human skull and occasionally digs up the recently buried body of a child and eats it; thus carrying out the principle that nothing is common or unclean to its extreme logical conclusion.

The Ai-panth is a well-known order, said to be ancient.† In Dera Ghází Khán it is called the Bari-dargáh, and one of its saints,‡ when engaged in *yog*, cursed one of his disciples for standing before him with only a *langoti* on and bade him remain *nága* or naked for ever. So to this day his descendants are called Nágas. Another account says that this and the Haith-panthi order were founded by Gorakh Náth.

The chief *ásan* of the Ai-panth is at Bohar in the Rohtak district. It is said to have been founded by a famous *gurú*, named Narmái-ji§ who was born only a few generations after Gorakh's time at Khot, now in the Jínd State. In veneration for him all the succeeding *gurús* adopted the termination Ai in lieu of Náth, and this is still done at Khot but not at Bohar. Five generations after Narmái, Mast Náth or Mastái-ji became *gurú* at Bohar in Sambat 1788, and after him the affix Náth was resumed there, though the *ásan* is still held by the Aí-panth. Mast Náth died in Sambat 1804, and a fair is held here on Phágan *sudi* 9th, the anniversary of his death. The *ásan* contains no idols. Hindus of all castes are employed but those of the menial castes are termed Chamarwá,|| but other initiates lose their caste, and become merged in the order. At noon *bhog* or sacramental

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* With eyes like a deer—one of the chief points in Indian beauty.
† It is mentioned in the Dabistán: II, p. 128.
‡ Pír Mast Náth, apparently.
§ From *narm*, gentle. The meaning of *ái* is unknown or is at any rate not disclosed.
|| They also appear to be called Sirbhangi.

food is offered to all the *samádhs* (of Bábá Mast Náth and other lights of the order); and then the *bhandár* or refectory is opened and food distributed freely to all, no matter what their caste. A lamp, fed with *ghi*, is kept burning in each *samádh*. In a *dharmsála* near Bohar is a Sanskrit inscription of Sambat 1333. The Bairág or Bhartari Bairág order was founded by Rájá Bhartari, and ranks after the Sat-Náth.* But in the west of these Provinces the Bairág's foundation is ascribed to Prem Náth of Mochh in Miánwáli, the head-quarters of the order being at Miání in Sháhpur. Like the Daryá-náthi this order is an offshoot of that founded by Pír Ratn Náth of Peshawar. It has also representatives at Kálábágh and Isákhel.

The Bhartari Bairág Jogís found in the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha are secular and belong to the Punia (Ját) *got*, which they retain. Their forebear Mai Náth was as a child driven from his home in Delhi district by famine, and the Muhammadan Meos of Solasbari in Báwal brought him up. When the Játs seized the village he lived by begging and became a *jogi*, so the Játs made him marry a girl belonging to a party of juggler Jogís. Then he went to Narainpur in Jaipur territory and became a *chela* of Gorakh Náth.

The Bharang Náth of the *Tahqiqát* is possibly the Hándi-pharung.

The Brahma ká order appears to be the same as the Sat-náth.

The Daryá-náthi order is chiefly found in the west, especially trans-Indus. It possesses *gaddís* at Makhad on the Indus, in Kohát and even in Quetta.

The Dhaj-panthi order is found in or at least reported from Peshawar and in Ambála. It may be that the order derives its name from *dhaj* meaning flag. Mr. Maclagan mentions the Dhaj-panthi as followers of Hanumán. The *Tahqiqát* gives Dhajá-panthi as the form of the name.

The Dharm-náthí order is widely spread, but its head-quarters are on the Godáwari. Its foundation is ascribed to a Rája Dharm.

The Gangá-náthi order was founded by one of Kapal Muni's two disciples. It is mentioned in the *Tahqiqát* as Gangái-náth.

The origin of the Jálandhar-náth order has already been related. In Amritsar it is known as Báwá Jálandhar ke, and its members keep snakes.

The Kaniba-ki are said to be *chelas* of Jálandhar Náth. Of this branch are the Sapelas : Maclagan, § 55.

The Kapláni or Kapil-panthí order ascribes its origin to Kapal Muni, and is thus also known as Kapal Deo ke. Or it was founded by Ajai Pal, Kapal Muni's disciple, and is thus cousin to the Gangá-náthi order.

The Kaya-náthi or Kayan-náthi is an offshoot of the Gangá-náthi. But in Dera Ghází Khán it is said that they received their name from Pír Ratn Náth who made an image out of the dirt of his own body.

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* At least in Dera Ghází, in which district it is returned as Bairaj, another order (said to be derived from it) being styled Bairaj Marigká. In Ambála a Baraj order is mentioned. In Karnál Bairág and Bhartari appear as two distinct orders.

The Kanthar or Khantar order owes its origin to Ganésha. In Ambála it is said to be endogamous.

Lachhman Náth's order is said in Hoshiárpur to be also known as the Darbárí Náth Tilla Bál Gondai, but in Amritsar is said to be the same as the Natesri (as in Maclagan, § 55).

The Mái-ká-panth are disciples of the Devi Káli.

The Man Manthi appear to be identical with the Man Náth, returned from Peshâwar, and the Manathi or Mannati in Jhelum who ascribe their foundation to Rájá Rasálú. Mr. Maclagan mentions the Mán-Náth as followers of Rasálú, § 55.

The Mékhla dhári is a class or order which is returned from Ambála and its name is said to mean wearer of the *taṛágí*.

The Natesri order appears to have no representatives in the Punjab but see above under Lachhman Náth's order.

The Ním Náthia is distinct from the order founded by Páras Náth *q.v.* It is said to be also called Gapláni or Kisgai.

The Pápanth appears to be also called Pánáthi or Panpatai, a sub-order founded by Jálandhar as a disciple of Mahádeo.

The Pagal appears to be identical with the Ráwal-Ghalla.

The Páras Náth order is sometimes shown as half an order, the Ráwals being its other half. But Páras Náth was one of Machhendra's two sons and he founded an order which soon split up into two distinct schools, (*i*) the Púj—who are celibate but live in houses and observe none of the rules observed by (*ii*) the Sartoras, who always wear a cloth over the mouths, strain water before drinking it, never kill aught that has life: further they never build houses, but lead a wandering life, eating only food cooked by others, and smoking from a *chilam*, never from a *hukkah*. That these two sub-orders are both Jains by religion, if not by sect, is perfectly obvious, and it is indeed expressly said that this Páras Náth is he whom the Jains revere.

The Rám-ke, or Rám Chandra-ke, panth was founded by Rám Náth, a disciple of Santokh Náth, and had its head-quarters on the Godáwari till it was replaced there by the Dharm-náthí. It appears to be sometimes ascribed to Rám Chandra, but erroneously so.

The Sant-náthi appear to be quite distinct from the Sat-náthi.

The Sat-náth (or Brahma-ke *q.v.*)

The Santokh Náthí are mentioned by Mr. Maclagan as followers of Bishn Narain, and are probably the Vishnu of Amritsar.

Other orders mentioned are the Bade ke, in Dera Ghází Khán, the Báljati in Karnál, the Bharat in Dera Ghází Khán, Haith-panthi in Ambála and Jhelum, Hariáni, Latetri and Mai ka panth in Dera Ghází Khán, the Path-sana in Karnál (Patsaina in Jínd), Ridh Náth in Amritsar, Sahj in Ambála, and the Bishnu in Amritsar.

In Mr. Maclagan's lists also appear the Kalepá and Ratn Náth: and in the Tahqíqát-i-Chishti the Dhar Náth, Darpa-Náth, Kanak Náth and Nág Náth* are also mentioned.

* Possibly the Ráwals.

The Pádha are described in Ambála as a caste, originally Jogis, but purely secular and now endogamous.

The influence of Jogís on and beyond the north-west frontier is one of the most remarkable features of the cult. Legend connects the Gor-khatri at Peshávar with Gorakh, and it was once a Jogi haunt, as both Bábar and Abu'l-Fazl testify. The chief saint of the Jogís in the north-west is Pír Ratn Náth of Peshávar,* in which district as well as throughout Kábul and Khorásán, a *kabit* is said to be current which describes his power.

The disciples of Pír Ratn Náth do not wear the *mundra*, and to account for this tradition says that once when Jogís of the 12 orders had assembled at Tilla for a *tukra* observance, Ratn Náth, who had no earrings,† was only assigned a half share. He protested that a Jogi who had earrings in his heart need wear none in his ears, and he opened his breast to exhibit the *mundra* in his heart! So his disciples are exempt from the usual rule of the sect. They appear to belong to the Daryá-náthi *panth* but the branch of Pír Ratn Náth's *dera* at Miáni in Sháhpur is held by Bairág-ke-Jogis.

The Bachhowália is a group of Muhammadan Jogís who claim descent from one Gajjan Ját and yet have more than one Hindu *got* (Pándhi, Cháhil, Gil, Sindhu and Rathora‡). Like Hindus they marry outside the *got*. They are chroniclers or panegyrists, and live on alms, carrying a *jholi* (wallet) and a turban composed of two *dopaṭṭas*, each of a different colour, as their distinctive costume. Originally Hindus they adopted Islám and took to begging, their name being doubtless derived from H. *bichha*, 'alms.' But they have, of course, a tale to explain their name and say that their forebears grazed a Kumhár's *bachha*—a story inconsistent with the fact that they are not all of one and the same *got*, but which doubtless alludes to their ancient worship of the earth-god.

Another Muhammadan group is that of the Kál-pelias as the disciples of Ismá'íl are sometimes called. Little seems to be known about Ismá'íl except that he was initiated by one of the Sidh Sanskarípá. He is also said to have been an adept in black magic and 'a contemporary of one Kamakha *devi*.' It is difficult to avoid the conjecture that he is in some way connected with the Ismailians.

The Ráwals, however, are the most important of the Muhammadan Jogi groups. Found, mainly, in the western districts they wander far and wide over the rest of India, and even to Europe where they practise as quack occulists and physicians. The name is, indeed, said to be a

* There are Jogi shrines at Kohát, Jalálábád and Kábul, as well as at Peshávar, and the incumbent at the three last named is styled *Gosáin*. Pír Bar Náth of Kohát was initiated on a stone near the Bawána springs. Even the fanatical Muhammadans of these parts reverence Pír Ratn Náth.

† As a novice (Aughar) he would wear no earrings and only be entitled to half a share. Another version is that Ratn Náth demanded a *double* share and, when objection was taken, created a man, named Kanian Náth, from the sweat and dirt of his own body. Other stories explain that a Jogi of eminent piety is exempt from the rule requiring a Jogi to wear earrings and a *janeo*.

‡ Add Mandhár (Rájputs) and Sidhu, Chima, Sahnti, Sahâran, Lit, Samrao and Hambar (Játs) in Nábha. The Bachhowália appears to be a numerous group in the Phulkián States.

corruption of the Persian *ráwinda*, 'traveller,' 'wanderer': and tradition avers that when Ránjha, in his love for Hír, adopted the guise of a *faqír* and wandered till he came to Tilla, he became Pír Bála Náth's disciple and thence went to Jhang where he sought for his beloved. All his disciples and companions were called Ráwal.*

The Ráwals are sometimes said to be divided into two groups, Mandia† and Ghal,‡ but according to one account they form a half of one of the 12 orders, the other being the Páras Náth, *i.e.* the Jains. Probably this latter tale merely means that the Ráwals like the Jains are an offshoot of the Jogi cults.

The Já'fir Pírs.

In the reign of Akbar there lived in Rajauri a Jogi named Shakkar Náth who was challenged by the Muhammadans to provide sugar in that country, in which the article was scarce. 'Shakkar' by his prayers caused it to rain sugar on the 10th of Rajab, 910 A. H. [Shakkar was the disciple of Badeshar Náth of Badeshar, and when Akbar visited that place and ordered a fort to be built there Badeshar Náth caused all the springs to dry up, by throwing a stone, which made Akbar abandon his project.]

'Pír' Shakkar Náth on his death-bed, having no disciples, called to the only man near him, one Já'fir, a Muhammadan, and made him his successor, thus starting a new order. He advised Já'fir to make only uncircumcised Muhammadans his disciples, and this rule is still observed by the order which employs Hindu cooks, and whose members bore their ears, but do not eat with other Jogís, though they enjoy all their privileges. The Jogís of Pír Já'fir are Sant-náthiás by sect.

The Jangams.

The Jangam, or Jogi-Jangam as he is sometimes called in contradistinction to the Jogi proper, originated thus: When Shiva married Párbatí no one would accept alms at his hands, so he created a man from his thigh (*jáng*) and, giving him alms, promised him immortality but declared he should live by begging. The Jangams are divided into four groups, (*i*) Múl, celibates, who practise *jog* in the *pránayám* form: (*ii*) Langoch, celibate, also who carry the image of Shiva in the Narbadeshwar incarnation in a small phylactery round the neck (chiefly found in the south of India): (*iii*) Sail, also celibate, found chiefly in the hills as they avoid mixing with worldly people; and (*iv*) Diru, found in the south-east Punjab. This last-named group is secular and is recruited from the Brahman, Rájput, Bháṭ, Jáṭ and Aroṛa castes. But the *got* appears to be often lost on entering the group, for it is said to comprise 15 *gots*:—

Powár	Indauria.	Bhát.
Kajwáhi.	Sadher.	Bainíwál.
Tanur.	Nehri.	Chandíwál.
Duple.	Sahag.	Redhu.
Laran.	Narre.	Chhal.

* The story is clearly based on the time-honoured analogy which compares the desire of the soul to human passion. The word Ráwinda is of considerable interest.

† Founded by Gorakh Náth.

‡ Founded by Mahádeo and also said to be called Pagal.

Marriage is effected by exchange, two *gots* being avoided.* Rupees 50, 25, 15 or 10 are spent on a wedding, according to its class. Widows remarry, but, if a widow marry one who is excommunicated, the man is made to bathe in the Ganges and feast the brotherhood; then the pair are re-admitted into the caste.

Another version is that Shiva at his wedding created two recipients of his alms, one, Jangam, from the sweat of his brow, the other, Lingam, from his thigh. These Jangams accept alms from all Hindus, at least in the western Districts, whereas Lingams only take them from Jogís and Saniásis. But it is usually said that the Jangam accepts alms from Jogís.

To the Jangam Shiva gave the bull's necklace hung with a bell or *jaras*, and everything that was on his head, and so Jangams still wear figures of the moon, serpents, etc., on their heads. He also ordered them to live by begging, and so Jangams still sing songs about Shiva's wedding, playing on the *jaras* as they beg. Instead of the *mundra* they wear brass flowers in their ears, carry peacock's feathers, and go about begging in the bazars, demanding a pice from each shop. They are looked upon as Brahmans and are said to correspond with the Lingáyats of Central and Southern India.

The Sapelas or Sampelas.

The *sampelas*, or snake-men, claim Kánnhipi (Kanípá), the son of the Jhínwar who caught the fish from which Machhendra Náth had emerged: Kánnhipi was brought up with him and became a disciple of Jálandhar Náth. By which is meant that snake-charmers, like snakes, owe much to the waters. The *sampelas* are not celibate; though they have their ears bored and wear the *mundra*, with ochre-dyed clothes, and they rank lower than the Hindu Jogís because they will take food from a Muhammadan and eat jackal. They tame snakes, playing on the gourd-pipe (*bín*), and lead a wandering life, but do not thieve. Their semi-religious character places them above the Kanjars and similar tribes. Some of their *gots* are:—

Gádaṛia.	Linak.	Athwál.
Tánk.	Chauhán.	Sohtra.
Phenkṛa.	Tahlíwál.	Bámna.

In marriage four *gots* are avoided.

The Jogis as a caste.

The secular Jogi or Samyogi, as he should apparently be called, does in parts of the Punjab form a true caste. Thus in Kullu he has become a NATH and in Ambála a Jogi-Pádha. In Lohárú there is a small Jogi caste of the Játu tribe which was founded by a Rájput of that tribe. Of his two sons the descendants of one, Báre Náth are secular, when those of the other Bar Náth remain celibate, pierce their ears and wear the *mundra*, though how they are recruited is not explained. In all respects they follow the usual rites save at death. They bury the body seated, facing *north* and place a pitcher of water under its right arm and some boiled rice under its left arm. Widow remarriage is allowed.

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* Marriage by purchase appears to be forbidden, and if the bride's family has not a boy eligible to marry at once, the bridegroom's family will owe them a girl till one is required.

In Ambála the Samyogis (not the Pádhas) are said to have 12 sections, including the:—

Ai.	Kanthar.
Dhaj.	Pagal.
Sahj.	Paopanthi.
Hait.	Ráwal.

The Kanthars are said to be endogamous, but all the others intermarry. In Nábha the *pádhas*, however, do not appear to be a caste, but are simply Jogis who teach children Hindi.

Though professing Jogis are forbidden to marry, many of them do so, and it is impossible to disentangle the Jogis who abandon celibacy from those who do not profess it at all and form a caste. In Dera Gházi Khán, for instance, Jogis intermarry but not within their caste as Jogis. There is no bar to Hindu or a Sanyási taking a Jogi girl in marriage, but respectable Hindus do not do so. Their marriage ceremonies are generally like those of Hindus, as Brahmans perform them. A Jogi who marries is regarded with comtempt by his brother Jogis, who do not smoke with him until he has given a feast at a cost of Rs. 12-8 to an assembly of Jogis at some sacred place, such as the bank of the Ganges, or a fair

On the other hand Grihisti Jogis retain many outward signs of the professing Jogi. They wear saffron coloured clothes and sometimes smear ashes over the body. They use the *janeo* of black wool which is smaller than that worn by a Brahman or other twice-born Hindu. They wear a *nád* of horn or else have a bit of wood made in the shape of a *nád* and attached to the *janeo*. They are obliged to wear a *paunchi* of wool round their hands and feet and a woollen string round the waist. They also use the rosary of *rudraksh* beads. Some have their ears bored while others go to Gorakh Náth's *gaddi* and get a *kanṭhi* tied round the neck. Though the use of flesh and liquor is permissible they follow the Brahmans and abstain from them. They live on alms and by singing the love tales of *Hír and Ránjha*, etc., and ballads like those of *Jaimal and Fattah*, etc. Others live by exhibiting *nadia* bulls. In Karnál the Jogis by caste are generally Hindus and receive offerings made to the impure gods. They form one of the lowest of all castes and practise witchcraft and divination, being also musicians.

Johal, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Johar, a Hindu family of Talagang in Jhelum.

Joiya. The Joiya is one of the 36 royal races of Rájputs, and is described in the ancient chronicles as "lords of the Jangal-des," a tract which comprehended Hariána, Bhaṭṭiána, Bhaṭner, and Nagor. They also held, in common with the Dehía with whom their name is always coupled, the banks of the Indus and Sutlej near their confluence. Some seven centuries ago they were apparently driven out of the Indus tract and partly subjugated in the Bágar country by the Bhaṭṭi; and in the middle of the 16th century they were expelled from the Joiya canton of Bíkáner by the Ráthor rulers for attempting to regain their independence. Tod remarks that "the Rájputs carried fire and sword into this country, of which they made a desert. Ever since it has

remained desolate, and the very name of Joiya is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a remote antiquity." The Joiya, however, have not disappeared. They still hold all the banks of the Sutlej from the Wattu border nearly as far down as its confluence with the Indus, though the Bhaṭṭis turned them out of Kabror, and they lost their semi-independence when their possessions formed a part of the Baháwalpur State; they hold a tract in Bíkáner on the bed of the old Ghaggar just below Bhaṭner, their ancient seat; and they are found in no inconsiderable numbers on the middle Sutlej of Lahore and Ferozepur and on the lower Indus of the Deraját and Muzaffargarh, about a third of their whole number being returned as Jáṭs. The Multán *bár* is known to this day as the Joiya *bár*. General Cunningham says that they are to be found in some numbers in the Salt Range or mountains of Júd, and identifies them with the Jodia or Yodia, the warrior class of India in Panini's time (450 B. C.), and indeed our figures show some 2,700 Joiya in Sháhpur. But Paníní's Jodia would perhaps more probably be the modern Gheba, whose original tribal name is said to be Jodra, and Gheba a mere title. The Joiya of the Sutlej and of Hissár trace their origin from Bhaṭner, and have a curious tradition, current apparently from Hissár to Montgomery, to the effect that they cannot trace their Rájput descent in the male line. The Hissár Joiya make themselves descendants in the female line of Seja or Sameja, who accompanied the eponymous ancestor of the Bhaṭṭi from Muttra to Bhaṭner. This probably means that the Joiyas claim Yádu ancestry. The Montgomery Joiya have it that a lineal descendant of Benjamin, Joseph's brother, came to Bíkáner, married a Rája's daughter, begot their ancestor, and then disappeared as a *faqír*. The tradition is perhaps suggested by the word *joi*, meaning "wife." The Montgomery Joiya say that they left Bíkáner in the middle of the 14th century and settled in Baháwalpur, where they became allies of the Langáh dynasty of Multán, but were subjugated by the Dáúdpotra in the time of Nádir Sháh. The Multán Joiya say that they went from Bíkáner to Sindh and thence to Multán. This is probably due to the fact of their old possessions on the Indus having died out of the tribal memory, and been replaced by their later holdings in Bíkáner. They are described by Captan Elphinstone as "of smaller stature than the great Rávi tribes, and considered inferior to them in regard of the qualities in which the latter especially pride themselves, namely bravery and skill in cattle-stealing. They possess large herds of cattle and are bad cultivators." The Mahárs are a small tribe on the Sutlej opposite Fázilka, and are said to be descended from Mahár, a "brother of the Joiya. They are said to be quarrelsome, silly, thievish, fond of cattle, and to care little for agricultural pursuits."

In Baháwalpur the *mirásís* of the Joiyas have compiled for them a pedigree-table which makes them and the Mahárs Quraishis by origin and descended from Iyás, a descendant of Mahmúd of Ghazni. But the *mirásís* of each sept of the Joiyas give a different pedigree above Iyás, a fact which tends to show that the Joiyas were in their origin a confederation of warrior clans.

The Lakhwera sept and others recount the following tale. They say that Iyás, son of Ba kr, came to Chuharbar (now Anúpgarh), the capital of Rája Chúhar Sameja, in the guise of a *faqír*, and married Nal, the Rája's eldest daughter,* by whom he became the father of Joiya in 400 H. Joiya was brought up in the house of his mother's father as a Hindu.

* Pal and Sal being the other two.

though his father was a Muhammadan and had married Nal by *nikáh* and so Joiya's children, Jabbu, Isung, Bisung, Nisung, and Sáhan Pál, received Hindu names. From the *youngest* (apparently) of these sons the Joiyas claim descent.* The Joiyas as a tribe regard Ali Khán, Lakhwera, *ra'is* of Shahr Faríd as their chief, and his influence extends over the Joiyas in Multán. A Joiya who has committed theft will not deny the fact before this chief.

The Lakhwera, Bhadera, Ghazi-Khánána, Kulhera, Daulatána, Kamera and Mangher septs and a few others, observe the *winaik* ceremony. This consists in slaughtering two rams (*ghattus*) and making a *pulao* (with rice cooked in *ghi*) of the flesh. This is given in charity in the name of their ancestor Allahditta who single-handed resisted a party of 50 Baloch who tried to raid the cattle he was tending in the Cholistán. Allahditta was killed, but his bravery is commemorated in the *winaik* and his tomb in the Táj-Sarwar is greatly frequented by the tribe. Lunán's name is also mentioned in the *winaik*, because he fell in a fight with Lahr Joiya, a descendant of Jai Sung at Kharbára in Bíkáner, where his tomb still exists. The descendants of the Joiyas shown in the pedigree-table from Bansi upwards observe only the *winaik* of Lunán, not that of Alláhditta.

The Joiyas are brave, but, like the Wattús, addicted to theft. The Lakhwera sept is the highest in the social scale and has a great reputation for courage. The tribe is devoted to horses and buffaloes. No Joiya considers it derogatory to plough with his own hands, but if a man gives up agriculture and takes to trade or handicraft the Joiyas cease to enter into any kind of relationship with him. Sahn Pál is said to have coined his own money at Bhatner, a proof that he exercised sovereign power. Báwa Farid-ud-Dín, Shakar-Ganj, converted Lunán, Ber and Wisul to Islám and blessed Lunán, saying "*Lunán, dunán, chaunán*," *i. e.*, "may Lunán's posterity multiply." These three brothers wrested the fortress of Bhatinda from the Slave Kings of Delhi and ruled its territory, with Sirsa and Bhatner, independently.

Lakhkho, son of Lunán, headed a confederation of the Joiyas, Bhattís, Ráthors and Waryás against the Víkas, or Bíkas, the founders of Bíkáner, whose territory they devastated until their king, Rája Ajras, gave his daughter Kesar in marriage to Lakhkho, and from that time onwards the Hindu Rájputs of Bíkáner gave daughters to the Muhammadan Joiyas as an established custom up to within the last 50 years, when the practice ceased.

After Lakhkho, Salím Khán rose to power in the time of Aurangzeb. He founded a Salímgarh which he gave to Pír Shauq Sháh, whence it became called Mári Shauq Sháh, and founded a second Salímgarh, which was however destroyed by Aurangzeb's orders, but on its ruins his son Faríd Khán I founded Shahr Faríd in Baháwalpur. After the downfall of the Mughal empire the Lakhwera chiefs continued for some time to pay tribute at Multán and Nawáb Wali Muhammad Khán Khakwáni, its governor, married a Joiya girl, Ihsán Bibi, and thus secured their adherence, which enabled him to find a refuge among the Admera and Saldera Joiyas when the Mahrattas took possession of Multán in 1757 A. D. After this the Joiyas under Faríd Khán II revolted against Salih Muhammad Khán, whom the Mahrattas had appointed governor of Multán, and plundered his territory, but in 1172 A. D., when Ahmad Sháh, Abdáli, had expelled the Mahrattas from Multán he re-appointed Wali Muhammad Khán to its governorship and to him the Joiyas submitted. Under the emperor Zamán Khán, however, the Joiyas again rose in rebellion and at the instance of the governor of Multán Nawáb Mubárak Khán of Baháwalpur annexed the territory of Faríd Khán II.

The Joiya septs are very numerous, 46 being enumerated as principal septs alone † Of these the more important are the Lakhwera, Daulatána, Bhadera Nihál-ka, Ghází-Khánána, Jalwána, which has a sub-sept called Bhaon, their ancestor having been designated Nekokára-Bhai or the "virtuous brother" by Abdulla Jahánián. Most of the Joiya septs are eponymous, their names ending in -ka and sometimes in -era.

The following septs are found in Montgomery (where they are classed as Rájput agriculturists) :—Akoke, Bahlána, Bhatti, Fírozke, Hassanke,

* This table is printed in full in the *Baháwalpur Gazetteer*, p. 46.

† Joiyas are divided into a large number of "*naks*": (i) Lakhwera, (ii) Mahmúdera, Kamrána, Madera (all three equal), (iii) Jalwána and Daulatána. The grading of the tribe in the social scale is as above. They intermarry, as a rule, only among themselves, but a *nak* of one grade will not give daughters to a *nak* of a lower grade, though the former will take from the latter.

In the time of Akbar they were the predominate tribe of the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsils, and then, or soon after, four brothers, Jágan, Mangan, Luddan and Lál colonised the country round Luddan, and were followed by fresh bands from across the Sutlej. *Multán Gr.*, 1902, p. 139.

Jamlera, Jhandeke, Jugeke, Lakhuke, Langáheke, Luleke, Mihruke, Momeke, Panjera, Ranoke, Sábúke, Sanatheke and Shálbázi: and in Multán Sabúl and Salhúká, and Saldera, but the latter are in this District classed as Jáṭs. Indeed both in Montgomery and in Multán the Joiyas as a tribe appear to rank both as Jáṭs and Rájputs. In Amritsar they are classed as Rájputs and in Sháhpur as Jaṭs. In Montgomery the Kharrals and Hindu Kambohs each possess a Joiya (agricultural) clan.

Jojah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Jokháru, a leech or leech-applier: see Gágrá.

Joláh, a weaver, rope-maker, etc.: the *joláhs* in Yusafzai form a trade-guild, rather than a caste like the Juláhá.

Joldahá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Jomar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Joṇdah, a Jáṭ clan (agriculturatl) found in Amritsar.

Jopo, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Joṛye, (1) an Aráíṇ, (2) a Kamboh clan (both agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Josan, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán, (2) an Aráíṇ and (3) a Kamboh clan (both agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Josi, Joshi, a sub-division of Brahmans, apparently meaning astronomer (Jotasi).

Jotasi, -shi, an astronomer or astrologer, from *jotas* (Sanskr. *jyotisha*, astrology). The Láhula form is *jodhsi*, *q. v.*, and in Spiti the *choba* is the hereditary astrologer. Josi or Joshi is apparently a derivative.

Júd, a tribe, now almost extinct, which with the Janjúa are described by Bábar as holding half the Salt Range which was called the Koh-i-Júd after them. See under Jodh.

Júhán, an Awán tribe said to be descended from Púsú and Hamír, the two sons of Jahán, son of Qutb Sháh, found in Siálkoṭ.

Juláhá, fem. -i, syn. *safed-báf*. The weavers proper, of which the Juláha, as he is called in the east, and the Páoli as he is called in the villages of the west, is the type, are an exceedingly numerous and important artisan class, more especially in the western Districts where no weaving is done by the leather-working or scavenger castes. It is very possible that the Juláhá is of aboriginal extraction. Indeed Sir James Wilson who had, in the old Sirsa district, unequalled opportunities of comparing different sections of the people, is of opinion that the Juláhás and Chamárs are probably the same by origin, the distinction between them having arisen from divergence of occupation. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the present position of the two is widely dissimilar. The Juláhá does not work in impure leather, he eats no carrion, he touches no carcases, and he is recognised by both Hindu and Musalmán as a fellow-believer and admitted to religious equality. In a word, the Chamár is a menial, the Juláhá an artisan. The real fact seems to be that the word Juláhá, from the Persian *julah*, a ball

of thread, the equivalent Hindi term being Tánti, is the name of the highest occupation ordinarily open to the outcast section of the community. Thus we find Koli-Juláhás, Chamár-Juláhás, Mochi-Juláhás, Rámdási-Juláhás, and so forth: and it is probable that after a few generations these men drop the prefix which denotes their low origin, and become Juláhas pure and simple. The weaver appears to be called Golah in Pesháwar and Kásbi in Hazára.

The Juláhá proper is scantily represented in the south-east Punjab, where his place is taken by the Koli* or Chamár-Juláhá and Dhának; and he is hardly known in the Deraját, where probably the Jáṭ does most of the weaving. In the rest of the Province he constitutes some 3 to 4 per cent. of the total population. He is generally a Hindu in Kángṛa and Delhi, and often Hindu in Karnál, Ambála, and Hoshiárpur; but on the whole some 92 per cent. of the Juláhás are Musalmán. Sikhs are few in number.

The Juláha confines himself almost wholly to weaving. He is not a true village menial, being paid by the piece and not by customary dues. He is perhaps the most troublesome of the artisan classes. Like the shoe-maker of Europe, he follows a wholly sedentary occupation, and in the towns at least is one of the most turbulent classes of the community. There is a proverbial saying: "How should a weaver be patient?" Indeed the contrast between the low social standing and the obtrusive pretentiousness of the class is often used to point a proverb: "A weaver by trade, and his name is Fatah Khán ('victorious chief')." "Lord preserve us! The weaver is going out hunting!" "Himself a weaver, and he has a Saiyad for his servant!" "What! Paṭháns the bond servants of weavers!" and so forth.

The Juláhá sub-divisions are exceedingly numerous, but the names of most of the larger ones are taken from dominant land-owning tribes. Some of the largest are:—Bhaṭṭis who are very widely distributed; Khokhars chiefly found west of Lahore; Janjuas and Awáns in the Ráwalpindi division; Sindhus in the Central Punjab, and the Jaryáls in Kángṛa. The Kabírbansi are found in Ambála and Kángṛa, and apparently this word has become a true tribal name and now includes Musalmán Juláhás. It is derived from the great Bhagat Kabír of Benares who was himself a Juláhá, and whose teaching most of the Hindu Juláhás profess to follow. The eastern Juláhás are said to be divided into two great sections, Deswále, or those of the country, and Tel, the latter being supposed to be descended from a Juláhá who married a Teli woman. The latter are socially inferior to the former. In the Jumna districts there are also a Gangápuri (? Gangapári) and a Multáni section, the former being found only in the Jumna valley and the latter on the borders of the Málwa.

Further west we find the Muhammadan Juláhás divided into several groups, mostly territorial, *e. g.*, in Jínd we have the Jángli, Deswáli,

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* According to Mr. J. G. Delmerick Hindu weavers are only found in the Punjab cis-Sutlej. In the Punjab hills they are Kolis, in the United Provinces Kolis or Koris. In the plains they style themselves Rámdásias. In the Upper Punjab the weaver is always a Muhammadan, and is called Núrbáf or Báfindah as well as Páoli, Sufedbáf or Juláhá. In Sikh times they were glad to accept grain as wages, but they now exact cash.

Bajwarya and Páryá sub-castes. But the Nábha version gives six groups, four territorial, *viz.*, Jángla, Pawáḍhre ('of the Pawáḍh'), Bágṛí and Multáni (these two latter are not found in the State), one called Páre and a sixth called Mochia which is nominated from the Mochis. The four groups found in Jínd all eat and smoke together. The Jánglis are found in the Jangal tract of tahsil Sangrúr. They have hereditary Pírs, who are Sayyids. In adopting a Pír a *muríd* (disciple) takes a cup of *sharbat* from his hand and drinks it, believing that by so doing he will attain to *Bahisht* (Paradise). They revere their Pírs, give them a rupee and a wrapper when they come to their house and entertain them well. The Jángli *gots* are those of the Jáṭs and Rájputs, and it is said that they were converted during the reign of Aurangzeb. Some of them still retain their Brahman *parohits* and give them money at weddings.

They only avoid their own *got* in marriage.

The Páre in Nábha follow the Muhammadan Law as to marriage, whereas the other five groups avoid four *gots* in marriage, like Hindus.*

The Muhammadan Juláhás are said to be very strict observers of the Id-ul-fitr, just as the Qassábs (butchers) hold the Id-ul-zuhá in special esteem, while the Kanghigaráns affect the Shab-i-barát and the Sayyids the Muharram.†

On the other hand the Hindu Juláhás of these Phulkián States are divided into sectarian groups, such as the Rámdásís and Kabírpanthís.

The Rámdásís are the followers of the saint, Rám Dás, the Chamár who was a *chela* of Lakhmír. Having abandoned his calling as a shoemaker, he took up weaving and followed the teachings of the Granth. The Rámdási do not eat, smoke or intermarry with the Chamárs. They practise *karewa* and perform the wedding rite, according to the *anand báni* of the Granth Sáhib, fire being lighted before the scripture and seven turns (*pheras*) being made round the fire, while the *anand báni* is read. No Brahman is called in. They burn their dead and carry the ashes to the Ganges. Some of their *gots* are :—

1. Bhangar.	4. Sokṛi.	7. Samjar.
2. Barah.	5. Chohan.	8. Senhmár.
3. Berwál.	6. Saroe.	9. Máti.
		10. Goru.

The Kabírpanthís are the followers of Kabír Bhagat, *chelá* (disciple) of Rámanand, founder of the Rámánandi sect of the Bairágis. Kabír is said to have been born at Benares and adopted by a Musalmán Juláhá during the reign of Sikandar Sháh Lodi (1488-1512 A. D.). The story goes that Kabír wished to be Rámanand's *chela* but he refused to adopt him as he was a Muhammadan. So one day Kabír lay down on the road by which Rámanand went to bathe in the Ganges every morning, and by chance Rámanand touched him with his foot. He exclaimed "Rám, Rám," so Kabír took the word Rám as his Gurú *mantra* and assumed the *málá* or beads and *tilak* or forehead mark of

* Muhammadan Juláhás of the Katahra *got* in Zira tahsil of Ferozepur do not intermarry in their own *got* and also avoid that of the mother's father. They also refuse to marry a son into a family in which his sister is married.

† N. I. N. Q., I. 643.

a Bairági. At first Rámanand was opposed to him, but after som discussion he accepted him as his *chela*. His doctrine and precepts are very popular and are embodied in the *Sukh Nidhán Granth*, the *Bijak* and other poems.

Kabír used to earn his livelihood by weaving blankets which he sold for 7 *takkas* a-piece. One day Falsehood (*jhúṭh*) appeared to him in human guise and urged him to demand 12 *takkas* instead of 7: he did so but only received 9, so he said :—

Sache kahán to máriye—Jhuṭhe jagat patiáwe,
Sat takke ká bhúrá,—Mera nau takke bik jáwe.

"If I speak the truth, I shall suffer, since the world is content with lies, so I spoke false and sold my blanket for 9 *takkas*."

Since then falsehood has been rife in the world. Starch owes its origin to a sparrow's having let its droppings fall on Kabír's cloth, as he was weaving. Every weaver invokes Kabír or Luqmán on beginning work.

As a Kabírpanthi, or follower of Kabír's teaching, the Juláhá calls himself Kabírbansi or a descendant of Kabír, just as the Chhímba prefers to be called Námdevi (descendant of Námdeo). They will never take a false oath in the names of these supposed ancestors, and even when in the right, seldom venture to swear by them. Both castes are offended at the ordinary names of Juláhá and Darzi, *i. e.*, Chhímba).*

The Juláhás, like the *darzis*, are recruited from various castes, but especially from the Dhának and Chamár below, whereas the tailors are recruited from the castes above them.

Júṇ, lit. 'louse,' a Jáṭ tribe found in Karnál, originally settled in Delhi.

Junan, a tribe in Baháwalpur, descended from Jám Juna,† who ruled Sind in the 8th century of the Hijra. They give their name to the State of Junagaḍh. The Junans migrated from Shikárpur in the 18th century A. D. and were granted lands in Baháwalpur.

Júnd-Búgdiál, a clan of the Awáns, so called from Jund, their principal village, found in Ráwalpindi and Pindi Gheb. Their traditions point to their being a race of marauders.

Junhál, a Rájput tribe, once numerous and powerful. It is found on the borders of Kashmír and the Kahúta tahsil, in Rawalpindi, in a beautiful country. They were nearly all destroyed by the Gakkhaṛs and were rivals of the Hadwáls.

Junhí, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jurai, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Jútá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and Montgomery.

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* N. I. N. Q. I., § 72.

† This must be the Jám Juna, Sammá, who succeeded Unar, the second ruler of the Samma dynasty. Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 302.

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Kabír-panthí, a follower of Kabír. A life of Kabír, who was a little earlier than Luther, having been born in 1440, and who died in 1518 A. D., is beyond the scope of this article.* Of all the fourteen persons usually classed as Bhagats or saints, *viz.*, Bení, Bhíkan, Dhanna, Shaikh Faríd, Jaidev, Kabír, Námdeo, Pípá, Rámánand, Ravidás, Sadhná, Sainu, Súrdás and Trilochan† (whose lives are, for the most part, given in the *Bhaktamálá*, or the North Indian '*Lives of the Saints*') Kabír and Tulsi Dás have had the greatest influence for good on the uneducated classes of Northern and Central India.

A mystery hangs over Kabír's birth, but it appears that whoever his parents may have been, he was brought up in a family of Musalman weavers at Benares. He is generally looked on as having been a weaver by caste, and the weavers of the country by a process well known in eastern ethnology are fond of calling themselves the descendants of this celebrated member of their caste.‡ Many of the Juláhás in the Punjab return their caste as Kabírbansí, and many of those who return their sect as Kabírbansí or Kabírpanthí, are probably little more than ordinary weavers who have no idea of distinguishing themselves from other Hindu weavers in matters of doctrine. However, Kabír, whatever his caste may really have been, is said to have been a pupil of Rámánand, and whether this be true or not, it is beyond doubt that he imbibed a good deal of that master's teaching. From one point of view the Kabírpanthís are merely Rámánandís who refuse to worship idols.

In the 14th century Rámánand, the founder of the Bairágís, lived at Benares. One day he went to gather flowers for worship in his garden, but there he was seized and taken by the gardener's daughter to one of the rulers of that period. The girl took with her also the flowers which she herself had picked, and on the road found that they had turned into a handsome child. Thinking Rámánand a wizard she left both him and the child on the spot and fled homewards. Rámánand then gave the child to a newly wedded Muhammadan Juláhá and his wife who chanced to pass that way, and they brought the boy up as their own son.

Another version is that a Brahman's wife craved the boon of a son, and used to do homage to her *sádhu* for one. But one day her husband's sister went to do him reverence in her stead, and it was to her that the *sádhu* granted the desired boon, though she was a virgin. On learning this the *sádhu* declared himself unable to recall his gift, and in due course a child was born to her from a boil which formed on her hand when it was scratched by the rope at a well. In her shame she

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* See *Kabír and the Kabír-Panth*, by the Revd. G. H. Westcott, Cawnpore, 1907.

† This list is from Trumpp's *Religion der Sikhs*, p. 67.

‡ The connection between weaving and religion in the Punjab is as interesting as that between cobbling and irreligion in England. There are some Musalman tribes (the Khokhars, Chughattas and Chauháns for instance) who are found in many parts of the Province performing indifferently the functions of the weaver and the *mullah*.

secretly cast the child into a stream, where it was found by a weaver and his wife on their way home after their *mukláwa*. The child was named Kabír, from *kur*, palm, and *bír*, a son, and one day his adoptive mother took him to a tank to bathe. There too came Rámánand and hurt the boy with his sandals, but when he began to cry, the saint endowed him with miraculous powers. On his death Hindus and Muhammadans disputed for possession of his body, so it was placed under a cloth and when that was again removed it had disappeared. Half the cloth was then burnt by the Hindus, and the other half buried by the Muhammadans.

"In the midst of the dispute," says Professor Wilson, "Kabír himself appeared amongst them, and desiring them to look under the cloth supposed to cover his mortal remains, immediately vanished. On obeying his instructions they found nothing under the cloth but a heap of flowers." The Hindus took a half of them and burnt them at Benares; the Muhammadans took the other half and buried them near Gorakhpur, where his death is said to have occurred. Flower-born, Kabír at his death turned to flowers again.

Kabír is in many ways rather a literary, than a religious, celebrity, and his writings, in the common Bhásha, are very voluminous. The Ádi-Granth of the Sikhs is full of quotations from him, and he is more often quoted there than any other of the Bhagats. His apothegms are constantly on the lips of the educated classes, whether Hindu or Musalman, even at the present day; and possibly there is no native author whose words are more often quoted than those of Kabír. It is noticeable, too, that Kabír instead of impressing on his disciples, like most Hindu leaders, the necessity of absolute adherence to the Guru, was fond of stimulating enquiry and encouraging criticisms of his own utterances.

Kabír was probably a Muhammadan Súfí,* but as a Súfi his teaching was addressed to Hindus as well as Muhammadans. Wilson's description of the Kabírpanthí doctrines is still exact:—

"The Kabírpanthís, in consequence of their master having been a reputed disciple of Rámánand and of their paying more respect to Vishnu than the other members of the Hindu triad, are always included among the Vaishnava sects and maintain, with most of them, the Rámáwats especially, a friendly intercourse and political alliance. It is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe any of the rites or ceremonials of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical. Such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribes and caste, and some of them even pretend to worship the usual divinities, although this is considered as going rather further than is justifiable. Those, however, who have abandoned the fetters of society abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage chiefly in chanting hymns exclusively to the invisible Kabír. They use no *mantra* nor fixed form of salutation; they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting, however, to clothe themselves in order to appear dressed when clothing is considered decent or respectful. The *mahants* wear a small scull cap; the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the Vaishnava sects, or they make a streak with sandal or *gopichandan* along the ridge of the nose; a necklace and rosary of *tulsí* are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to."

* According to Macauliffe (*Sikh Religion*, VI, p. 141), Kabír held the doctrine of *ahinsa* or the duty of non-destruction of life, even that of flowers. This doctrine would appear to be due to Jain influences. Kabír is reputed to have had a son, Kamál, who refused to look with favour on Hindus (Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 42) and who was thereupon lost to his father, though, according to Macauliffe, he is believed by the Kabír-panthís to have been re-animated by Kabír.

It is however very doubtful if the view that Kabír was probably a Muhammadan Súfi can be accepted with confidence, and Dr. G. A. Grierson would regard the sect founded by Kabír as one of the *bhakti*-sects. A common feature of many of those sects is the *maháparsáda* or sacramental meal. On the evening of the appointed day the worshippers assemble and the *mahant,* or leading celebrant, reads a brief address, and then allows a short interval for prayer and meditation. All who feel themselves unworthy to proceed further then withdraw to a distance. Those that remain approach the senior celebrant in turn, and placing their hands together receive into the palm of the right hand, which is uppermost, a small consecrated wafer and two other articles of consecrated food. They then approach another celebrant, who pours into the palm of the right hand a few drops of water, which they drink. This food and water are regarded as Kabír's special gift, and it is said that all who receive it worthily will have eternal life. Part of the sacramental food is 'reserved' and is carefully kept from pollution for administration to the sick. After the sacrament there is a substantial meal which all attend, and which in its character closely resembles the early Christian love-feasts. It is possible that this rite was borrowed from the Jesuit missionaries at Agra, but the head-quarters of the Kabírpanthi sect are at Benares, and the rite is now likely to be a survival of historian influences.*

The Kabírpanthi *sádhs* or *faqirs* in this Province wear generally clothes dyed with brickdust colour (*geru*); and both they and the laity abstain from flesh and spirits. The present followers of Kabír hold an intermediate position between idolatry and monotheism, but the mission of Kabír himself is generally looked on as one directed against idolatry; and at Kauwardeh, near Ballabgarh, in the Delhi district, there is a community of Kabírpanthís descended from an Aggarwál Bania of Puri, who used to travel with 52 cart-loads of Shivs and Sáligráms behind him, but who was convinced by Kabír of the error of his ways. The sect of Kabírpanthís is probably better known in the Gangetic Valley than in the Punjab, and the Kabírpanthís are largely found in the south-east of the Province; but considerable numbers are also returned from Siálkoṭ and Gurdáspur, and it is said that the Meghs and Batwáls, so common in those districts, are very generally Kabírpanthís. The sect is also very largely recruited from the Chamár (leather worker) and Juláhá (weaver) castes, and it is open to men of all classes to become Kabírpanthis. The Kabírpanthi will almost always describe himself as a Hindu, but a certain number have returned the name as that of an independent religion, and some as a sect of the Sikhs.

An offshoot of the sect is the Dharm Dásíás, founded by a wealthy merchant of Benares who turned *sádhu.* The Dharm Dásíás, however, appear to differ in no way from the Kabírpanthís in doctrine, and they are very rarely found in the Punjab.†

Kabírwáh, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* J. R. A. S., 1907, p. 326. Dr. Grierson also calls attention to Kabír's doctrine of the *shabda* or word which is a remarkable copy of the opening verses of St. John's Gospel.

† For an account of the Dharm Dás section see Mr. Westcott's book, p. 105.

Kachála, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in a solid group in Shujábád tahsil, Multán district.

Kachela, a Jáṭ tribe, found in the Leghári Baloch country of Dera Gházi Khán. It has adopted Baloch manners, customs and dress.

Kachera.—An occupational caste of glass-workers. The term is sometimes applied to the Chúrigar or makers of bracelets. The Kacheras in the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha are both Hindu and Muhammadan and claim Rájput origin, *e. g.* their *gots* include Chauháns from Jaipur. They were outcasted for adopting their present occupation and now intermarry, avoiding four *gots*, only among themselves. Their customs are those of the Jáṭs, with whom they can smoke, etc. They still worship the well* after the birth of a son and it is again worshipped at weddings, when the bride's father gives *sharbat* to the *barát*, an old Rájput usage. Hindu Kachera women never wear blue, because one of their caste once became *sati*. She is worshipped at all festivities, a cocoanut being offered to her. The Kacheras' *gurú* is the *mahant* of a Bairági *dehra* at Bagwáṛa in Jaipur, but they have Brahman *parohits*.

Káchhi, like the Lodhá, a well-known cultivating caste of Hindustán, found in the Punjab chiefly in the Jumna districts, though a few of them have moved on westwards to the great cantonments. Almost without exception Hindus, they are said to be the market gardeners of Hindústán, and of low standing. In the Punjab they are said to be generally engaged in the cultivation of water-nuts and similar produce; indeed in many parts they are called Singhári (from *singháṛa*, a water-nut) as commonly as Káchhi.

Kachure, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kadhar, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kádián, a tribe of Jáṭs, found in Karnál. It has its head-quarters at Siwa and its original home was near Beri in Rohtak.

Kádiáni, or, more correctly, Ahmadiya. A follower of the late Mirza Ghulám Ahmad of Kádián in Gurdáspur. In 1900 in view of the approaching census of 1901, the sect adopted the designation of Ahmadiya. The founder of the sect was a Barlás Mughal, whose family came from Persia in the time of Bábar and obtained a *jágír* in the present District of Gurdáspur. Beginning as a Maulavi with a special mission to the sweepers, the Mirza eventually advanced claims to be the Mahdi or Messiáh, expected by Muhammadans and Christians alike. The sect however emphatically repudiates the doctrine that the Mahdi of Islám will be a warrior and relies on the *Sahíh Bukhári*, the most authentic of the traditions, which says 'he shall wage no wars, but discontinue war for the sake of religion.' In his voluminous writings the Mirza combated the doctrine of *jihád* and the sect is thus opposed to the extreme section of the Ahl-i-Hadís.

Kafash-doz, an occupational group of the Muhammadan Mochis who sew shrouds.

Káfir.—The generic term bestowed by the Afgháns on the tribes which occupy the large tract of country, called Káfiristán, which lies between

* All the relatives assemble under a canopy and drink *sharbat* on this occasion.

Chitrál, Afghánistán and the Hindú Kúsh. *Káfir* means simply 'infidel, and the Káfirs converted to Islám are styled Shaikhs, but regarded by the Káfirs as still their kin.

Sir George Robertson* divides the Káfirs into Siáhposh or black-robed, Waiguli and Presunguli or Viron and mentions a fourth tribe called Ashkun†, as to whom little or nothing is known, though they are probably allied to the Waigulis. The Presun, Waiguli and Ashkun are classed as Safedposh or white-robed. The Siáhposh comprise 5 clans—Katir, Mamún or Mádugál, Kashtán or Kashtoz, Kám or Kamtor and Istrat or Gaurdesh. Of these the Katirs are probably more numerous than all the remaining tribes of Káfiristán put together. They are sub-divided: into the Kamor or Lutdehchis, in the Báshgul valley; the Kti or Katwár of the Kti valley; the Kulam; and the Rámgulis or Gabariks, the latter, the most numerous of the Kátir clans, being settled in the west of Káfiristán on the Afghán frontier. The Kám inhabit the Báshgul‡ and its lateral valleys. The Gaurdesh folk are said to be very different from the other Siáhposh and to be, in great part, a remnant of an ancient people called Arom.

Of the Safedposh the Presun, who are called Viron by their Muhammadan neighbours, inhabit the Presungul and are probably a very ancient people, different from the Siáhposh on the one hand and the Wai and Ashkun on the other. They are poor fighters and have patient, stolid faces. Though heavy in their movements compared with other Káfirs, they are very industrious and capable of great feats of endurance. The Wai speak a language quite different to that spoken in Presungul or by the Siáhposh and are a brave high-spirited race, quarrelsome but hospitable. The Ashkun, half of whom are Muhammadans, speak a language like the Wai dialect and are friendly to that tribe though at war with all the others.

Another ancient race, the Jazhi, is said to exist at Pittigul§ and Gaurdesh, but from intermarriages with the Kám and others they cannot now be distinguished from the Bashgul.

The clans are further sub-divided. Thus the Kám have 10 septs and the Bashgul Katirs 7, including:—

Kám septs.	Utahdári, which produces the tribal priests.— Garakdári, Bilezhedári } the two largest septs. Demidári, the wealthiest sept.	Báshgul Katir septs	Jannahdári. Barmodári. Shakldári. Mutadawadári. Charedári, etc.

* The Káfirs of the Hindú-Kúsh: Ch. VII.

† ? Yeshkun.

‡ The Bushgali, a tribe of the Siáhposh Káfirs, are found in several small valleys on the western side of the Swát and Panjkora valleys below Birkot and have been long subject to Chitrál.

Biddulph's division was: (*i*) the Rumgalis or Lumgalis in the upper valleys which run down south-west from the Hindu-kúsh till they come into contact with the Afghans of Kábul; (*ii*) the Waigalis, who hold the valleys which extend south-east from the Hindu-kúsh and join the Kuner valley: and (*iii*) the Bushgalis who hold the valleys which run from further north in a south-south-easterly direction and join the Kuner valley at Birkot. The Waigalis alone have 18 clans. Besides these Biddulph mentions the Kalashi, a broken clan, subject to Chitrál but claimed by the Bushgalis as their slaves, and the Safedposh. Kittigalis or Wirigalis. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 126.

§ Pittigul is a village which is remarkable for having a priest of its own, which no other Kám village has. Moreover the Kámdesh *utab* or priest is not only a village, but also a tribal, functionary.

All the septs are closely connected, however, by marriage ties, as all Káfirs are to a certain extent polygamous and marriage is prohibited within one's own clan or those of one's mother and father's mother. Nevertheless the sept always acts together as such without regard to the marriage ties.

Each sept has one or more chief men to represent it, but some of them are absolutely without weight in the tribal councils. In the more important septs these representatives are invariably *jast* or tribal headmen and they are generally so in the minor clans.

Socially, a Káfir clan, such as the Kám, is divided into the following grades :—

1. The *mírs* and priest.
2. The *jast* (elders or seniors), and *ur jast.*
3. Members of important septs.
4. Members of very small septs or groups of families.
5. Poor freemen, *patsas* or shepherds.
6. Slaves.

The family is the unit of the Káfir body politic and the importance of a sept depends largely on the number of its families, just as the importance of a family depends on the number of its adult males.

The head of the house is an autocrat in his own family, obeyed during life and honoured after death by his descendants. A son rarely opposes his father, though if hopeless of redress he may leave the clan and turn Muhammadan for a while. But occasionally a son will be supported by public opinion in a quarrel with his father, and in a case where a man ran away with his own daughter-in-law, his son obtained eight-fold compensation. The father's authority naturally weakens as he grows old and he is succeeded as head of the family by his eldest son (if not the son of a slave mother), but his authority over his brothers is not very great and only lasts until partition of the family property becomes inevitable.

In spite of their social gradations the Káfir clans are in theory democracies, but actually they are oligarchies and in some cases autocracies.

No individual can achieve importance until he become a *jast.* Amongst the Kám to become a *jast* takes three years* and involves giving 21 feasts, 10 to the *jast* and 11 to the clan. Complicated ceremonies also have to be gone through. Little boys may become *jast,* though they will still be treated as boys.

A *jast* wears a woman's coronetted earrings in the upper part of the ear and any gorgeous robes he can procure for religious ceremonies and dances.

The feasts are most expensive and among the Kám many men utterly ruin themselves in becoming *jast* and praise themselves for having done so. To go through the ceremonies a man must have a female coadjutor,† but she is usually not his wife because the cost of giving a

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* Or, among the Katirs, 2 years

† The woman's only privilege is to wear *márkhor* or goat's hair round the top of her dancing boots and to take part in the dancing, when on the completion of all the formalities, there is a ceremonial dance at a particular festival.

double set of feasts would be too great. Two men therefore usually arrange for one to go through the rites with the other's wife as his companion and *vice versâ*.

The initiatory rites are sacrifices of bulls and he-goats to Gísh, and the animals are jealously scrutinised to see that they are up to standard. The meat is divided among the people who carry it home. These special sacrifices at the shrine recur at intervals, but the great slaughterings take place at the feast-giver's own house, though on these occasions too one or two goats are offered at the shrine of Gísh. Here, too, the flesh is not eaten but taken home, only *chína* cakes, cheese, salt and wine being consumed on the spot. At the feast-giver's house, however, flesh is eaten on certain days, but on others it is skewered together in great heaps or portions for the guests to carry home, bread *ghi*, etc., being partaken of at his house.

The feasts given to the *jasts* alone are called *mezhom* and as the guests are few in number, some he-goats and a bull suffice for a day's entertainment. The feast-givers are known as *kaneash* and those who have already completed their virtuous work are called *sunajina*.

Apart from the feasts, the *kaneash* undergo a complex ritual, which becomes more and more complex as the time approaches when they may don the earrings. At the *sanaukan* observance the *kaneash* is 'the simulacrum of a man in that he closely resembles one of the decked out effigies,' and Sir George Robertson thus describes the initiation of a priest which he was invited to witness :—

" He had on a thick stumpy turban, having in front a fringe of cowrie shells strung together with red glass beads, and furnished with a tail. A plume-like bunch of juniper-cedar was stuck in the front of this striking head-dress, between the folds of the cloth. His ears were covered with a most complicated collection of earrings of all shapes and sizes. About his neck was a massive white metal necklace, brass bracelets rudely stamped with short lines and marks adorned his wrists, while he had on his feet the ordinary dancing-boots with long tops, ending in a *markhor* hair fringe. He wore a long blue cotton tunic, reaching nearly to his knees, and the curiously worked black and white nether garments made for these occasions at Shál in the Konár Valley. Perhaps the most striking part of the costume was a Badakhshani silk robe of the usual gaudy pattern, which was thrown negligently across the shoulders. In his hand was the dancing axe of his fathers. He was bursting with pride and delight at his own appearance. After a short interval, Utah (the *kaneash*) being unable to officiate as priest, a *jast* stepped forward and acted as deputy. He bound a white cloth round his brows, took off his boots, washed his hands, and began the night's proceedings by the sacrifice of two immense billygoats, the largest I have ever seen, the size of young heifers. The sacrifice was conducted in the usual way with the customary details. The special feature of the ceremony was the dabbling of some of the blood on the forehead of Utah and on the forehead and legs of his son Marak, who, seated opposite his father, was still weak and ill, for he was only just recovering from small-pox. For the boy, this proceeding meant that he might thenceforth wear trousers. Besides the ordinary flour, bread, and *ghi*, placed by the fire ready for the sacrifice there were some enormous *chapátis*, about 15 inches in diameter, like those given to elephants in India. At this point these were lifted up, a sprig of blazing juniper-cedar thrust in the centre, and they were then solemnly circled round Utah's head three times and made to touch his shoulders, while the deputy priest who handled them cried '*such*' '*such!*' The same thing was then done to the boy. After an interval for refreshment there was dancing; but just before they commenced, a visitor from another village, Bragamatal, burst forth into panegyrics upon Utah and on his dead father, and spoke of the immense amount of property which had been expended on the feast. This fulsome flattery was rewarded according to custom by the present of a *lungi* or turban cloth, which was taken from the waist of the little boy, Utah's son, who was still suffering from the effects of small-pox. The fire was then taken away and four or five visitors were provided with turbans and dancing boots, as well as scarves to wear over their shoulders or round the waist."

This double rite of initiation was followed by dancing, the first three dances being in honour of Gísh, and the next to Imrá, Dizane and other deities. The dancers included visitors as well as the initiate's sister and her daughter, the two latter being dressed in full dancing attire. The *sanaukan* was completed next day by ceremoniously changing the initiate's turban for a broad-brimmed crownless hat, into the front of which a sprig of juniper was thrust. This changing of the head-dress is called *shara' ute*. The *kaneash* initiated early in February were considered pure in their uniform which they wore till the spring, and the greatest care was exercised to prevent their semi-sacred garments being defiled by dogs.

A curious duty of a *kaneash* is to grow a miniature field of wheat in the living-room of his house. With this no woman must have anything to do, and it is remarkable as the only agricultural work done by the men.

Just in front and to the east of the tiny field is a flat stone and an iron tripod, on which lie pine sticks ready for lighting. The whole forms a miniature altar and before it is placed a stool with a flat piece of wood as a footstool. Every evening the *kaneash* goes through the following rite :—

He seats himself on the stool and takes off his boots, while some friends or relations light the fire, bring forward a wicker basket piled up with cedar branches, a wooden vessel containing water, a small wicker measure with a handful of wheat grain in it and a large carved wooden receptacle full of *ghí*. The *kaneash*, having washed his hands, assumes the crownless hat he must never be without except in his own house, and begins by burning and waving about a cedar branch while he cries, *Such! such!*—'be pure!'

He thrusts this into the water vessel before him, and then burns a second branch completely, after waving it as before, and sprinkles it with the now holy water.

He then proceeds to sprinkle the cedar branches, the fire, the *ghi* vessel. Next he piles cedar branches on the fire, with a few wheat grains and a handful of *ghi*, he begins his incantation while the flames are dancing merrily and the smoke rolling upwards in clouds. He pays tribute to all the gods in regular order, every now and then pausing to sprinkle and cast his offering on the fire, as at the beginning.

The temperature of the room gradually grows terrific, for the ordinary house fire is blazing on the hearth all the time. The scene altogether is a strange one ; the walls of the room are frequently adorned with grotesque figures painted in black on the clay-coloured ground. The sprig of cedar worn in front of the hat shows that the wearer is an ordinary notable who has become a *jast*. If he has gone through the ceremony before, he wears two sprigs of cedar. This is very rare indeed.

The *ur* or *urir jast* is the chief of the *ur* or *urir*, 13 magistrates who are all elected annually, the other 12 being merely his assistants. As a body it is their duty to regulate the amount of water which each cultivator is to get from the irrigation channels and to keep them in

good order. Another duty is to see that no one picks or eats walnuts or grapes before the appointed time—a rule relaxed in favour of guests. Disobedience is punished by fines which are the *urirs'* perquisite and the only remuneration they receive. The *urir jast* also acts as master of the ceremonies at all festivals and dances and has to light the fire at the *gromma* every Wednesday (Agar) night. He is also the official entertainer of guests. The *urir* are elected in the spring at the Durban festival, after a bull has been sacrificed to Gísh and some simple rites. The *ur jast* receives all the flour not used in sacrifices, and basketfuls of flour are also presented to him by the women on the last day of each month. In return he has to feast all comers for several days on election, but on the whole his office is a lucrative one. It is interesting to note that slaves can be elected members of the *urir* provided they are not blacksmiths and are *jast bari,* i. e.,* skilled mechanics. Fines are imposed for making fun of the *urir* within 7 days after their appointment.

A form of adoption which is clearly akin to the milk-tie of Chitrál is practised in Káfiristán. A goat is killed, its kidneys removed and cooked at a fire. A Káfir then places the adoptive father and son side by side and feeds them alternately with fragments of the kidneys on the point of a knife. At short intervals the pair turn their heads towards each other and go through the motion of kissing with their lips a foot or so apart. Then the adoptive father's left breast is uncovered, some butter placed upon it, and the adopted son applies his lips to it. Adoption of a brother is effected in precisely the same way, but the latter part of the rite is omitted.

Murder, justifiable homicide and killing by inadvertence are all classed as one crime for which the penalty is an extremely heavy blood-ransom to the slain man's family, or exile combined with spoliation of the slayer's property. The slayer at once takes to flight and becomes a *chile* (? *chail*) or outcast, for his sept will not aid him. His house is destroyed and confiscated by the victim's clan, and his moveable property seized and distributed, even if it is held jointly with his relatives. Their separate property is, however, exempt, nor is his family deprived of his land. The *chile* is not compelled to leave his tribe, but he must quit his village and always avoid meeting any of the family or sept of the slain, though it suffices if he merely pretend to hide so that his face may not be looked upon. His sons, if not grown up, and his daughters' husbands and their descendants, also become *chiles*, and even Muhammadan traders who have married daughters of *chiles* must behave like any other *chile* when they visit the slayer's village. Several 'cities of refuge' are inhabited almost entirely by *chiles*, descendants of the slayers of fellow-tribesmen. The chief of these is Mergrom. The shedding of blood may be atoned for by a heavy payment in cash or in kind, but the amount is uncertain as it is rarely paid. It is said to be 400 Kábuli rupees, and if paid reflects so much honour on the slayer's family that its males are for ever afterwards permitted to carry about a particular kind of axe.

* *Bari* is a slave and *jast bari* would appear to mean 'a *jast* among the *bari*.'

Slaves (*bari*) form a curious and interesting class in Káfiristán. All the craftsmen, such as the carpenters, dagger-makers, iron-workers and weavers, are slaves, as are also those musicians who beat drums, but the skilled mechanics, wood-carvers, boot-makers and silver-workers are called *jast-bari*. Lowest of all are the blacksmiths. The slave artisans live in a particular part of the village, work for their masters with materials supplied them and get no wages; but if they work for others they are entitled to keep the pay. These slaves are entirely self-supporting. House slaves rank much higher than artisan slaves, live with their masters, and are not treated harshly. Slaves are so impure that they may not approach a god's shrine too closely nor enter a priest's house beyond the doorway. They are always liable to be given up to another tribe to be killed in atonement for a murder, as well as sold, and their children are their master's property. They are however permitted, after giving certain feasts to the free community, to wear the earrings of the *jast*, and this privilege exalts the wearer—at least among the slave community. Moreover a master and slave occasionally become adoptive brothers. Slaves adopt all the customs of the rest of the community, and give feasts at funerals and on other great occasions. Neither sex has any distinctive badge, but they are recognizable by their physiognomy, being low-browed, very dark-complexioned, but of powerful build. The bondsmen are just as patriotic as the rest of the community. There is but little traffic in slaves, as they are not sold unless their owner becomes very poor indeed; but female children of slave parents are sold to the neighbouring Muhammadan tribes, who are thereby enabled to make converts to Islám. Children born to a Káfir by a slave mother would appear to be free, but of very low status. The slaves also are accorded a semi-divine origin, as the following narrative shows:—

"It appears that one day up in the sky a father blacksmith said to his son, 'Bring me some fire.' Just as the lad was obeying the order, there was a lightening flash, and the boy fell through the slit thus caused in the floor of the sky on to the earth. From this youth one portion of the slave population is derived, the remainder being the offspring of Waiguli prisoners, taken in war. Of the Presun the following account was given me. In the beginning of the world God created a race of devils. He soon afterwards regretted having done so, but felt Himself unable to destroy all those He had so recently endowed with breath. But Moní (sometimes called Muhammad by Káfirs, under the impression that prophet and Muhammad are synonymous terms) grieving at the terrible state of affairs, at length obtained a sword from Imrá, and was given permission to destroy all the devils. He killed very many, but seven, the ancestors of the Presuns of to-day, managed to escape him."

Káfir theology divides the world into Urdesh, 'the world above,' the abode of the gods: Míchdesh, the earth; and Yurdesh, the nether world. Both the heaven and hell for mortals are in Yurdesh, which is reached by a great pit, at whose mouth sits Maramalik, the custodian created by Imrá for this duty. He permits no one to return. At death a man's breath or soul (*shon*) enters a shadow form, such as we see in dreams, and it then becomes a *partir*. The good appear to

wander about in Bisht, a paradise in Yurdesh, while the wicked burn in Zozuk,* 'hell.' Káfirs have no great fear of death, but suicide is to them inexplicable.

Presungal is pre-eminently a religious tract. Devils' villages abound, the old water-courses are believed to have been built by the deities; miraculous hand-prints are shown on rocks, and much reverence is paid to Imrá.

Káfir marriage† is a very simple business, being indeed merely a bargain whereby the wife is purchased of her parents. When the price has been settled a goat is killed, there is some feasting and the marriage is completed. But the wife is not allowed to leave her parents' house until the full price has been paid and girl-children born to her there would certainly belong to her family. It is not certain, however, if sons would not belong to the father. It is payment of the full price which gives the husband a right to take his wife home to work in the fields.

Girls are generally married before puberty and indeed infants are sometimes affianced to grown men. A girl of 12 who is unmarried must be of hopelessly bad character. On the other hand, young and even middle-aged women are sometimes married to boys, for an orphan lad who owns land must marry in order to get it cultivated.

All well-to-do Káfirs have more than one wife but rarely more than 4 or 5, and it is a reproach to have only one wife. The price paid depends on the suitor's status, a poor man paying Rs. 8 and one fairly well-to-do, Rs. 12. A Káfir takes over his dead brother's wives, to keep or sell as he deems fit. Divorce is easy as a man can always sell a wife or send her away. When a woman elopes with another man, the husband tries hard to get an enhanced price for her.

Women are regarded as chattels and can therefore hold no property, even in themselves. Accordingly on a man's death his property is divided equally among his sons, but the eldest son gets a single article of vague such as a cow or a dancing robe over and above his share, while the youngest inherits his father's house. The inheritance is strictly confined to legitimate sons by free mothers, and slaves' sons get nothing. If there be only a very young son the brother would practically do as he chose with the property, provided he feasted the clan lavishly out of it. A son may also dispose of or even marry his stepmothers, and his mother too is often remarried, her price probably going to her son. Failing near male agnates, the estate goes to the more remote and, failing them, to the sept. It never goes to daughters or to relatives by marriage as it might then go out of the clan altogether.

Káfir religion is described by Sir George Robertson as a somewhat low form of idolatry, mixed with ancestor worship and some traces of fire worship. The difficulties of getting information were however great

* Clearly the Pers. *dozakh*, hell.

† For birth customs see p. 433 *infra*.

and in Presungul the people objected to his being shown their gods at all. The principal gods and goddesses are :—

1. Imrá.	9. Duzhi.
2. Moni.	10. Nong.
3. Gish.	11. Paráde.
4. Bagisht.	12. Shomde.
5. Arom.	13. Saranji or Sauranju } goddesses.
6. Tauru.	14. Dizane } goddesses.
7. Satarám or Sudaram.	15. Nirmali } goddesses.
8. Inthr.	16. Krúmai or Shumai } goddesses.

Imrá is the creator. By his breath he created his 'prophets,' Moni, Gísh, etc., but Dizane sprang from his right breast. Placing her on his palm Imrá threw her violently upwards into a lake where she was hid. Bagisht alone was born in mortalwise to Dizane.* Besides his prophets Imrá also created seven daughters who watch over agriculture and as sowing-time approaches goats are sacrificed to them for ample crops. Imrá also created fairies and demons, but the latter gave so much trouble that Moni had to be permitted to exterminate them. One he destroyed by secretly withdrawing seven screws or plugs from his body so that he fell to pieces.

For the legends and myths which gather round Imrá the reader must be referred to Sir G. Robertson's book, but one deserves special notice. It relates how Inthr had made Badáwan his resting-place and there created vineyards and pleasances, but Imrá suddenly claimed it as his. In the fight that ensued Imrá drove him from place to place until he had to abandon the Bashgul valley and take refuge in Tsárogul.

Frequent sacrifices† are made to Imrá, sometimes for recovery from sickness, seasonable weather or other material benefits; sometimes from motives of simple piety. He is not more honoured than the other gods at the religious dances, and though he receives three-rounds there is none of the enthusiasm which is displayed for Gísh. Possibly Imrá was once chiefly worshipped and he probably still retains his ascendancy in Presungul, where his principal temple is found though he has temples in every village, and they are also met with far from any dwelling. In Presungul his great temple, at Kstitigrom, the most sacred village in all Káfiristán, is an imposing structure, elaborately ornamented. On its east side is a square portico, as spacious as the temple itself, supported on carved wooden pillars which form a kind of rough colonnade. The carving is of three types, a favourite one being two rows of rams' heads, one on each side of the pillar, extending from top to base: another consists in an animal's head carved at the base from which the horns extend, crossing and recrossing each

* The birth of Bagisht happened in this wise: In a distant land in the middle of a lake grew a large tree—so great that it would have taken 9 years to climb it and 18 to journey from one side of its spread to the other. Satarám became enamoured of it, but, when he approached, it burst asunder disclosing Dizane and he fled in consternation. Dizane emerged and began to milk goats, but was ravished by a demon who had four eyes, two in front and two behind. To her was born Bagisht in a swift-flowing Presungul river whose waters parted to allow the child to step ashore unaided. On his way down the stream he met a stranger and learnt that he was named Bagisht. Another story is that Dizane was the trunk of the sacred tree and Nirmali its roots: the tree had seven branches, each a family of seven brothers.

† Cows are commonly sacrificed to Imrá throughout Káfiristán.

other at intervals and ending in points, between which a grotesque face appears; and the third is the common basket pattern. Under this portico many sacrifices are made. The effigies of Imrá are in wood carved in relief. The figures are about 7 feet high and represent the god seated and working a goat-skin churn. The face of each is prodigious. The square-cut chin reaches within a hand's breadth of the goat-skin on the god's knees. The brow and nose are, in the majority of the figures, scored with lines, while those on the two practicable doors have rough iron bells suspended between the eyes. The goat-skin churns are represented as carved all over. Above the faces of the images a large circular head-dress appears, with a horizontal line of carving across the middle, and vertical cuttings running upwards and downwards from it. Between several of the figures there are vertical rows of what appear to be intended for cows' or rams' heads.

From one of these rows the heads can be drawn out of their sockets, and the glories of the interior be partially disclosed. Above the big images is a board ornamented with small figures and horns. On the outer side of the temple, to the north, are five colossal wooden figures which help to support the roof. On the south side the ornamentation is almost entirely confined to the upper part of the wall, which consists of a series of carved panels. On the west there is little or no attempt at ornament of any kind.

Moni ranks next to Imrá in the Káfir pantheon and is called 'the' prophet. He always appears as the god selected to carry out Imrá's behests. He has a temple in almost every village, and in Presungul, where he retains his rightful position, two small patches of glacier several miles apart are called his marks and said to be the places where he stands to play *aluts* (quoits). Once Moni found himself in Zozuk (hell) and had to be rescued by an eagle.

Gísh or Great Gísh is by far the most popular god of the Bashgul Káfirs and every village has one or more shrines dedicated to him.* He is the war-god and as a man was a typical Káfir. Some say his earthly name was Yazíd, and he is reported to have killed Ali, Ḥasan and Ḥusain and nearly every famous Musalman known to the Káfirs. Countless bulls and he-goats are sacrificed to him, and for 15 days in spring slaves beat drums in his honour.

To the east of Kámdesh village is a very sacred spot with a temple to Gísh, fitted with a door which is removed for a limited period each year. Poles project upwards from three of its corners and two of them are crowned with caps, one of iron, another of mail, the spoil of a foray; while the third is hung round with a bunch of rude, tongueless bells, which are carried about at some festival.† Immediately facing this shrine is a similar, but smaller, one dedicated to Moni, and this is occupied by three stones in a row, the middle and largest of which is worshipped as Moni.

* One is tempted to identify Gísh with Kṛishna who appears as Gisane in Arminian. But if Gish be Kṛishna at all, he is clearly the elder Kṛishna.

† This is also done in spring during the period while slaves beat drums in his honour and for four additional days. They are then carried about by an inspired priest on three rings, 6" in diameter, three bells on each ring.

During this period of spring alluded to above the door of the temple of Gísh remains open, the door being replaced early in July. For 10 days in September drums are beaten morning, noon and night in his honour. Every raid, in which an enemy has been successfully killed, terminates in the heroes of it dancing at the *gromma* in honour of Gísh. Only male animals, such as bulls and he-goats are offered to Gísh. Certain smooth holes in rocks are often pointed out as his cannon. The god however appears to be less admired in Presungul than he is among the Siáh-posh.

Bagisht is a popular deity who presides over rivers, lakes and fountains, and helps good men in the struggle for wealth and power. He appears to have no temples, but three celebrated places are the scenes of his worship and others are sacred to him. Sheep, and occasionally goats, are sacrificed to him.

Arom* is the tutelary god of the Kám Káfirs and his little shrine resembles one of the ordinary effigy pedestals. At the close of a war the animals which ratify the treaty are sacrificed at his shrine. He had seven brothers. When the time comes for the *kaneash* to cast aside their distinctive garments, a part of the ceremonial consists in sacrificing a he-goat to Aróm. Satarám or Sudaram is the weather god and regulates the rainfall.

Dizane is a popular goddess and the Giché or new year festival is held entirely in her honour. She also has special observances during the Dizanedu holidays. She takes care of the wheat crop and to increase its culture simple offerings, without sacrifice, are made to her. In Presungul a great irrigation channel is attributed to her and a good bridge is called by her name. While the men are away on a raid the women dance and sing praises to the gods, especially to Dizane. Some say she was Satarám's daughter, and she may have been originally the goddess of fruitfulness. She usually shares a shrine with other deities, but at Kámdesh she has a pretty shrine, built by men brought from Presungul for the purpose. It has the wedge-shaped roof common in that tract and is covered with carving. The poles, which are fixed along both sides of the sloping roof, support wooden images of birds, said to be pigeons.

Nirmali is the Káfir Lucina, taking care of women and children and protecting lying-in women; the *pshars* or women's retreats are under her special protection.

Krumaī lives on the sacred mountain of Tirich Mír and is honoured by a comical dance which always winds up the performances at the regular ceremonies when each important deity is danced to in turn.

The religious functionaries are the *utah* or high priest, the *debilála* who chants the praises of the gods, and the *pshur*, who is temporarily inspired during religious ceremonies and on other occasions. All the *utahs* are greatly respected and in Presungul there is one to each village, some of the elders among them being men of great sanctity. All are wealthy and have certain privileges. An *utah* may not visit cemeteries, use certain paths which go near receptacles for the dead or enter a room where a death has occurred until the effigy has been erected. Slaves must not approach his hearth.

* For the ancient race of this name see p. 421.

The *debilála* is also debarred from using certain impure pathways. The *pshurs* appear to be more or less conscious impostors.

The *kaneash* also are considered pure and can, at some sacrifices, perform the *utah's* duties.

Festivals.—(*i*) The Giché or new year's day is called the Káfir Id by their Muhammadan neighbours and appears to fall about January 16th. All men who have had sons born to them during the past year sacrifice a goat to Dizane, and the night is spent in feasting. Early in the morning of the 17th torches of pinewood are deposited in a heap in front of the shrine of that goddess and the blaze is increased by throwing *ghi* on the fire.

(*ii*) The Veron follows about the 3rd February and the *urir* entertain the whole village. It is quite a minor festival.

(*iii*) The Taska falls about February 18th. Small boys are encouraged to abuse grown men and snowball fights take place. On the 20th there is a great dance in the afternoon at the *gromma*, attended by the *kaneash* in their robes and by all the *jast* in gorgeous attire. Gísh is principally honoured, and all the religious functionaries are also present. In the evening a subdued revel called the *prachi nát* (dance) is held at the *gromma*, but only boys of the lower orders appear to indulge in it.

The day following is devoted to throwing an iron ball, called *shíl*. This is thrown by the young men and the victor has the privilege of feasting the village. The contest appears to be in honour of Imrá, who made the ball when he created the world.

(*iv*) The Marnma, falling about March 8th, is essentially a women's festival. On the preceding evening they cook rice and bread, small quantities of which are placed early on the 8th, with *ghi* and wine in front of the family effigies. The offerings are then washed away by gushes of water from a goat-skin. The women next proceed to the *pshar*, where they feast and amuse themselves with loud laughter. On their way home they exchange indelicate chaff with the men, who offer them necklets or other small articles to be danced for. Near each house a small portion of prepared food is placed on the ground in the name of every deceased relative who can be remembered and this too is swept away by water. The food left over is then feasted on.

(*v*) The Duban is the great festivity of the year, lasting 11 days from about March 19th—29th. It has an elaborate ceremonial, but its chief features are dancing, processions and the antics of the buffoon pr ie

(*vi*) The Azhindra, on April 6th, is solemnised by a procession to the upright stones which form the shrines of Bagisht and Duzhi. The *kaneash* are allowed to leave the village for this occasion. Games of *aluts* and foot-races are its principal features, but Bagisht is also honoured by a bull sacrifice and recitations.

(*vii*) The Diran, about May 9th, is a festival of purification. A regular procession goes to Imrá's temple, the priest sprinkling water

on its members with a sprig of juniper. A cow is sacrificed to Imrá, and baskets full of flour, with a bread-cake shaped like a rosette on top, are placed before the shrine. Then the assembly moves a little to the north, and a goat is sacrificed to Bagisht at his distant shrine, the idea being that the sacrifice is offered through the air. A display of archery follows.

(*viii*) The Gerdulau falls about June 5th and appears to be of secondary importance.

(*ix*) The Patilo, about the 30th of June, is celebrated by picturesque dancing at night in honour of Imrá.

(*x*) The Dizanedu, falling on July 9th, merits a full quotation of Sir George Robertson's account: "For two days previously," he writes, "men and boys had been hurrying in from all sides bringing cheeses and *ghi*. Every *pshal* or dairy farm contributed. At two o'clock the male inhabitants of Kámdesh went to Dizane's shrine to sacrifice a couple of goats, and make offerings of portions of cheese and bread-cakes.

Then the whole company returned to Gísh's temple. An immense pile of fine cheeses was heaped upon the wooden platform close by, and from each one a shallow circular fragment was cut out. The convex pieces were placed on the cedar branches with bread-cakes and *ghi* during a regular worship of Gísh.

This ceremony over, the people collected into groups, scales were produced, and all the cheeses were cut into portions. Each share was weighed separately, the wake-weights being neatly skewered on to the big pieces with little bits of stick. While this was being done the goat's flesh, divided into "messes", was being cooked in two large vessels, the green twigs used to bind together the different shares simmering away merrily with the meat. Women brought bread from the different houses, and ultimately stood in a row in the background, while their male relations thoroughly enjoyed themselves. There was a regular religious ceremony performed by *Utah*, and just before this began, Shahru, the mad priest, at the invitation of the oldest of the Mirs, replaced the shutter which closed the tiny door or window of Gísh's temple. This shutter had remained on the top of the shrine ever since Shahru had removed it early in the year."

(*xi*) The Munzilo, held about August 17th, appears to be mainly devoted to the final ceremonies for the *kaneash*. It lasts several days. Gísh and Dizane are chiefly honoured.

(*xii*) The Nilu festival begins late on the evening of September 17th, and on the 18th boys of 6 to 12, the only performers, collect about 4 p.m. and are dressed in gala costumes. After they have danced, Imrá is worshipped, without a sacrifice, and a fire lit. On the 19th the men dance and songs are chanted in honour of Gísh, Dizane and other deities. The proceedings close with a dance to Krumai.

This is the last festival of the year.

Birth customs.

When delivery is imminent the woman goes to the Nirmali house* and remains there for 20 days if the child is a girl, or 21 if it is a boy. After a ceremonial ablution she then returns home, but is allowed a further rest of 12 days there. The instant a child is born it is given to the mother to suckle and an old woman names all its ancestors or ancestresses, as the case may be, and stops the moment it begins to feed. The name on her lips at that moment is the child's for life. Suckling continues for two or three years.

Boys may not wear trousers till they have been taken to Dizane's shrine at the Giché festival, dressed in that garb of manhood, and sacrifice has been made there. This is followed by a feast. The sons of poor men are often associated in this observance with boys who are better off. Boys who take part in the *sanaukan* of a *kaneash* are exempt from further observances.†

Games.—Games play an important part in Káfir life. With one exception boys and girls play separately, the former playing rough games. One is played by four boys on each side, each player holding a big toe with the opposite hand and hopping on the other foot. The object is to enable the 'back' to get through to the other side's goal. The game is played with wonderful pluck and good temper. Shooting arrows, rough and tumble fighting and pitching walnuts are the less violent amusements. Girls play at ball, knuckle-bones (in which walnuts are however used) and swinging. The only game played by girls and boys together is an imitation of the national dance. Men play a kind of touch, in which the object is to tread on a man's instep to make him prisoner, archery, *aluts*, which is a kind of quoit, played with flat stones and various athletic exercises. The stone-bow is used by both men and boys and exactly resembles the Indian *gulel.* A fairly popular game is a kind of curling with walnuts on the house-tops.

No game, however, plays so important a part as dancing. Káfirs dance when they are happy and when in mourning. They dance to 'amuse' the injured, the sick and the dying, but possibly this is really done as a form of supplication to the gods, who are propitiated by songs, dancings and feasting, which includes sacrifices, and never in any other way. The chief occasions for dancing are the dances of the *jast* to the gods, those to the illustrious dead, those performed by the women to the gods while the men are raiding, those of homicides to Gísh, at a Kafir's death and on the erection of effigies. These dances are performed inside the *gromma* or dancing-place which is thus described by Sir G. Robertson:—

"The dancing-place is always the most important spot in a Káfir village. There is usually only one, but Kámdesh and Bragamatál

* Or *pshar.* It is always placed on the outskirts of the village, or even outside it, and is a low, square apartment, in whose construction very little wood enters. In the Bashgul valley it is also distinguished by two or three sheep-skins fastened to a pole and stuck on the roof. Elsewhere it may be the merest hovel, half underground, yet incompletely sheltered. In Presungul the *pshar* may be separated from the village by a river, but it is much better built and consists of two or three rooms in a line, the doors all facing the water, if it is on a river-bank; and the sheep-skins are not in vogue.

† For marriage customs, see p. 427 *supra*.

have two each. A dancing-place should consist of a house to be used in winter and in bad weather, a boarded platform, and a level piece of ground, on which particular dances are performed, furnished with a rude stone altar. A description of the upper Kámdesh dancing-place will also apply, with some modifications, to all similar places in the Bashgul valley.

The whole place is called the *gromma*, a name evidently derived from the word *grom* or *brom*, the Bashgul term for a village. A Káfir who had been to India with me always called the *gromma* the "church" when he spoke Urdu. To the north of the Kámdesh dancing-place is the *gromma* or dancing-house.

It is 12 feet high, 35 long and 30 broad. Its sides are barred, not closed, by heavy square beams, between the intervals of which spectators can thrust their heads and shoulders restfully.

During a spectacle these apertures are generally crowded with the heads of girls and women. Down the centre of the *gromma* run two rows of massive pillars which support the heavy roof. They are about six feet apart. The central four are quite plain, except at the top, where they are ornamented with carved horses' heads. The remaining four are completely covered with the ordinary basket-work carving. In the middle of the roof there is a four feet square smoke-hole. Bordering the *gromma* to the south is the largest level space in the village. It is about thirty yards square. On it there is a rude altar, formed of two upright stones, with a horizontal one on top. On this altar there is almost always to be seen the remains of a recent fire. To the east this space is continuous with a platform, which is carried out from the steep slope and maintained in that position by wooden pillars and beams. It looks, and is, a shaky structure. A railing runs round its three dangerous sides. Seats are provided on it in the shape of long planks of comfortable breadth, a few inches off the floor. These platforms are always to be seen if the village is built on the side of a hill. Most of the shrines at Kámdesh are provided with a platform which only differs from that at the *gromma* in point of size. In villages built on the flat, such as those in the upper part of the Báshgul valley, the platforms are lifted off the ground on trestles. They are indeed an essential part of every dancing-place, because certain ceremonies cannot be performed except upon them.

The *gromma* of a Presun (Viron) village differs considerably from those of the Báshgul valley. In the first place, they are nearly all of them half underground, that at Digrom, for example, is like a huge bear-pit and is reached by long passages sloping down from the village level. They are very large, as they are used for guest-houses, and are capable of holding a large number of people. In one corner they generally have a small shrine, containing a quaintly carved idol of some god. The four central pillars are hewn into marvellously grotesque figures, the huge shield-shaped faces of which are more than two feet in length. The arms are made to hang from the line of the brows, while, if a goddess is represented the long narrow breasts, which look like a pair of supplementary arms, start from between the arms and the brows. There is never any doubt, however, about the the sex of an effigy of this kind. The knees of the figure are made

to approach one another, while the feet are far apart, as if, indeed, the god or goddess was swarming up the pole backwards."

KAFSH-DOZ (Pers.) a boot-sewer: see under Mochi.

KAHÁR, fem. -í, -NÍ, a synonym for JHÍWAR. The Kahár is also styled Mahra, and in Ferozepur at least settles all his disputes in a caste *panchâyat*. Curiously enough the Muhammadan Kahár retains the cult of the water-god Khwája Khizr, which the Jhíwar also affects. On the Jumna he worships the Khwája, repeating his name and that of Hanumán every night and morning to keep himself safe for the ensuing twelve hours. They call themselves the *bálká* or children of the Khwája. The Gharuk sub-caste of the Kahárs, however, claim descent from the Kauravas and never bathe in the Kurukshetr.

KAHDAR, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KAHL, a tribe of Jáṭs, which in Ludhiána observes the *jhandi* rite at weddings. A loaf 1¼ *mans* in weight is also cooked and of this ¼ *man* goes to a Bharai, the rest being distributed among the kinsmen.

KAHLON, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and other districts, especially in Siálkoṭ. They claim descent from Rája Vikramajít of the Lunar race, through Rája Jagdeo of Dáránagar, concerning whom they tell the well-worn legend that in his generosity he promised his sister whatsoever she might ask. She claimed his head and he fulfilled his promise, but was miraculously restored to life. His descendant in the 4th generation Kahlwán gave his name to the tribe. Fourth from him came Soli or Sodi under whom they left Dáránagar and settled near Batála in Gurdáspur, whence they spread into Siálkoṭ. Muhammadan Kahlons perform the *nikáh*, but they also observe Hindu observances at a wedding and when the procession sets out they go to a *chhari* or *malha* tree outside the village. There a lamp is lighted in an earthen vessel and a thread tied round a branch of the tree. The bridegroom then cuts off the branch with a sword and puts it in the vessel.* Its *jathera* is Bába Phul Johad.

KAHLÚRÍA, 'of Kahlúr,' one of the Simla Hill States. A Hindu Rájput sept of the 1st grade, found in Hoshiárpur.

KÁHON, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán.

KAHÚT, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur, Gujrát, Ráwalpindi, Hazára and Jhelum. They give their name to the Kahúta hills of Ráwalpindi (now held by the Ketwál and Dhaniál) and to the town of Kahúta, now a Janjúa possession. Their present head-quarters are found in the Salt Range and give its name to the Kahútáni *iláqa* of Chakwál tahsil. They now declare that they were originally located in Arabia, and are Qureshis, the present tribal name being merely that of their common ancestor: 24 generations ago, about the year A. D. 1359 their ancestor Said Nawáb Ali migrated to Delhi, in the reign of "Firoz Sháh, Ghori": (Firoz Tughlaq, son of Muhammad Tughlaq, is no doubt meant; he reigned from 1351 to 1388 A. D.): on the way to Delhi

* They are said to avoid saying '*bas*' (enough) while a wedding party is eating in the bride's house.

they fought and conquered a pagan king of Siálkoṭ, named Sain Pál, who was, they say, probably a Ḍogṛa prince. On reaching Delhi they paid their respects to the king who ordered them to hold the Dhanni and the Salt Range on his behalf: under the leadership of Kahút, the son of Nawáb Ali, they accordingly retraced their steps to this district, and settled first at Gagnelpur, of which the ruined site is shown in Mauza Wariamál near the foot of the Salt Range: here they remained for some time, realising the revenue from the Janjúas of the hills and the Gujar graziers of the Dhanni, and remitting it to Delhi. The Máirs and Kassars had not then arrived in these parts, but came six or seven generations afterwards. The eastern Dhanni was then a lake, which on the coming of Bábar was drained at his command, the Kahúts taking part in the work and colonising the land reclaimed. Chaudhri Sahnsár, 8th in descent from Kahút, was their ancestor in the time of Bábar.

They have no peculiar customs, except that the males of the tribe never wear blue clothes, or, if they do, fall ill: this is ascribed to the vow of a sick ancestor. The tribe is not divided into clans. They intermarry to some extent with Máirs and Kassars, and now and then with Awáns, both giving and taking daughters: but usually marry within the tribe.* The remarriage of widows is permitted, but is not customary in good families: where it is allowed, it is not necessary that the widow should marry her deceased husband's brother.

The *mirásis* of the tribe give some of the usual rhymes: one relates to the passage of Bábar through Kallar Kahár, the first two lines being as given by the Kassar *mirásís*, with the addition of a third, *Kahút potre Abú Tálab de awwal a'e*: but the latter does not hang well together with what precedes it: the Abu Tálab referred to was the uncle of the Prophet. Another runs: *Kahút charhiá Dihlion sat már naqáre: chár hazár bhirá aur kammi sáre: Kahút Dhoná surkhrú hoiá: sunniá chandal sáre.* Dhoná is the name of a Kahút leader, they say. A third is a war song relating to fights of the Kahúts with the Janjúas.

Like the Máirs and KASSARS they seem to have been ever violent and masterful, and to have retained their independence in a singular degree, but though they differ little in character and appearance from those tribes it is doubtful whether they are of the same stock. Though they may be regarded as Rájputs by status they do not appear to have ever claimed Rájput descent and indeed their bards claimed for them Mughal origin.

KAIMAL-KHEL, see under Hatikhel.

KÁIM-MAKÁM, see Qáim-makám.

KÁITH, KAITH, fem. KÁITHIÁNÍ, -NÍ, -YÁNÍ. KÁNITH, fem. -Í, -NÍ, -IÁNÍ, KÁYATH, KAYASTH (*a*).—In the Káṅgṛa hills the *kaith*† is an accountant.

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* But they do not marry with Qureshis, and are entirely agricultural or employed in Government service. They rank a little below the Máirs and Kassars, but occasionally intermarry with them.

† With the characteristic Indian tendency to define status in terms of origin by birth the name of *Kaith* in the Punjab hills is said to be applied to members of a mixed caste formed by the intermarriage of Brahmans and Káyaths proper and even of Bánias who follow clerkly pursuits. Their caste would be Mahájan (Pahári) and their occupation *káith*. Mr. Barnes said: "The Káyath of the hills is not identical with the Káyath of the plains. He "belongs to the Vaisya or commercial class and is entitled to wear the *janeo* or sacred "thread. The Káyath of the plains is a Súdra, and is not entitled to assume the *janeo*." In Bashahr the *káyath* is a temple servant.

In the plains the Kayath or Kayasth is a caste—the well-known writer class of Hindustán. A full account of the caste and of its origins, which are fiercely disputed, would be beyond the scope of this article, but it may be noted that the Kayasthas say that they sprang from the body of Brahma who by virtue of his ascetic powers gave birth to a son named Chitrá Gupta.* This son he bade go to Dharampuri, serve Yáma Rája, and make the people of the world fulfil their *karma*. His descendants are known as Kayasthas or *Káyáka Sthán*.†

By Rája Manu's daughter Chitrá Gupta had four sons, Mathar, Bhaṭnágar, Saksena and Sribástana. By Susarman Rishi's daughter he had eight sons, Nigam, Anshat, Gauṛ, Karam, Bálmík, Unáyá, Kúl, Sarsaṭ and Suraj Dhaj. The 12 groups of the Kayasthas are named after these 12 sons. But all 12 are not represented in the Punjab. In Jínd for instance only four are found, *viz.*, Mathar, Bhaṭnágar, Saksena and Srivástana. As a rule they mix freely but in some places Srivástana and Saksena do not smoke from the same *hukka* or eat *kachchi roti* together. They form one endogamous group. In Jínd they are chiefly of the Kashyab *gotra*, but some families belong to the Bhaṭs and one or two other *gotras*. In all the groups there are sub-groups (*als*) named after places, so that there are 84 *als* in the 12 groups. Two *als*, *viz.* those of the father and mother, are avoided in marriage.

Karewa is never allowed and polygamy very rarely practised. Kayastha marrying a female of a *kúf* or tribe below him in the social scale is usually excommunicated. But the extreme step is not taken if the woman be of good family and he strictly abstains from eating *kachchi roti* prepared by her. Children born of such unions are married to persons of similar status. Marriages are generally performed at mature age and great attention is paid to a boy's education.

The Káyath is not indigenous in the Punjab, and is found in decreasing numbers as we go westwards. He is only to be found in the administrative or commercial centres and is being rapidly displaced, so far as Government service is concerned, by Punjábi clerks. His origin is discussed in Colebrook's *Essays*.

Kajlá, a landless nomad tribe of the Northern Bár in the Gujránwála district.

Kajlán, a Jáṭ tribe found in Jínd and Hissár. It claims descent from Kajla, a Chauhán Rájput who married an Ahír widow by *karewa* and thus became a Jáṭ.

Kákákhel, see Sayyid.

Kákar, a branch of the Parni Afgháns.

Kákar, one of the Paṭhán tribes which hold the Koh-i-Siál or 'black range', *i. e.* the Sulaimán range. It occupies the elevated plateau of Bora, which is described as extensive, well-watered, fertile and carefully cultivated, and other tracts. The valleys between Bora and

* Chitrá Gupta means concealed like a picture. Brahma said to his son: 'Thou hast been concealed (*gupta*) by me like a picture (*chitra*) and shalt therefore be called Chitrá Guptá by the learned.'

† Kayastha in Sanskrit means "one who resides in the body." A detailed account of the legend is given in the *Pátál Khand* of the *Padam Purán*.

the mountains south of the Zhob Valley are held by the Musa Khel, a Kákar clan, and the Isot, a clan of the Parni Afgháns who are akin to the Kákars. Kákar had 18 sons of his own and adopted 6 more, and these founded 24 clans. It is difficult to regard the Kákars as Scythic.

Kákar, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kakaṛ, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kakezaí, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery. See also under Kalál.

Kakkezai,* a class of Muhammadan traders found all over India and as far west as Kandahár. They claim to be by descent Afgháns of Seistán, sprang from Kakka, a son of Karn, and the nucleus of the class may well be a pure Paṭhán clan. But the sections of the Kakkezai include such names as Bhursi, Malak, Kethale, Kasoliya Shaikh, Vansare and Nakhasria, and, in Siálkoṭ, Bale, Bhagírath, Chándi, Hánda,† Khoría, Wadrath and Wanjotra, which hardly point to an Afghán origin and lend colour to the theory that the Kakkezai were, like the Khoja, Hindus converted at an early period of the Muhammadan invasions and affiliated to a Paṭhán clan. A family at Pasrúr in Siálkoṭ is called Mír Daha, and the office of that name at Bajwára in Hoshiárpur was held by a Kakkezai family in 1120 Hijri. In the Jullundur Doáb a branch of the Kakkezais, entitled Shaikhs, rose to eminence during Sikh times and even gave governors to Kashmír. The community is an influential and enterprising one in the Punjab.

Kákra, a military Brahman family, settled at Ára in Jhelum.

Kakṛí, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kakuána.—The term for Kumhárs in the Sándal Bár in Jhang. They are found as cultivators in many *rahnás* or hamlets, and also have *rahnás* of their own to which they have gathered to avoid the *begár* laid on them in other villages. They are called Kakuána, and say they are not Kumhárs, but Jáṭs, descended from one Káku: and that they took to pot-making a few generations ago.

Kalál, (1) a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery and Multán: (2) Kalál or Karál, a class of very varying status and probably composite origin. The Karál claim Hindu Rájput ancestry and derive their name from Karauli, the State in Rájputána. They are divided into 52 clans or *gots* including the Tulsi and Pital (in Kapurthala). These Karáls are also styled Ahluwália, from Ahlu, a village in Lahore, and the Ahluwália sections are said to be: Tulsi, Phúl Mali, Rekhi, Sád and Segat. The Karáls are found in all the Districts of the Northern Punjab from Gujrát to Hoshiárpur, and are said to avoid widow remarriage.

The Kalál or Neb are also Hindus, but they more frequently embrace Sikhism than the Karáls. They are by profession distillers, and the word Kalál appears to be derived from *kulál*, a potter.

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* Mackenzie says the Kakkezai are also called Bulledee (Bileladlé), but he does not explain the term. Gujrát *Sett. Rep.*, 1861, p. 27. Bulledee may be a transliteration of Baledi, 'one who herds oxen': *Punjabi Dicty.*, p. 86.

† Hánda is a *got* of the Khatris.

The Kalál *gots* are not apparently numerous and include:

Bhágar.	Ḥatyár.
Bhamrál.	Jajj.
Bhandárí.	Janwáthía.
Bharwáthía.	Ladháthía.
Bhukái.	Mammak.
Bimbat.	Paintal.
	Pall.

These, it will be observed, differ from the Karál *gots* on the one hand and the Kakkezai sections on the other.

KALANDAR, see Qalandar.

KALÁIGAR see Thathera.

KALAR, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán; (2) a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KÁLAS, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KALASAN, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KALÁSARAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KÁLÁSH, a tribe of Káfirs, long subject to Chitrál and found in two small villages, Kálásbgúm and Bidir of that State. They speak the Kálásh language and are Faqír Miskín by status. The Kám Káfirs affirm that the whole of the country from the Eastern Káfiristán frontier as far as Gilgit was once inhabited by the Kalach.

KALÁUṆT, KALÁWAṆT, fem. -ÁNÍ, -NÍ, a class of professional musicians and singers: see under Bháṭ.

KALEKÁ, an agricultural clan found in Shábpur.

KALER, (1) A Jáṭ tribe found in Jínd, where the *samádh* of its Sidh, Didár Singh, at Bhammawadi is revered on the 1st *badi* of Mágh. *cf.* Bharánch. It is also found in Siálkoṭ, where it claims Chauhán Rájput origin, like the Chímas, and descent from Rájá Kang through Kahr and his descendants Dára and Nattú who migrated to that District in Jahángír's time. In Ludhiána the Kaler Jáṭs at weddings worship their *jaṭhera* at his *matt* or shrine. They also affect Sakhi Sarwar and at marriages an offering of bread is made to a Bharai. The first milk of a cow or buffalo is given to a virgin and, if it is abundant, to other girls as well. It is also found as an agricultural clan in Amritsar and in Montgomery, in which latter District it is Muhammadan: (2) an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar

KALERA, a Muhammadan tribe, found in Montgomery (probably Kaler).

KÁLEROTH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KALGÁN, Kalghán, an Awán clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KÁLHÍR (? Kálír) a tribe of Jáṭs. It holds about 16 villages in *pargana* Indri in Karnál but describes the number as 12 (a *bárá*). Dabkauli Kalán is its parent village, and it is also the parent village of 12 Kálhír villages east of the Jumna, of 12 across the Ganges in Morádábád, and of 17 villages in Ambála. The Kálhírs are divided into two clans or *beong*, Mandhán and Turka which cannot intermarry. Mandhán was son of Mánd, and Turka of Jejal, and Mánd and Jejal were brothers. Originally they came from Ajcdhya, first migrating to Pamaktoda in the Dakhan or Málwa, and afterwards to Dardrehra in Jaipur.

KALHORA or SARAI, originally a Ját tribe, also known as Dodái Laṭi,* which gave a dynasty to Sind and is still represented in Dera Gházi Khán. Its ancestors were *darweshes* or religious mendicants who followed the tenets of the Sayyid Muhammad, the Júnpúri, a noted teacher, and one of them, Harmus, espoused a daughter of the Abara Jáṭs of Sind, receiving a grant of land as her dower. His son or grandson, Shaikh Nasír, and *his* son Shaikh Dín Muhammad established their temporal and spiritual authority over the Abara territory in Upper Sind. His brother Yár Muhammad threw off all allegiance to the Mughals, seized the Síwistán *sarkár* of Ṭhaṭha, the Síwí *maháll* of Bakhar in the Multán Province, and Dihár, and wrested the title of Khudáyár from the Mughal authorities.† His descendant Nur Muhammad drove the Dáúdpotras out of the *zamíndári* of Lakkhi, in the Bakhar *maháll.*‡ In 1736-37 the Laṭi Khán, Khudáyár,§ received the province of Ṭhaṭha, together with the southern part of the Bakhar *sarkár*, but two or three years later he was stripped of two-thirds of his territory by Nádir Sháh. After Nádir Sháh's death however the Khudáyár assumed authority over all Sind, under the nominal suzeraignty of the Durránis, but their rule was short-lived. Nur Muhammad Kalhora was succeeded on his death in 1752 by his son Muhammad Murád, but he only ruled for five years and was deposed by the Tálpur Baloch, who set up his brother Mián Ghulám Sháh (1757-58). An attempt by his brother Aṭṭár Khán to regain Sind, under the authority of a Durráni grant, failed.|| Ghulám Sháh died in 1771, while superintending the erection of the fortress of Haidarábad in Sindh, after a stormy reign of 15 years. He had in 1758 allowed the East India Company to establish a factory in Sindh, but Sarfaráz Khán, his son and successor, cancelled the permit in 1775. A year previously he had caused Bahrám Khán, head of the Tálpurs, and one of his sons to be assassinated, and this led his dethronement, in or about 1786.

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* Laṭi is said to be derived from the Hindúí *laṭ*, 'tangled or clotted hair,' and *kalhorah* in Sindhi is said to bear the same meaning. A derivation from *laṭ*, a 'club' in Sindhi, has also been suggested, and in front of the Kalhóra chief's tomb at Khudá-ábád a number of clubs are suspended.

† According to the Dera Gházi Khán *Gazetteer*, p. 23, Yár Muhammad aided by the Khán of Kalát defeated the governor of Sevi about 1700. After establishing himself in Northern Sindh, he made his formal submission to Jahándár Sháh on his succession to the throne of Delhi and was invested with the title of *Nawáb*, and the governorship of Sevi.

‡ And soon came into contact with the Mirránis, *ibid.* p. 23.

§ The title Khudáyár appears to have been hereditary, or to have been bestowed upon the *mansabdár* or office-holder for the time being by the Mughals. But according to the Dera Gházi Khán *Gazetteer* (p. 24) Núr Muhammad submitted to Ahmad Sháh Durrani on Nádir Sháh's assassination and received from him the title of Sháh Nawáz Khán. A year or two later however he rebelled and was driven into Jaisalmer.

|| According to Shahámat Ali (*Picturesque Sketches in India*) Attár Khán was sent along with a force by Ahmad Sháh and on his arrival at Shikárpur Mián Ghulám Sháh fled, but he was supported by the Abbássi family, rulers of Baháwalpur, and he and another brother Ahmadyár defeated Attár Khán. The latter obtained a second force from Ahmad Sháh, and the brothers then divided their territories, Ghulám Sháh taking Thatha, and Attár Khudá-ábád and Ahmadábád. Attár was however soon dispossessed again and settled at Ikhtiyár Khán whence he made several more attempts to oust Ghulám Sháh. The story given in the Dera Gházi Khán *Gazetteer* that Mahmúd Sháh Gujar helped Ghulám Sháh to re-establish the Kalhora power at Dera Gházi Khán is probably incorrect. The other version, that he was opposed by Mahmúd Sháh and also by the Gházi Khán is more probable. That Ahmad Sháh despatched Kaura Mal, governor of Multán, against the Kalhora in 1758 is also likely, but his defeat by Kaura Mal, if it ever occurred, cannot have been severe, for in 1769 Ghulám Sháh finally broke the Mirráni power after taking Dera Gházi Khán.

The name SARAI or Serai is borne by the notable Kalhora family of Hájipur in the Jámpur tahsil of Dera Gházi Khán. For an account of it reference must be made to the Dera Ghazi Khán *Gazetteer*, pp. 91—94, but it should be noted that the statement therein made that the Daudpotras are descended from Jám Junjar and therefore akin to the Kalhoras is repudiated by the ABBÁSSI or DÁÚDPOTRA tribe, though it was accepted by Raverty.

KÁLIAR, a sept of Rájputs, found at Pánipat. Its family saint, Kálá Sayyid, is a great worker of miracles, and anyone sleeping near his shrine must lie on the ground or he will be bitten by a snake. But if a snake bite a man on a Kaliár's ground he will suffer no harm.

KALIRÁWAN, a tribe of Jáṭs, claiming descent from a Siroha Rájput by a Nain Jáṭ wife: found in Hissár.

KAL KHAND, a tribe of Jáṭs, descended from Kala. It has for 25 generations been settled in tahsil Jínd, but came originally from Rámpur Khandal in Delhi.

KALLAS, a tribe found in Jhelum: see under Bharat.

KALLÚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar, in Montgomery (where it is Muhammadan), and also in Sháhpur.

KALMAT, -I.—A BALOCH tribe. Formerly of great importance, the Kalmats fought with the Marris. Dames describes them as a Levitical tribe, probably non-Baloch. They are now found at Pásni in Mekrán and in Sindh. The name is probably derived from Khalmat in Mekrán, the connection with the Karmati (the Karmatian heretics of Elliot's *History of India*) being doubtful.

KALO, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and Multán.

KÁLON, a Jáṭ tribe, found in Siálkoṭ. It is described as of Somabansi or Lunar descent, from Rájá Jágdeo of Dháranagar, and has three *movís* or clans, Nehut, Jodh and Banna. Doubtless KAHLON.

KÁLRÚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán tahsil, where Kálrú employés of Sháh Jahán's army received grants of land.

KALS, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur, and in Montgomery (where it is Muhammadan).

KALSAN, a Gujar tribe, claiming descent from Rána Har Rai, Chauhán, by a Gujar wife. He assigned them a part of his conquests in the Jumna Doáb and they still hold a little land in the Chauhán Nárdak of Karnál.

KÁLSAN, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KALSIYA, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KALTERA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KALYA, (1) a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery: (2) a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar, and (3) an Awán clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KALYÁR, (1) a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur: (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kámá.—(1) A man, generally of low-caste, who has brought himself and even his descendants for several generations under obligation to serve a land-holder on account of debt, the service being rendered in lieu of the interest while the principal remained as a perpetual debt. This condition of service still exists in Chamba, though more or less secretly, as it is contrary to the State law, and also in Kullu in spite of the law. It probably exists all through the hills. (2) The *káma* of the plains is a field labourer.

Kamalia, Kambalia : see Gadaria. In Karnál Muhammadan Jáṭs who have taken to blanket weaving are also called Kamalias and are said to marry only among themselves. But the Hindu Kamalias appear to be all Gadarias in fact.

Kamáchi, a small tribe of vagrant minstrels, apparently akin to the Mírásis.

Kamálzai, one of the four main divisions of the Mandanr branch of the Khakhai (Khashi) Paṭháns. The Kamálzai and Amazai, another branch, are found in Mardán and the Razzar in Pesháwar.

Kamângar, Kamagar, a bow-maker. With him may be classed the *tír-gar* or arrow-maker, and possibly the *pharera*, but the latter appears to be merely the hill name for the *rang-sáz.** The Kamagar, as he is commonly called, is chiefly found in towns and cantonments and, except in Kángṛa, is always a Muhammadan. Now that bows are only made for presentation the Kamágar has taken to wood decoration in general. Any colour or lacquer that can be put on in a lathe is generally applied by the Kharádi, but flat or uneven surfaces are decorated either by the Kamángar or by the *rangsáz*, the former doing the finer sorts of work. The Kamángar does not form a distinct caste, but is professionally inferior to the Tarkhán or *rangsáz*, though he belongs to the Tarkhán caste.

Kambalia. See Gadaria.

Kamboh.—(1) The Kamboh is one of the finest cultivating castes in the Punjab. They seldom engage in market-gardening, but they are no less industrious and skilful than the Aráíṇs. They are found in the upper Sutlej valley as low down as Montgomery, throughout the northern portion of the eastern plains, and as low down the Jumna valley as Karnál. They are especially numerous in Kapúrthala. The Jumna Kambohs seem to have come into the valley from the west, and there has lately been a very large influx of Kambohs from the northern tracts of Paṭiála into the great *dhák* jungles between Thánesar and the river. The Sutlej Kambohs of Montgomery are divided into two branches, one of which came up the river from the Multán country (whence they are called *lammawálas*, fr. *lamma*, 'west') and the other down the valley from the neighbourhood of Kapúrthala (whence they are called *tappawála*, from *tappa*, said to be the region between the Beás and Sutlej), both movements having taken place under the Sikh

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* The *pharera* or *bharera* is also said to be a silversmith; see under Lohár.

rule. Under that rule they also came into Jullundur from Kapúrthala.* They claim descent from Rája Karan, and say that their ancestor fled to Kashmír. The Kambohs of Bijnor also trace their origin to the trans-Indus country, and Mr. Purser accepts this tradition as evidently true. They are said by some to be ancient inhabitants of Persia, and the Karnál Kambohs trace their origin from Garh Ghazni; but the fact that 40 per cent. of them are Hindus and 23 per cent. Sikhs is conclusive against their having had any extra-Indian origin, unless at a very remote period. Aráíṉs and Kambohs are commonly supposed to be closely related: indeed in Montgomery a man appears to be called Aráíṉ if he is Musalmán and Kamboh if Hindu.† But that this is not always the case is evident from the fact of a very considerable proportion of the Kambohs of Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepur, Paṭiála, Nábha, and Maler Koṭla having returned themselves as Musalmáns, although Musalmán Aráíṉs are also numerous in those tracts. In Jullundur the village of Bhalowál is owned partly by Kambohs and partly by Aráíṉs, both being Musalmán. It is perhaps doubtful whether the supposed relationship has any further basis than the fact that they both came from the west, and are both of much the same social standing and agricultural repute. It is highly probable that the nucleus of the Aráíṉ caste was a group of Hindu Kambohs converted to Islám. Thus in Jullundur the Gaure, Hánde and Momi clans are found in both castes, and in Montgomery several of their clan names are identical. It is said by some that the chief distinction is that the Kambohs take money for their daughters, while the Aráíṉs do not. But the social standing of the Kamboh is on the whole superior to that of the Aráíṉ, and very markedly so where the latter is a vegetable-grower. The Kamboh, moreover, is not a mere agriculturist. He not infrequently engages in trade, and even takes service in the army or in offices or even as a private servant, while his wife not infrequently lends money even where he is a mere husbandman; and under Akbar a Kamboh general called Sháhbáz Khán commanded 5,000 men and distinguished himself greatly in Bengal.‡ Musalmán Kambohs held Sohna in Gurgáon some centuries ago; and the tombs and mosques that they have left show that they must have enjoyed a considerable position. The military, mercantile, and clerkly Kambohs are said to be distinguished as Qalmi or "men of the pen," and not to intermarry with the agricultural or Kháki section of the caste. But this is probably a mere social custom and not a caste rule. The Kambohs do not seem to bear as high a

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* The Kamboh villages in Jullundur are clustered together in Nakodar tashil in the extreme south-west on the Kapúrthala border. Tradition says that in 1654 A. D. the Punjab was devastated by floods, so Jahángír sent Sher Sháh, a Súba, to restore it and he brought with him from Sunám in Patiála (Mr. Purser thought this possibly a mistake for Sohna, a former Kamboh stronghold in Gurgaon) two men, Achhrá, whom he located near Chunian in Lahore, and Rath whom he settled near Sultánpur in Kapúrthala where the Kambohs founded a *bára* or group of 12 villages.

The Kambohs of Phillaur though few merit special notice. They claim to be Surajbansi Rájputs who came from Kámrúp (Assam) on the Brahmaputra to Delhi in Humáyún's time. Thence Bohd Rai migrated to Lahore and Dála Rai to Jullundur. This may be a poetical way of saying that Sháhbáz Khán's career in Bengal raised his family to Rájput status.

† In Multán, where the Kambohs are poor and unimportant, they often cultivate vegetables and those so occupied are not uncommonly called Aráíns by the people.

‡ He had 9,000 men under his command when operating on the Brahmaputra: Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 399-402.

character for honesty as they do for skill. There is a Persian proverb current in the United Provinces: "The Afgháns, the Kambohs, and the Kashmíris; all three are rogues (*badzát*)," and in Karnál Mr. Benton described them as "notoriously deceitful and treacherous." On the other hand Sardár Gurdiál Singh states, it is not known on what authority that "during the reign of terror in India, it was the Kambohs who were trusted by the rich bankers for carrying their cash in the disguise of *faqírs*." The Kambohs are said to be exceptionally numerous in Meerut. Their location under the hills lends some slight support to their tradition of origin from Kashmír.

The Kambohs are not very numerous in the State of Bahâwalpur, but they offer some points of interest. The Hindu Kambohs 150 years ago, occupied Jhullan, a village on the right bank of the Sutlej not far from Pákpattan. Being oppressed they migrated and founded Jhullan, a village in Kárdári Minchinábád. Jhullan was a Bodla *faqír* to whom they paid special reverence and after whom they named their villages, and his descendant Ihsán Ali is still greatly revered by the Hindus. The Kambohs say they originally came from Amritsar and that they and the Aráíṇs have a common origin. The Aráíṇs, who are scattered all over the State, claim Rájput origin, and say their old headquarters was Uch, whence they migrated to the Rávi and the Ghaggar.

Some popular accounts of the origin of the name Kamboh follow:—

(1) Once a powerful Rájá of the Solar race, whose capital was at Ajudhia, marched thence to Derat and having killed Parmar, its Rájá, took possession of his kingdom. He founded Warangar and his son founded another town, which he named Dejapur, and the cities of Lambni and Gajni. The latter was his capital, and lay near the city of Kambay, the peninsula south of Guzerat. At the Solono festival when he was performing religious rites he was attacked by an enemy who had conspired with his *parohit*, his city was plundered and its people massacred. Of those who escaped some fled to Sámána along the Ghaggar, passing by Jaipur and Sirhind on their way, thence spread over the country between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and after wandering through the country watered by the Sutlej and Beas scattered over the whole Punjab. Others reached Multán *via* Sind and thence spread into Montgomery. They are called Kambohs because they came from Gajni, near Kambay. Others assert that the name is a corruption of *kambudh* (men of little intellect) because they did not take up arms on the Solono day, but preferred to die.

(2) Rájá Sodakhsh of Kamboj of the Solar race and a descendant of the god Chander Burman sided with the Kauravas in their fight with the Pándavas. He perished with nearly all his men in the battlefield, and those who escaped settled in Nábha and came to be called Kamboji whence Kamboh.

(3) Kamboh is said to be compounded of Kai and *anboh*, and the tribe is said to be descended from the Kai dynasty of Persia, to which the emperors Kaikáus, Kaikhusro, Kaikubád, Kai-Lehrashab and Darius all belonged. When they migrated to the Punjab they came to be called Kai-ambohs or Kambohas.

(4) Hazrat Abdulla, son of Zuber, was sent with a large army to conquer Persia, where he settled and built many huts on the banks of the river. The Persians could not understand their tongue (Arabic), so they became *kam-go* or taciturn. Zuber's army comprised men of many beliefs. In time their settlements were destroyed and the 'Kamgos' fled.

The first story is the one naturally favoured by the Kambohs themselves and the fact remains that the Solono festival is not observed by them, because they regard it as inauspicious. The author of the *Aína Tárikhnáma* and *Gur Tirath Sangra* has given an account of the Kambohs and assigns their origin to the Kambojas, but against this it may be urged that the Kambohs—

(*i*) do not observe the Salono or tie the *rakhri* on it:
(*ii*) at the *phera* their *parohits* proclaim Garh Gajni or Ghaggar Bás as their original home:
(*iii*) that their *gots* correspond with those of the Brahmans and Chhatris:
(*iv*) that they perform the *parojan* or *bandhan* ceremony:
(*v*) that they worship weapons at the Dasehra and wear them at weddings; and
(*vi*) that they cut the *jand* tree and sacrifice a he-goat at a marriage.

The only point which merits notice in these folk-etymologies is the allusion to Sodaksh (Sudakshina), king of Kámboja, a territory which lay under the hills, which now form the northern border of the Attock and Ráwalpindi Districts, from the Indus to the Jhelum. That king, according to the *Mahábhárata*, joined the Kauravas with an army containing Yavanas and Shakas. But Kámboja also appears to have been the name of a tribe. These facts are in accord with the tradition that the Kambohs came from Kashmír, but beyond that there is absolutely nothing but the resemblance in the names to enable us to identify the Kambohs with the Kámbojas. How their *gots* can be said to correspond with those of the Brahmans or Chhatris is not clear. The Kambohs have very few large sub-divisions. The nine largest are—

Dahút, Jaura, Sande, Jammún, Jhande, Thind, Jausan, Mahrok, Unmál.

The Kambohs are by religion Hindu, especially in the east, Sikh, especially in the Sikh Districts, while some are Jain, and a great many are Muhammadans. The latter are in Lahore described as hardly distinguishable from the Aráíṇs, but the Sikh Kamboh is better than either, being equal to the Aráíṇ in industry, but more enterprising and more provident. He matches the Aráíṇ as a market gardener and is not inferior to the Sidhu Jáṭ in general farming though he is smaller in physique and less intelligent than the Jáṭ. The Sikh Kambohs in the Chenáb Colony numbered over 10,000 in 1904.

The Hindu Kambohs wear no *janeo* and do not purify the *chauká*. Their women wear the gown and formerly wore no nose-ring. Widow remarriage is allowed.

The Kambohs of Montgomery, who are almost without exception Hindus, affect the cult of Bhuman Sháh, an Udási *faqír* whose shrine is at the village of that name in Dipálpur tahsíl. He is said to have lived from 1687 to 1756 and was himself a Kamboh. He is looked upon as a patron saint.

Hindu, Sikh and Jain Kambohs avoid 3 *gots* in marriage, the Muhammadans only one. The Hindu Dhat Kambohs perform the first tonsure under a *dhák* tree and the Jham *got* at a Bábá's shrine in Lahore. The Kambohs reverence Sultán and Bhairon.

The Muhammadan Kambohs have two groups :—

(i). Báwan-gota,* *i.e.*, 52 *gots*.

(ii). Chaurási-gota, *i.e.*, 84 *gots*.

These groups do not intermarry or smoke with Hindu Kambohs, though they are said to be of the same origin (as the Hindus ?). It is said that when Gaṛh Gajni was destroyed a Chaurási Kamboh took refuge with a bard named Kamáchi and so the ancestor of the Báwan-gote severed all connection with him.

The Karnál account is that the Kamboh first settled in Lalachi, now in Paṭiála, whence they founded 32 villages. The Lalachi Kambohs claim to be Báwan-gotas. A section of these Kambohs embraced Islám only under Jahángír, and hence the mass of the Báwan-gotas became Muhammadans, while the bulk of the Chaurási-gotas remained Hindus.

* The Báwan-gota *gots* will be found in the Appendix.

The two most important centres of the Báwan-gotas are Sanaur and Sunám in Paṭiála. The '52' are in their own estimation superior to the '84-*gotas*.' The latter are found in the Banúr and Thuri (? Dhuri) *iláqas* of Paṭiála, in Maler Koṭla, Nábha, the Naráingarh tahsil of Ambála and in Saháranpur east of the Jumna; also in Amritsar, Multáṇ, Montgomery and Làhore. A note from Ambála makes the '52-*gotas*' descendants of a cadet branch and the '84-*gotas*' of an elder branch.

The Kambohs follow many occupations, as confectioners, retail dealers, etc., as well as cultivators. As agents to bankers they are much trusted. (2) an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KAMERÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KAMIL, a sept of Rájputs, found in Siálkoṭ.

KAMÍṆ, fem. -ÁṆI.

KAMÍRA, a weaver, see under Juláhá.

KAMLÁNA, a sept of the Siáls.

KAMOKE, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery

KÁMON, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KAMYANA, an Aráiṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KANAG, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar. (Doubtless Kang).

KANAURI, KANÁWARI,* an inhabitant of Kanaur, the valley which, lying on the Upper Sutlej, forms an appanage of the Bashahr State. Its inhabitants are almost entirely Kanets or Jáds, but differ as completely from the Kanets of Bashahr proper as do the Láhula Kanets from those of Kullu.

Besides the Kanets or Jáds the only two castes in Kanaur are the Chámang,† who make shoes and weave, and the Domang,‡ who are blacksmiths and carpenters.

Water or cooked food which has been touched by the lower castes is not used by Kanets, nor are people of these castes allowed to enter a Kanet's house. If a Kanet eat such food inadvertently he applies to his Rájá who bids him make expiation (*práyaschitta*) and pay some *nazrána* or forfeit. This custom is called *sajeran* or *sacheran*.

The Kanets of Kanaur are said to be divided into three grades, each comprising a number of septs, whose names do not appear among the Kanets of Bashahr proper.

The Kanet septs of Kanaur, according to their geographical distribution.

1ST GRADE KANETS.

Parganá *Rajgáon.*

Bairyán.	Mœlas.	Sakhán.
Skámṭas.	Sanú.	Rokérú.
Wángmo.	Shwál.	Dérán.
Thángar.	Dapráṭo.	Dalyán.
Dámes.	Bitaryán.	

* Kanaura appears to be the more correct form.
† The Chamárs of the plains, doubtless.
‡ The Doms of the plains.

Parganá *Shúwá.*

Bóres, Tib. Pores.	Khádurá.	Láspá.
Ranshyán.	Barji.	Shilí.
Dhanshyán.	Shyáltú.	Gyólang.
Farekpá.	Tholpá.	Thármí.
Pálsar.	Loktas	Puán, Tib. Puang.
Áldana.	Pángtú.	Makalá.
Chhugpó.	Shuryán.	Mispon or Mishpon.

Parganá *Inner Tukpá.*

Bíst.	Ráthú.	Dhangch.
Kállam.	Nyokché.	

Parganá *Outer Tukpá.*

Répáltú.	Chángkung.	Dúdyán.
Chethá.	Fanyán.	

Parganá *Pandarabís.*

Yulán.	Choglá	...

Parganá *Thárábís.*

Tyúras.	Jogtó.	Zintú.

2ND GRADE KANETS.

Parganá *Inner Tukpá.*

Brálbang.	Mojrang.	Shyálí.
Chámápo.	Pánkar.	Sothá.
Káthú.	Rákshas.	Ungyá.

Parganá *Shúwá.*

Kharyán.	Turkyán	Khinpá, Tib. Khyimpa.
Shyúná.		

Parganá *Rajgáon.*

Anchhán, Tib. Angchán.	Mashán.	...

3RD GRADE KANETS WHO WORK AS POTTERS.

Wángchháng.	Wázá.	Méwar.

Titles of officials.

1. Cháres, the hereditary headman of a village (in each village).
2. Grokch, the hereditary *kárdár* of the village deity, who speaks on his behalf.
3. Máthas, the hereditary *kárdár* of a deity. His duty is to petition the deity on behalf of the public.
4. Pujyáres, whose hereditary duty it is to worship the deity: Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are found in every village where there is a deity.
5. Bathungrú, an official like the *dafádár* of the State.

In the Kanaur valley Buddhism is the dominant faith, but though the social customs of the people generally resemble those of the Hindus, the observances bear Tibetan names, and the ritual is conducted in that language.

Birth customs.

During pregnancy the following chant is sung :—'O goddess Tárá, I bow down to thee, be pleased to bestow on this woman thy choicest blessings.' And a charm written on a bit of paper or birch-tree bark is tied round the woman's neck.

On the birth of a son the goddess Dolmá is adored, and the chant called *Bhum chung*, which runs: *Om táyathá gáte gáte pará gáte swáhás* ('May God bless the child') is sung. The old women of the

family perform the midwife's functions; and for a fortnight the mother lives apart, being debarred from touching anything. At the end of that period she and all she possesses are sprinkled with cow's urine mixed with Ganges water, as among Hindus. The child's horoscope is cast by a *láma*, who also names the child when it is 15 days old, or on any other auspicious day. It is generally brought out of the house for the first time at the full moon and, if possible, at an auspicious moment, when one or two months old. Charms for its long life are also made by the *lámas*.

A boy's head is shaved when one year old, the *lámas* performing a *hom*,* *pujá*, or *páṭh* sacrifice. As the Kanauris only rank as Shudras, they are not entitled to wear the sacred thread, so they wear instead a *kaṇṭhí*† or necklace from the age of 8.

Marriage customs.

The marriage customs in Kanaur resemble those of the Tibetans. Brothers marry a joint wife, the *lámas* solemnizing the wedding by chanting certain hymns and worshipping the gods or goddesses, goats also being sacrificed.

The nuptial rites in Kanaur are peculiar. In the first place the amount of the *ḍherí* is unusually high, varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000.‡ The custom as to dower is also different. Many people give the bride as many pewter vessels as there are in the bridegroom's family, but ornaments, he-goats, cows, etc., are also given. The wedding is thus solemnized :—

One of the brothers, most usually the one who is the bride's equal in age, goes with some of his relatives to her father's house on the day fixed by the *láma* (priest). There the party are well entertained, and the *láma* solemnizes the wedding by reciting some chants in Tibetan after the Tibetan manner. Next day they return to their own house with the bride richly dressed and adorned. On reaching home the bride is made welcome, especially by her mother-in-law. After a religious ceremony, the bride's right hand is held by all the bridegroom's brothers, and then all of them are deemed to have married her. A feast is then given to all who are present, and the *lámas* and musicians are fee'd. This marriage is a valid one. The child of an unmarried girl is called *puglang* (bastard), and has no right to anything by way of inheritance. Such children live by service and marry with some one of their own class, *i.e.*, with a *puglang* or *puglakch*.

In case all the brothers have only one joint wife, there can be no question as to the right of inheritance. And just as the bride's

* *Hom* is a rite in which flames are fed with clarified butter mixed with barley and sesamum seed; if possible almonds and dried grapes are also mixed in it. *Pújа* is an offering to the deity of a lamp fed with butter, water, flowers, sweetmeats, fruit, etc., while *páṭh* consists in reading or reciting the Tibetan scripture called Chhas or Chhoss.

† The *kaṇṭhi* is an ordinary necklace made of *tulsi*, the holy basil (*Ocymum sacrum*). These *kaṇṭhis* are generally made in Hardwár, Bindraban, Ajudhya and Benares.

‡ The *ḍheri* prevents a woman's going to another man, as only he who takes on himself the responsibility for it is entitled to keep the woman. It is a sum paid to the bride's guardian by those of the bridegroom, and must be refunded to the latter if the marriage turns out badly, *e.g.*, if the wife leave her husband and go off with another man, he has to refund the amount to them.

§ The wife is often older than her husbands, or than some of them, and her age, especially if coupled with a sharp tongue, gives her a decisive voice in the family councils.

mother-in-law is mistress of the family, so on her death the wife succeeds as its mistress. Thus the movable and immovable property of a family remains in its joint possession and is never divided. But the custom of polyandry is now dying out by degrees.

Death customs.

As the trade and wealth of Kanaur increase and its people come more in contact with India, they are rapidly abandoning the old customs, such as *ḍúbant* (drowning), *phukant* (burning), *bhakhant* (eating), etc. This last method of disposing of a dead body was formerly observed only by the inhabitants of Hángrang *ghoṛí* who are called by the Kanaur is Nyám, and by the Kochí or Paháṛi people, Záṛ or Jáṛ, Záḍ or Jáḍ.

The *lámas* used to consult their scriptures and advise as to the disposal of the dead according to the time, etc., of the death, but now the Hindu *shrádhs,* and so on, are observed. The only old custom which survives is the annual *shrádh* called *phulaich,** in which a he-goat, reared in the dead man's name, is dressed in his clothes, sacrificed and eaten by the members of his kindred.

At a death-bed, grain is distributed among all those present, and the *lámas* read from Buddhist writings. The body is burnt on the same day, or at latest on the next. Drums, *sanáis, karnáls*† and conches are played when the corpse is carried to the burning-ground. Some of the bones are picked up, and sent either to Mánasarowar in Tibet, to Rawálsar in Manḍi State, or to the Ganges.‡ In the deceased's room a lamp is kept burning for seven days from the death, and incense is also burnt in it. The *chholpa* (Hind. *kiria karm*) is performed from the eighth to the tenth day; all the deceased's clothes are given to the *lámas,* with other gifts. The *panchaka* or group of five constellations§ is inauspicious for the family of one who dies under it, and to avert the evil, images of roasted flour are made and burnt with the corpse, to the accompaniment of Tibetan chants.

After 15 days the *láma* does a *hom pújá,* and *páṭh,* reciting Tibetan chants of purification. This ends the period of mourning. After a year the *phulaich*|| is observed, by giving food and clothes to a *láma* in the deceased's name; and until this is observed the family must not wear any new clothes, etc. The *shrádh,* called *dujang* in Kanauri, is also solemnised by the *láma.* The burning-grounds are haunted by Masháṇ, Rákshas, Shyúná and Khar-shyúná, of whom the first two are conceived of as evil spirits or demons, and the two latter as Jack-o'-lanterns or ghosts.¶

* Fulaich or Phulaich, from Hindi phúl, flower, is so called because Kanauris do not wear new clothes till one year after a death in the family, but after performing the *dujang* they may wear flowers and new clothes.

† The *sanái* and *karnál* are both musical instruments used in the hills. The former is made of wood and is about a foot long with seven holes on which the fingers are placed while playing and its sound is like that of an *algojá*; the latter is made of brass and is like a long horn with a round, broad mouth; in sound it resembles the conch.

‡ Taking the bones to the Ganges is said to be quite a recent innovation—only dating back two or three years.

§ The five *nakshatras* are Dhaniṣṭha, Shatbhishá, Púrvábhádrapadá, Uttarábhádrapadá, and Rewati.

|| Phuláich is also the name of a fair held in October every year at Bráling, near Ropá. See Ukhyáng in the list of fairs.

¶ Masháṇ and Rákshasa are of course Sanskrit terms. The other two are Kanáwari, possibly corruptions of Tibetan words. It is worth remarking that Masháṇ, Shyúná and Rákshas are also septs of Kanets, found in Mellam, Ásrang and Rírang villages respectively.

The following chant is repeated by the *láma* more than a thousand times to exorcise an evil spirit from a man or woman: *Om bájrá kilá kiláyá ḍimo shakchá uchá thayálá faṭ.* Any one bitten by a mad dog is healed by repeating the following chant more than a thousand times: *Om khu-khu ráchá khá-thám dewá cháng-ghí dwíshok.*

A chronological list of the Buddhist religious observances in Kanaur.

1. The Kángso, a religious ceremony, in which the *hom*, *pújá* and *páṭh* are performed by the *lámás* and *zomos*, observed in every temple throughout Kanaur on the 8th, 10th, 12th and 14th of the bright half, as well as on the full moon and *amáwas* of each month.

2. The Zinshok, celebrated in Kánam village on the 8th of the bright half, as well as on the full moon of each month, including the *amáwas*.

3. The Torgyá, performed at Kánam, once on the 14th of the bright half and again on the full moon of Phágun.

4. The Toná, also celebrated at Kánam on the 11th of Chait for one day.

5. The Tíbángmá, performed at Kánam on the 20th of Paush.

6. The Kutimf, also celebrated at Kánam on the 15th of Phágun.

7. The Námgang, also observed at Kánam for two days from the *amáwas* of every month. *Hóm*, *pújá* and *páṭh* are performed by the *lámás* and *zomos*.

8. The Shibrát (Sanskr. Shivarátri, the birthday of Shib or Mahádeo), is a religious ceremony not only of the Hindús but also of the Buddhists. It takes place on the 14th of the dark half of Phágun, on which day the people adore Shib, whom they call Lofan, and distribute food among relatives and friends.

9. The Shoṇeṭang, (Sanskr. Shrávanárchana, meaning 'worship of Sáwan'), is celebrated at Grámang or Kaṭhgáoṇ in Bhábá *parganá* on the full moon of Sáwan. About a dozen young men, taking with them cooked food for three days, go out to gather wild flowers and plants from the loftiest snow peaks. They pass two nights there, collecting various kinds of wild flowers and plants, and on their return they are received with joyous music by the villagers. The garland which they bring from the forest is offered to the deity, and they then, together with women, dance and sing songs.

10. The Lámá-pazá, a Buddhist religious rite, is observed at Lábrang, Shúwá *parganá*, on the *amáwas* of Chait. The *lámás* and *zomos* devote themselves to the worship of the deity Chhakoling Ḍambar, while dancing and singing are performed by men and women with great rejoicings.

11. The Jágro (Sanskr. Jágaraṇa, a vigil), is also a religious ceremony, observed throughout Kanaur on the 20th of Bhádon. The night is spent in singing and dancing to music, and worship of the deity is performed in all the temples.

A list of the fairs held in Kanaur, with a brief description of each.

1. Losar, or New Year's Day, is observed at Kánam for three days, from Paush *shudí* 13th till the full moon of Paush. All the people assemble to ask the *lámás* about their gains and losses during the coming year. It is the most characteristic fair of Kanaur. Feasts are given to friends and relatives, but dancing by men and women to music is the chief function.

2. The Kángyur-zálmo (fr. *kángyur*, library, and *zálmo*, a visit), takes place on the 15th *gaté* of Háṛ (Asháṛh) at Kánam. People visit the Tibetan Library, called Kángyur-tángyur, in the large village of Kánam.

3. The Menthako fair also takes place at Kánam on the 20th *gaté* of Bhádon (August) and lasts two days. The chief event at this fair is a pony-race, feasting, drinking, dancing to music and singing.

4. The Khwákchá fair takes place at Kánam and lasts for 5 days from the 20th *gaté* of Mágh, ending on the 25th. The nights are passed in dancing and singing to music before the temple of the deity called Ḍábla.

5. The Gáṇgá fair takes place in Chángmang forest above Lippá, in Shúwá *parganá*, on the full moon of Kátik. Men, women and children climb to the Chángmang forest, and eating, drinking, dancing and singing are features of the festival.

6. The Jokhyá-kushimig and Jokhyá-chhugshimig at Kánam are important festivals, at which visits are paid to relatives and friends, on the 13th and 14th *gaté* of Mágh (January).

7. The Ukhyáng (fr. *ú*, a flower, and *khyáng*, a sight of) is the most remarkable fair in Kanaur. The people go to the high ranges to gather wild flowers and leaves, and offer a large garland of them to the deity. Men and women in rich attire also dance and sing a song which is roughly translated thus :—

"The fair called Ukhyáng is held first at Rupí village* in honour of the village deity named Téras,† on the 10th of Bhádo.

In Bárang village‡ it takes place on the 20th *gaté* of Bhádo, when the upper forests are full of wild flowers and plants.

For whose sake is this monkish garland§ O Náges‖ of Bárang, 'tis for your good sake.

The Ukhyáng fair takes place when the forest is dry, in the dry forest there are no flowers.

What is to be done then? Again we say what is to be done?

Behold a garland of *ráchú kánang*;¶ to whom are we to offer it?

It must be offered to Márkáling.**

Again to whom should we offer a garland of *shishyur*††?

We must offer it to the deity of Yáná or Mellam, by name Gandrápás.‡‡

Where is the remainder of the fair held?

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* Rupí is a village in Pandarabís *parganá*.

† Terás, the deity of Rupi village.

‡ Bárang, a village in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.

§ Loshgar, the monkhood flower.

‖ Náges, the deity of Bárang village.

¶ Ráchú-kánang, a plant which has leaves like a calf's ears whence its name.

** Márkáling, deity of Khwángí, a village in Shúwá *parganá*.

†† Shishyur, a plant found on the snowy peaks.

‡‡ Gandrápás, the deity of Yáná or Mellam, a village in Rajgáon *parganá*.

The fair of Maheshras*, the Bhábá *parganá*† deity, takes place when the autumn moon is full.

A handsome Rájá is Rájá Shumsher Singh.
And Maheshras, the deity of Bhábá.
Like Shúwá Chandiká,‡ is beautiful.
In Tukpá *parganá* there are nine water channels.
But Shúwá *parganá* has only one."

8. The Shogch fair is held at Chíní and lasts for 5 days, from Mangar *shudi* 10th to the full moon of that month. People from all the surrounding villages assemble to dance and sing and a great deal of merriment results.

9. The Ráthin fair is also held in Chíní on the 1st of Paush and is celebrated by dancing and singing.

10. The Agtarang fair at Richpá or Rispá in Inner Tukpá lasts for one day. All the people of the surrounding villages assemble, and dancing and singing before the temple of Kulyo deity are the features of the fair.

11. The Máng fair is also observed at Richpá and lasts for about a week from the 18th of Mágh. The *lámás* and *zomos* devote themselves to the worship of Buddha, men and women dance and sing to music with great merriment till the end of the fair.

12. The Yungnas or Jungnas fair is also held at Richpa in Paush, the exact day being fixed by the zamíndárs to suit their own convenience, and it lasts for five days. Worship of Buddha is observed with general rejoicings. Eating, drinking, dancing and singing are the principal features of the fair.

13. The Sherkan fair is held in Kánam on the 3rd of Katik and lasts but one day.

14. The Dumgyur-zálmo fair takes place at Kwálḍa, in Shúwá *parganá* on an auspicious day appointed by the *zamíndárs* in Háṛ (Ásháṛh). *Dumgyur* means a Buddhist praying wheel, and *zalmo*, a visit. The people visit the huge praying wheel, and turn it round to the right as often as they are allowed.

15. The Kailás-zálmo, or 'the visit to the Kailás mountain,' is celebrated at Pílo or Spílo, in Sháwá *parganá*, on any auspicious day in Hád fixed at the will of the *zamíndárs*, and lasts one day. Worship of the Kailás mountain is performed with great rejoicings, dancing and singing being the main features of the fair.

16. The Khepá fair is observed throughout Kanaur, for three days, from Maṇgar *badi saptami* to Maṇgar *badí dasmí*. The people bring thorns and put them on the doors of their houses in order that no evil spirit may enter and on the 3rd day they take all the thorns outside the village and burn them, as if they were burning an evil spirit. Dancing and singing with music are main features of the fair.

17. The Rás-káyang (*rás* Sanskr. *ráshi*, a zodiacal sign and *káyang*, Sanskr. *káya*, body), is the day on which the sun reaches

* Maheshras (2nd), the deity of Bhábá *parganá*.
† Bhábá is a *parganá* in the Wáng valley.
‡ Shúwang Chandiká, the goddess of Koṭhi or Kosṭampi, a village in Shúwá *parganá*.

the zodiacal sign of Aries. In India known as the Meshí-saṇkránti or Vishuva saṇkránti, throughout the Simla Hills it is called Bishú. This fair is celebrated throughout Kanaur and the Simla Hills on the 1st of Baisákh. The houses are well whitewashed and decorated, and dancing and singing with great rejoicings are its main features.

18. The Lábrang-zálmo fair takes place at Kánam on the 17th of Jéth. At this fair people visit the temple of Dáblá, and dance and sing there with great rejoicings.

19. The Chhokten-zálmo fair is held at Lábrang, in Shúwá *parganá*, on the 15th of Háṛ. People visit the temple called Chhokten at Lábrang. Singing and dancing to music are its main features.

20. The Suskar fair is observed in Koṭhí or Kosṭampí as well as elsewhere, about a week from the 9th of Phágun. Two parties, one of young men and the other of young women, fight with snow-balls until they are tired. Singing and dancing to music before the goddess Shúwáng Chaṇḍika are the main features of the fair.

21. The Jagang fair also takes place in Koṭhí on the 3rd of Mágh, and lasts for a day. Dancing and singing songs to music, and worship of the deity are performed with great rejoicings. *Jagang,* from Sanskr., *yajna,* means sacrifice.

22. The Bishu fair is the same as the Rás-káyang, which takes place on the 1st of Baisákh. In Upper Kanaur the people call it Rás-káyang, and in Lower Kanaur, Bishú.

23. The Bang-káyang fair is held at Grámang or Kaṭhgáon, in Bhábá *parganá,* on the full moon of Paush. All the Bhábá people assemble in the temple of Maheshras and worship him. Dancing and singing are the main features of the fair.

Monasticism.

Kanet girls, who do not marry, but devote their time to the study of the Tibetan scriptures are called *zomos* or *jamos.* They live in nunneries. The two principal nunneries are at Kánam and Sunnam, and in these a great number of *zomos* live. Besides this, every village has a few *zomos.*

Kanet boys, who learn the Tibetan scriptures, and are well versed in the Buddhist doctrines, are called *lámás.* They live in monasteries and are looked upon as very holy. In fact they are the priests of all of the Kanets. There are several monasteries of these *lámás* in Kánam, Sunnam, and other villages. *Lámás* are either Gyolang or celibate, like the Brahmachárí, or Ḍugpú, who marry but never shave the head.

The *lámá* is consulted with regard to every important undertaking. Thus he is asked to name an auspicious day for beginning to plough or sow, and at the time ascertained he recites chants like the one beginning: *Om akání nikání ambitá mandíté mantálé swáhá,* 'May the gods bestow on us abundance of grain.' When a new roof is put on a temple, which is called *shánt,** the *lámás* perform a ceremony,

* From Sanskr. *shánti,* peace.

reciting charms and performing *hom*, with the sacrifice of sheep and goats. This is called *paresṭáng* (Sanskr. *pratisṭhá*, consecration). When a new house is ready the *lámá* fixes the time auspicious for its occupation, and the owner, dressed in new clothes, is then taken into it with his wife, who rings a bell. This is called *gorásang*.* New grain is first offered to the village-god and may then be eaten.

Cults in Kanaur.

An alphabetical list of the deotás *in Kanaur, together with the name of the village in which each is located.*

1. Badrínáth, at Kámrú or Mone village.
2. Bhímákálí, at Kámrú or Mone village. (Also at Saráhan.)
3. Chhákoling Dámbar, at Lábrang village in *parganá* Shúwá.
4. Chandiká, at Ropá village in Shúwá *parganá*, Gangyul *ghoṛí*. Also at Yáwring village, Shúwá *parganá*.
5. Chhwedung, at Chángo village in Shúwá *parganá*.
6. Dáblá, at Kánam, Dábling, Dubling, Lío, Spúwá or Poo, Shyásho, in Upper Kanaur.
7. Deodum, at Náko, in Shúwá *parganá*.
8. Gyángmágyum, at Jángí, in Shúwá *parganá*.
9. Kásurájas, at Rírang or Ribbá, in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.
10. Khormo, at Pílo or Spílo, in Shúwá *parganá*.
11. Kulyo, at Richpá or Rispá, in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.
12. Maháshras, at Shungrá or Grosnam in Thárábís *parganá*, at Grámang or Kaṭhgáon in Bhábá *parganá*, and at Chúgáon or Tholang in Rajgáon *parganá*.
13. Márkáling, at Khwángi in Shúwá *parganá*.
14. Máthí, at Chhitkul, in Outer Tukpá *parganá*.
15. Milákyum, at Akpá village in Shúwá *parganá*.
16. Náges, at Bárang, Brúáng,† Chásang, Chhoṭá Kámbá, Kilbá, Mewar, Mírú, Sánglá, Sápní or Rápang villages.
17. Nágin, at Bari village in Thárabís *parganá*.
18. Naráyan, at Barsering village in Outer Tukpá *parganá*.
19. Narenas, at Asrang, Chíní, Shoháng, Urní, and Yúlá villages; and also at Chugáon, Grámang and Shungrá, with the three Maheshras.
20. Ormig, at Morang or Ginam village in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.
21. Páthoro, at Rárang and Punnam villages, Shúwá and Rajgáon *parganás*.
22. Rogshú, at Rogí village in Shúwá *parganá*.
23. Shankras, at Pwárí or Por village in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.
24. Shanshras, at Rákchham village in Outer Tukpá *parganá*.
25. Shéshéring, at Pángí village in Shúwá *parganá*.
26. Rápukch, at Thángí village in Inner Tukpá *parganá*.
27. Shúwáng Chandiká, at Kosṭampí or Kothí village in Shúwá *parganá*.
28. Tárásang, at Trándá village in Thárábis *parganá*.
29. Téras at Rúpí village in Pandrábís *parganá*.
30. Tungmá Dámbar, at Gyábung village in Shúwá *parganá*.
31. Ukhá, at Nachár and Bará Kámbá villages, Thárábís and Pandrábís *parganas*.
32. Yulshá, at Sunnam village in Shúwá *parganá*.

Kanazai, a *naddáf* or cotton-carder in Peshávar.

Kanazai, one of the three main sections of the Utmánzai Paṭháns in Hazára.

Kanchan, fem. -í, this like the **Kanjar** is hardly a caste, Kanchan simply meaning a pimp‡ or prostitute, and being the Hindustáni equivalent for

* From Sanskr. *grihapravtishṭha*, entering in a house: it is called *gharásní* in the Simla Hills.

† Náges *deotá* in Sánglá is thus addressed by the *pujyáres* in worship:—

O thou, who livest within the wall, who livest in holes, who canst go into a vessel, who canst swiftly run, who livest in the water, on the precipice, upon the trees, in the waste-land, among the meadows, who hast power like the thunderbolt, who livest within the hollow trees, among the rocks, within the caves, be victorious.

‡ In this sense it has a plethora of synonyms.

the Panjábi Kanjar. The word *kanchan* is said to mean 'gold' or 'pure and illustrious.' The Hindu prostitute is commonly known as Rámjani, Harkain being also used.* Randi is also used for a prostitute in the east of the Province, but it only means a 'widow' throughout the Punjab proper. Only two-fifths of the Kanchans are . . s. They form a distinct class, though not only their offspring, but also girls bought in infancy or joining the community in later life and devoting themselves to prostitution, are known as Kanchans. In the south-east of the Punjab, however, the Kanchans appear to form a fairly distinct caste. Those of them who have followed their profession for generations are styled *ḍeradárs* and look down upon the later recruits. They have a more or less definite custom of inheritance,† and the birth of a girl is the occasion for greater rejoicings than that of a boy, as a girl is a source of wealth. The unmarried girls are generally prostituted, but wives and sons' wives are kept in even more rigid seclusion than high caste women. Wives have to be purchased from poor people of any tribe at considerable cost, as Kanchans do not give their daughters in marriage and cannot obtain brides in their own caste. When a girl attains puberty and co-habits with a man for the first time a feast, called *shádi missi*, is given to all the brotherhood, and menials get their doles. Prior to this ceremony the girl may wear a nose-ring, but not after it. Seven months after a pregnancy too the brotherhood is feasted and menials paid their dues. The *mirási* of the Kanchans is called *dádá* and gets a rupee a year. A woman of another caste is admitted into the sisterhood by drinking a cup of sweetened water and she is then entitled to be treated, even in matters of inheritance, like a natural daughter. The Kanchan, Rámjani and Harkain are said to rank above the Barikká,‡ Malzáda, MUSALLI and NAT—all of whom appear to be or rank as prostitute castes. The Kanchans of Ludhiána found in Nábha say they were Chughattái Mughals descended from one Mirza Jeb. His grandfather Mirza Alam was put to death for some reason at Delhi and fled to Rámpur. He is said to be still spoken of as 'Rámpur Juni' and in order to conceal his identity he joined the Kanchans. See also PERNA.

KÁṆCHÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KAṆḌÁ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KANDÁN, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

KANDARKE, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

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* The story told is that Ahád's son, the king Shidád, built a magnificent palace, which he named Paradise. In it he placed virgins instead of the houris of Paradise, who are lawful to the dwellers therein. This recalls the practice of the Assassins as told in the *History* of that sect by von Hammer, p. 137 of tne English translation:—

"A youth who was deemed worthy, by his strength and resolution, to be initiated into the Assassin service, was invited to the table and conversation of the grandmaster or grand-prior: he was then intoxicated with henbane (*hashish*) and carried into the garden, which, on awakening, he believed to be the Paradise: everything around him the houris in particular, contributed to confirm his delusion."

The Rámjani of course claims descent from Rám Chandra.

† Kanchans and Kanjars generally follow Muhammadan Law in cases of inheritance, *Punjab Record*, 95 of 1884, 52 of 1893, 62 of 1892 and 98 of 1885. In Nábha, however, it is stated that sons and daughters succeed equally, contrary to Muhammadan Law.

‡ A low class of Muhammadans: *Punjabi Dicty.*, p. 100.

Kandera, the same as the *dhunia* or *penja*, or rather 'a Hindu *dhunia*': but see Kanera.

Kandhár, one of the phratries of the Rájputs in Karnál and like the Mandhar, Panihár, Saukarwál and Bargujar descended from Lao. Intermarriage between these tribes is forbidden on the ground of their common descent.

Kaṇḍránah, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kaṇḍwá, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kanera, (1) a mat-weaver but now a weaver of any kind (Multáni): (2) the Kaneras form a small Muhammadan caste, found only on the lower courses of the Sutlej and Chenáb, and on the Indus. They must be distinguished from the Kandera or Penja of Delhi. They are a river tribe, and their original occupation was plaiting mats from grass and leaves, making string, and generally working in grass and reeds; but they have now taken to weaving generally, and even cultivate land. In Dera Ismáíl Khán and Bannu, however, they still work in *káthuá* and *kander*, of which they make mats and *patalis* for the roofs of houses, as well as ropes. They are a low caste, slightly but only slightly superior in standing and habits to the other grass-workers and tribes of the river banks. "A Kaneri by caste, and her name is Ghulám Fátima, and she is an associate of the gentlemen of the desert (wild-pigs)!" (2) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kanerán, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kanet.—The Kanets are the yeoman peasantry of the eastern Himalayas in the Punjab, and of the hills at their base. On the west they extend as far as Bangahal and the eastern portion of the Kángṛa Valley, occupying the whole of Kullu,* Mandi, Suket, the Simla Hill States and Sirmúr. A few are also found east of the Sutlej in the Jhandbari *iláqa* of Hoshiárpur and the Kotáha Valley of Ambála is also held by them. In Kángṛa Proper their place is filled by the Ghirths. The Rájputs are, generally speaking, their over-lords, but in many places, especially in the Simla Hills, they have retained their original independence and are directly subordinate to the Rájput Rájás.

The common derivation of Kanet or Kanait is from *kunit* 'indifference' or 'hostility' to the Shástras, and the Rájputs or Chhatrís who did not observe them strictly are said to have been called 'Kanait.' Their laxity was mainly with regard to wedding and funeral rites and in keeping widows as wives. Others say that the word is really *kania het* or 'love for daughters' because Kanets did not kill their girl-children. The true Rájputs used to kill theirs at birth. Another suggestion is that *ait* signifies sons, just as *aik* signifies brothers and kinsmen, *e. g.* Rámait means Rámu's sons and Ramaik his brothers and kin. Now Rája Kans of the Puráns is called Kán in Paháṛi and his sons would be called Kanait, but since Kans persecuted Brahmans and was

* The Lahulas, or peasantry in Lahul, are beginning to call themselves Kanets as they become Hinduized. *See* under Láhula. The Kanets of Láhul are said to be called Jád by the Kanets of Kullu, but that term appears to be unknown both in Lahul and in Spiti.

looked upon as a *dait* (a devil or *rákshasa*), he was killed and left no descendants. Others say that Krishna, also called Kán in Pahári, invaded Bashahr and advanced to Shurinatpur (now Saráhan); so *his* descendants are Kanait. But neither suggestion appears tenable.

Speaking generally, the further we penetrate into the Hills the less pure is the Kanet and the lower he stands in Hindu estimation. In the Siwálik hills, in Sirmúr, below the Chaur Peak, in lower Suket, Mandi, Nálágarh, Biláspur, etc., the pure Kanets at least rank higher than those in the upper hills of Kullu, Saráj and the other Simla States. The latter in turn look down upon the Kanets whose country stretches from the Nogri *khad* to Kanaur, and they in turn despise the Jáḍs of Kanaur itself.

In Kullu Proper, *i.e.*, in the Kullu Valley, the Kanets have three groups or grades: Khash, Ráhu and Níru*, the latter apparently confined to the Dugi-Lag *wazíri* in Kullu. Sir James Lyall, however, only noted two divisions the 'Kassiya' and 'Ráo.' The latter say that a Rájá of Kullu ordered the Kanets to reform their loose practices, and conform altogether to Hinduism; those who obeyed were called Kassiyas and those who stuck to their old ways, Ráos. It is a fact that at the present day the former are more Hindu in all their observances than the latter and the story is otherwise probable, as one can see that the foreign priests round the Rájás were always striving to make the Kullu people more orthodox Hindus, greater respecters of Brahmans and less devoted to the worship of their local divinities. The Kassiyas wear the *janeo*, and pretend to some superiority which, however, is not admitted by the Ráos. They intermarry and eat and drink together out of the same cooking-pots but not out of the same dish or plate. The late Mr. A. Anderson noted that the Kassiya were more common in Kullu proper and the Ráo in Saráj. The Kanets of the remote Malána Valley will be found described under Rá Deo. According to Cunningham Ráos are also in possession of the lower Pábar, Rúpin and Tons valleys in the Simla Hills, but these may be the Ráhus of those Hills. They give their name to the petty fief of Rawáhin or Rawain.

In the Simla Hills the groups are Kanet, Khash, Ráhu and Kuran (? or Kuthára), the Khash ranking below the Kanet, who take their daughters in marriage; while both rank above the Ráhu, who are votaries of Ráhu, and the Kuran, devotees of Ketu. These two latter groups keep an

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* In Simla the Níru, Noru, Niúru, Nonu, Neonu and (or) Notu sept(s) are said to be old Kanets and descended from the Rájputs—of a tribe not specified—who were *máwis* or *movannas*, Brahmans and Miáns or sons of Rájás who took Kanet wives. They often intermarry with the Khash or Khosh. The Níru and Khosh do not intermarry with the Ráhu and Kuran, though the two former eat food cooked by each other, and also with the Ráhu and Kuran except at times of *sútak* and *pátak*. In Kullu and Bashahr the Ráhu and Kuran cook food on an *angetha* or stove, while the Níru and Khosh use *chúlas*, but this is a custom rather than a caste distinction. The Ráhu and Kuran disregard the rule of *júth*, *i. e.*, they can drink from the same cup. With them demise mourning ends after three days and on the 5th they kill a goat. These Kanaits can cohabit with a Kolin, if they keep her in a separate house, and any son by her will be a servant in the family but cannot claim inheritance. But a Dági woman cannot be kept, as the Dági is inferior in caste to the Koli. These Kanaits eat the flesh of the ewe, *bheṛi*. They can marry the maternal uncle's or father's sister's daughter. They are found in Kullu and Bashahr but there are very few to the south of the Nogri. The Ráhu and Kuran hardly differ at all. They intermarry and eat together during *sútak* and *pátak*. Ráhu is said to be derived from Ráhu the sun-devouring dragon, *or*, in Kullu Proper, from *mahu*, a bee.

eclipse as a fête-day, feasting just as it takes place. On the Shivrátri too they make an ox of flour and worship it: and then the head of the family shoots it in the belly with an arrow or cuts it with a sword, and the pieces are distributed to all present, in spite of attempts to rescue the image.*

In Sirmúr the Kanets are found throughout the State, but trans-Giri only the Khash. The latter have an offshoot called Sharai from *shara*, the Muhammadan Law, because their ancestor when hardpressed acknowledged himself the Koli of his Muhammadan oppressors. The Khash will give no daughters to the Sharai. Most of the Kanets in Sirmúr are returned as Punwár.

The relative position of the different groups can hardly be stated with precision. Thus in Kullu Proper the Khash rank higher than the Ráhu, despite the saying:

Khashia, Khash bís,
Mán ek, báb bís.
"To every Khashia,† twenty Khash,
One mother, twenty fathers."

In Saráj the Kanets are polyandrous, yet they profess to look down on the Kanets of Kullu Proper: and in the Simla Hills the Khash are inferior to the true Kanets.

In the Kanaur tract of Bashahr, the Kanets are called JÁḌS or ZÁḌS and form a distinct sub-caste with which the Kanets of the lower ranges do not, as a rule, intermarry or eat, though they will smoke and drink with them. They are not at all particular about their food or drink, and will actually eat *yak*-beef. These Kanets will be found fully described under KANAURI.

Throughout Sirmúr and the Simla Hills there were until quite recent times two great factions, the Shátis or followers of the Pándavas, and the Báshis who were adherents of the Kauravas.‡ Social intercourse of any kind between these two groups was absolutely forbidden, but they now intermarry, and so on. In Sirmúr the adherents of the Kauravas are also called Sathars, those of the Pándavas Pasars. The origin of these terms is lost in obscurity.

The Kanets are, or claim to be, of impure Rájput descent, but the race is of diverse origin. In Kullu they are often classed by other Hindus as on a par with the Ráthis§ of Kángra, and just as the latter

* In the Simla hills, four classes among the Kanets were said to rank higher than the rest and are known as the Chár Khúndh. Their names are Bhaunthí, Parhíar, Chhippar, Balhír. Other sub-divisions in those hills are:—Kohál, Gahru, Barúri, Chákar, Katlehru, Surāji, Khash, Badní, Charolá, Badalwal. Jalánu, Rohal, Katálik, Pírwál, Janwál, Dolál, Rohana, Kulhárnún, Norú, Laddogarh. But a large number of *khels* are now given as superior to the rest of the Kanets.

† Said to mean "female" (? Khas). The word Khasha in Sanskrit is said to have meant the country inhabited by the fourth class of the Hindus (? Súdras). It extended from Kumaun to the Simla Hills.

‡ The Báshis kept the Shivrátri on the 14th, the Shátis on the 15th of Phágan.

§ The Kanets rank well above the Ghirths in the hypergamy scale, for whereas a Ghirthni becomes a queen in the 7th generation a Kanetni may aspire to that honour in the 5th, which places the Kanets just below the Ráthis.

claim to be Rájputs, who have lost status by taking to the plough, or the offspring of Rájputs by women of Súdra rank, so the Kanets say that they are the children of women of the hills by Rájputs who came up from the plains. On the other hand, another story makes the mass of the Kullu population homogeneous and assigns both the Kanets and the Dágis to one stock. Two sons of the demi-god, Bhím Sain, Pándava, each had a son by a daughter of a Kullu *rákshasa* or demon. One of these married a Bhotánti or Tibetan woman, who fed him on yák's flesh, so that he and his children by her became Dágis. The other son was the ancestor of the Kanets.

But if the mass of the Kanets claims descent from various Rájput tribes, some, such as the Chibhar, from Kishtwár and Lahore, and the Ḍogṛa, from Jammu, claim to be Brahmans by origin. Besides their nebulous status groups the Kanets are divided into countless septs of which only a few can be noticed here. More than 1,100 Kanet *khels** or septs are enumerated. The *khel* is quite distinct from the *gotra* which is often, if not always, retained. The origin of some of the *khels* is quite recent and well authenticated. Thus the Sain sept is descended from Ránás of Kot Khái, Khaneti, Kumhársain and Delhat: the Maliára sprang from a cadet branch of the ruling families of Biláspur and Nálagarh; and both, originally Rájputs by birth, have sunk to Kanet status.

In Sirmur the Jaitki *khel* is so named from the village of Jaitak, but it is said to be descended from a Khatri of Sámána who espoused a Kanetní.

From the Agnikula Rájputs have sprung the Agnibansi and Punwár septs; and from the Punwár the Bhaunthi, Badhár, Baler, Khanogú and Ramál septs.

The Tanwar or Tanúr Kanets are descended from Rájputs of that clan and are found, chiefly, in Bághal, Mahlog and Kunhiár.

From the Chauháns are descended the Raháni, Namola, Biphrála. Padhár, Padhán, Sádí, Chauhán, Chándal and Chandel septs, all claiming Baldeo of Delhi as their progenitor. The Badhoi Kanets, who are very numerous in the Simla Hills, are also said to be Chauhán; they are divided into a number of sub-septs and can marry within their own sept. Other septs are:—

1. Bháradwaje†: this *gotra* name is still in use, but it includes the Batál and Mánlú (Kanet) septs and the Chanárú (Brahmans). Tradition says that once a Brahman *máwi* of Sonwal, a village in Koṭi, had two sons who married Kanet brides. One settled at Mánlá village, the other at Bháṭlá, and they founded the Mánlú and Baṭál septs. Those of the family who remained Brahmans settled at Chanárí, a village in Koṭi and are called Chanárú. 2. Kalál: a sept which takes its name from Ḳelo, a village in Koṭi, and gives its name to the Kaláḷṭhi *pargana* of that State. 3. Chauhán, a sept which occupies the upper valley of the Pábar in Jubbal, and is numerous in Keonṭhal, Sirmúr,

* The word *khel* is pronounced like *kheṛ*, with the hard *l*, in the Simla Hills. It may, however, be identical with the Pashtu *khel*.

† The occurrence of this *gotra* name among the Gaddis and Ghirths also will be noted.

Mandi and Suket. 4. Mangal, a sept which gives its name to the Mángal, a tract lying west of the Pábar basin. 5. Kásib, another *gotra* name, more than half of whom are returned from Bashahr, where the Kanets are divided into numerous septs.

The Kanets of Kullu.

Kanets of both sexes wear a dress which is picturesque, and not at all oriental. A red and black woollen cap, not unlike a Scotch bonnet at first sight, a grey or brown loose woollen tunic girt in, with a rope or sash at the waist, a striped or chequered blanket worn like a Scotch plaid round the chest and over the shoulders, form the dress of the men. If well enough off, they add loose woollen trousers tight round the ankle. Some of the women wear a cap like that of the men, under which their hair hangs down in long plaits lengthened out with plaits of worsted, but most of them do without a cap, and wear their hair puffed out and twisted into a high sloping chignon, not unlike the fashion once prevailing among English women. Instead of a tunic they wear a plaid or blanket fastened around them with bodkins, and so skilfully put on that while the neck and arms are bare, all the rest of the body is modestly covered to below the knee : the leg is bare or covered with a woollen gaiter : broad metal anklets are not uncommon, and set off the leg very prettily ; the arms are generally overloaded with bracelets. Both sexes are generally shod with sandals made of plaited straw or hemp, but many go bare foot, and a few wear leather shoes. Both sexes, especially on festival days, are fond of wearing bunches of flowers stuck in their caps or in their hair, and strings of flowers hung round their necks. Some are hardly darker than Spaniards in complexion, with a ruddy color showing in their cheeks ; others are as dark as the ordinary Punjabi.* They are not tall, but look strong and active, and generally have handsome figures. Many of the women have fine eyes, and a mild and gentle expression of face, but the men, on the whole, have the advantage in regularity of feature. The finest men are to be found in Saráj. The women do most of the field work, with the exception of ploughing, but in return they have more liberty than in most parts of India. They attend all the fairs and festivals (*jách*) held periodically at every temple in the country. At these fairs both sexes join in the singing and dancing, but the women in Kullu dance separately, and at night only. In Bashahr the Kanets of both sexes dance together. In the Lág and Parol *wazíris* it is not uncommon to see many of both sexes returning from the fairs decidedly tipsy, the result of deep potations of *súr* or *lugri*, a kind of weak acid beer, generally brewed at home, from rice. In Rúpi and Saráj drinking is considered a reproach, and almost universally eschewed.† In the winter, when confined to their houses by

* With the exception of a few families, descendants of the Rájás' priests or *parohits*, the Kullu Brahmans differ very little in appearance, dress or customs from the Kanets. The same may be said of nearly all of the few Rájputs. The blood is in fact generally very mixed, for both Brahmans and Rájputs commonly marry Kanet girls: such wives are known as *srit* in distinction from the *lári*, or wife of the same caste taken by the regular *biáh* ceremony: Lyall's Kángra *Sett. Rep.*, § 114. The text is from § 112.

† In Rúpi a mildly intoxicating, but very refreshing, infusion of hemp-leaves (*bhang*), violets and sugar is occasionally indulged in at fairs. In the other *wazíris* of Kullu Proper, towards the sources of the Beas, there is much drunkenness. The hill-beer is of two kinds, *lugri* and *chakti* and *sur*. The former is made from rice, fermented with *phap*, a kind of yeast which is imported from Ladákh or Báltistán, and the composition of which is a trade

the snow, the men spend most of their time in weaving blankets and cloth for sale or home consumption: the women do not weave in Kullu.

Social usages.

'The s cial usages of the Kanets are not peculiar to the caste, but are those which are followed by the other castes in the localities concerned, the upper classes of the Kanets observing the same usages as the Brahmans or Rájputs, while the lower are content to follow much the same customs as the artisan castes below them. A full account therefore of all the Kanet social usages and religious beliefs would be tantamount to a description of all the Hindu usages in vogue in the hills of Kullu, Mandi, Suket and Simla, together with an account of all the Hindu beliefs in those hills. Such an account is attempted in the Introductory Volume; and the notes which follow give only the barest outlines of the social observances in Kullu. Those of the Kanets of Láhul, Kanaur and Bashahr and separately described under LAHULA and KANAURI, and below on p. 000 will be found an account of the people of Bashahr.

On the birth of a male child in Kullu there is a feast, and a present is made to the headman (*negi*) of the Kothi. The child is christened some time within the year following, and is then produced in public, and there is another feast. It is a common custom in Outer Saráj to give two brothers names that rhyme. According to one informant, who ranks all Kanets as Sudras, the Khash observe the same rites at birth as the twice-born castes, while the Raos, like the low castes, simply offer a bunch of green grass to the child's father and he places it on his head, but gives no alms.

'Three kinds of marriage ceremonies are in use in Kullu, *viz.* (1) *Bedi biáh*, the ordinary Hindu form; (2) *ruti manái*, four or five men go from the bridegroom to the bride's house, dress her up, put a cap on her head, and then bring her home to the bridegroom; (3) Ganesh púja, the form used by Brahmans, Khatrís, Suniásás, etc., in marrying a Kanet girl. The bridegroom sends his priest and others to the bride's house where worship of Ganesh is performed, and the bride then brought home. Suniáras send a knife to represent them. The children of a Brahman and Rájput by a Kanet wife are called Brahmans and Rájputs; the term Ráthi is often added as a qualification by any one pretending himself to unmixed blood. In the absence of other children they are their father's full heirs, but in the presence of other children by a *lári* wife they would ordinarily only get an allotment by way of maintenance, put by some at one-fifth, but the limit seems rather vague in practice. The rule of inheritance in

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secret of the brewers, who are nearly all Ladákhis or Láhulis, and thus able to keep the roadside public-houses and the drinking-tents at fairs in their own hands. Four measures of rice are mixed with 4 equal measures of *phap*, and to the mixture is added the same bulk of water, the whole sufficing to fill a large earthenware vessel in which it is allowed to remain for 4 days: the liquor is then strained off, and will keep good for 8 days; it is acid and sickening, and an acquired taste is necessary for its appreciation. *Sur* is the "table beer" of the country, brewed by the people in their homes, and is made in the same way as *chakti*, but with *kodra* millet instead of rice, and a ferment called *dhili*, instead of *phap*. *Dhili* is a mixture of *satu* and various herbs kneaded into a cake without any admixture of water, and kept warm below a layer of barley straw for 20 days or so, when it begins to smell, it is then dried, and is ready for use.

Kullu among all tribes at the present day is *pagvand*, or, as it is here called, ***mundevand***, that is, all legitimate sons of one father get an equal share without reference to the number of sons born of each wife or mother. Among the Kanets and the lower castes the real custom hitherto has been that every son by a woman kept and treated as a wife was legitimate. It was not necessary that any ceremony should have been performed. If no one else claimed the woman, and she lived with the man as a wife, the son born from such cohabitation was legitimate. In the same way among the same classes a *pichlag*, or posthumous son (called *ronda* in Kullu), born to a widow in the house of a second husband, is considered the son of the second husband ;—and a widow cannot be deprived of her life tenure of her husband's estate for want of chastity so long as she does not go away to live in another man's house. It appears to be a general idea in Kullu that a father could, by formal deed of gift executed in his lifetime, give his estate to a daughter, in default of sons, without consent of next of kin. It is, I think, doubtful also whether a distant kinsman (say, more than three or four generations apart) could claim against a daughter without gift, and, it seems, generally allowed that a *ghar jawái* or son-in-law taken into the house becomes after a time entitled to succeed as a kind of adopted son without proof of gift': (Lyall, § 115).

'Polyandry now prevails only in Saráj, and there the custom seems to be tending to fall into disuse. It is in reality a mere custom of community of wives among brothers who have a community of other goods. In one house you may find three brothers with one wife, in the next three brothers with four wives, all alike in common ; in the next house there may be an only son with three wives to himself. It is a matter of means and of land ; a large farm requires several women to look after it. Where there is only one wife to several brothers, it will generally be found that some of the brothers are absent for part of the year working as laborers. In former years I have seen perplexing claims arise from this custom. The sons or grandsons of a family which has lived in polyandry agree to divide the ancestral estate, and quarrel as to the shares, some saying that each son should get an equal share, others that the sons of each mother (where the fathers had several wives in common) should get an equal share, others that the sons of each putative father should get an equal share. Of late years such disputes have seldom arisen, as it has become a pretty generally recognised principle that, as far as our courts are concerned, the woman in these cases is the wife only of the eldest son or head of the family, and all sons she may bear must be presumed to be his. This principle agrees in results with, what I believe to have been in former times, the general rule of inheritance, as between the children of brothers all living in community of wives (but it must be confessed that no one custom seems to have been rigidly followed in all cases) ; on the other hand, as between the children of brothers all of whom did not live in community of wives, the old custom of the country was, I believe, as follows :—If of three brothers, one separated off his share of the estate and set up for himself, and the other two lived on in common and a son was born in their house ; then such son was considered to be the child of two fathers and heir to the estate of both : the separated brother or his children could claim no share of such estate on the death of either of the united brothers. This appears

to me to have been the custom in past times, but it is opposed to the principle, above mentioned as at present in force, of only recognising the mother to be the wife of one of the brothers, and I am not aware that it has been ever affirmed by our courts.'* Lyall, § 117.

A corpse is burnt ordinarily on the day following the death, before the cremation it is covered with a cloth, and the musicians play. If the deceased is of good family his ashes are at once taken to Hardwár, whatever the season of the year: otherwise they are kept till the winter, when a party is made up to convey to the Ganges the ashes of all who have died in the neighbourhood during the summer. The formal funeral ceremonies (the *gati*) are performed on the tenth day after death, when the deceased's clothes are divided among the officiating Brahmans and the Kumhárs who provide the earthen pots for the funeral. On the 13th day (*pachi*) a goat is sacrificed and is eaten at a feast by the relatives of the family. Kanets of the lower class (the Raos) perform all these ceremonies on one day, the third after the death. In some places it is usual after a cremation to make a small foot-bridge over running water somewhere in the neighbourhood to help the passing of the soul of the deceased. On the fourth anniversary of the death the *chaubarkha* feast is celebrated, and until then the widow, if faithful to the memory of the dead, should remain in mourning and refrain from wearing her ornaments, she is forbidden for ever to wear again her gold nose-ring and *bulák*.

'The Kullu people are good humoured among themselves but rough and inhospitable to strangers, very shy and distrustful of any new officer but almost fond of one they know well, very submissive to constituted authority if exercised with any tact, not given to theft, and not much to falsehood; but this is partly the result of a simplicity or want of cunning which does not see how a fact perfectly well known to the questioned person can be concealed from the questioners. On the other hand, they are not so industrious, so frugal, or so enterprising as the Kángra people, and they are still more superstitious. That they have imagination is proved by many of their legends and fairy tales which contain as much of that quality as any in the world. Their sense of the picturesque is proved by the situation they chose for their temples, by the wild stories they attach to each cave, lake, frowning cliff, rugged rock, or waterfall, to explain the impression which its form produces on their minds. They are very fond of music; the tunes, which are quick and lively, remind one of Irish jigs or Scotch reels. The women sing a great deal, and rhyming songs are made at each marriage or funeral, or in commemoration of any remarkable event. As a general rule, one line in each couplet is not original and has no reference to the subject in hand. It belongs, in fact, to a collection of old lines, which is used as a common stock by all the poets of the country, like a *Gradus ad Parnassum*. This is a splendid invention for reducing the difficulty of rhyming, which keeps so many poets mute in other countries. Their heads are full of strange fancies about things spiritual; for instance, they believe

*Among the Kanets of Kodh Sowár, *i. e.*, in Bangáhal the *vands* or separate holdings were indivisible, so that if the owner of a single *vand* died it went to his *kanna* or youngest son, while if he held two, the other went to his next youngest, and so on. The elder sons went out into the world and took service with the Rájá or elsewhere, earning a grant of land thereby, while the younger sons remained at home and succeeded.

in the soul leaving the body during sleep, and account in this way for dreams: in these wanderings they say the soul can hold converse with the spirits of deceased persons, and communications are often received in this way. Both men and women are very susceptible of the passion of love, and do wild things under its influence. They will run off and live together in a cave in the mountains till forced down by the pangs of starvation. Men of the best families constantly incur imprisonment or loss of office for breaches of marriage laws, or social outlawry for the sake of some low caste woman. They are not manly or martial in manner, but I doubt if they can be called a cowardly race. I have seen them attack bears and leopards without firearms in a rather courageous way.'* Apart from the jollifications at the fairs, the people, even the children, have few amusements. A game called *chagols* or "sheep and panthers" is sometimes played with pebbles for pieces on a rough sort of chessboard chalked on a rock.

To describe the religious ideas of the Kanets would be tantamount to giving an account of modern Hinduism in the Himalayas. But to show the curious natures of their superstitions it is worth while to describe an expiatory ceremony, which is occasionally performed with the object of removing *grah* or bad luck or evil influence which is supposed to be brooding over a hamlet. The *deota* of the place is, as usual, first consulted through the *chela* and declares himself also under the spell, and advises a *jag* or feast, which is given in the evening at the temple. Next morning a man goes round from house to house with a *kilta* or creel on his back, into which each family throws all sorts of odds and ends, pairing of nails, pinches of salt, bits of old iron, handfuls of grain, etc.; the whole community then turns out and circumambulates the village, at the same time stretching an unbroken thread round it fastened to pegs at the four corners. This done, the man with the creel carries it down to the river-bank, and empties the contents therein, and a sheep, fowl, and some small animals are sacrificed on the spot. Half the sheep is the perquisite of the man who dares to carry the creel, and he is also entertained from house to house on the following night.

THE PEOPLE OF BASHAHR STATE.

The Bashahris or people of Bashahr, the Simla Hill State which lies most remote from the Punjab proper, differ in their customs so materially from the peoples of the other Simla Hill States that it is necessary to describe them separately. While the mass of the population is Kanet, Rájputs or Ṭhákurs, Brahmans and the low castes of the Simla Hills are also well represented in Bashahr, but the customs of the people as a whole are those of the Kanets, the dividing line between the different castes being very indistinct. The following account of the people of Bashahr is from the pen of Pandit Tíka Rám Joshi. It excludes the customs of Kanaur, for which reference must be made to KANAURI.

The Kanets of Bashahr appear to be divided into two hypergamous sub-castes (groups):—

(*i*) Khash.

(*ii*) Karán, or Ráhu, from whom the Khash take daughters but do not give them brides in return.

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* Lyall's Kángra *Sett. Rep.*, § 118. The rest of the above account is from that work or the Kullu *Gazetteers*.

There is also a third, a sectarian group, the Ganesha, so called because they adore the deity Ganesh.

The Kanets were originally Ṭhákurs, but lost status by adopting widow remarriage.

The Brahmans of Bashahr are divided into three grades :—

(*i*) Uttam, who do not plough.

(*ii*) Acháraj, who receive the *ashubh dán* or impure alms of the other Brahmans and Rájputs. They take daughters in marriage from the

(*iii*) Krishna, who plough.

Like the other two twice-born castes most of the Brahmans in Bashahr are *sirtoṛás* and not of pure descent. Those that are of pure blood may be divided into two grades :—

(*a*) The State *purohits*, who intermarry, and eat *kachhi* with the *purohits* of Ráṇwí, a village of Brahmans who are priests to the Rájá, and Brahmans as well as with those of Ḍwárch and Singṛá.

(*b*) Bázár *purohits.*

All the twice-born castes will eat *pakkí* with one another, and even from the Khash and Karán Kanets; but they never do so with the Krishna group of the Brahmans.

Observances at :

1. *Birth.*—During pregnancy the *kuldeotá* is worshipped, if necessary, and between the seventh and eighth months the Ashṭam Ráhu is also worshipped,* but these observances are confined to the twice-born castes and to the better class of the Khash Kanets. Brahmans predict the child's sex by counting a handful of almonds, odd numbers indicating a boy, even a girl. The birth of a girl passes unnoticed, but that of a boy is the occasion for festivities and almsgiving. As a rule the midwife is a woman of low caste, but sometimes Karán women are so employed. During the last five months of pregnancy the midwife massages the woman at the end of each month to keep the foetus in position.

The *gontrálá* is observed by Brahmans, Rájputs and Vaisyas after 11, 13 and 15 days, respectively. Some of the Khash also observe it. On the expiry of this period the family is deemed clean again, and other families of the tribe can eat with them. The mother is also purified after the *gontrálá.* The impurity only lasts three days among the menial tribes.

The ceremony of feeding the child for the first time is called *lugrú*, and is observed at an auspicious moment, with worship of Gaṇpati and the nine planets, and various festivities.

The child is named at the *annodak*,† and as usual given two names. This is done when it is five or six months old as a rule. *Nátwa* is ob-

* Simply by making gifts to priests and other Brahmans.

† At which the child is fed for the first time on grain and water. (From Sanskr. *anna* grain, and *udak*, water).

served among the three higher castes, and since recent times by some of the Khash.

Women whose children die prematurely have recourse to various charms, but the favourite remedy is the worship of the Ashṭam Ráhu, especially in cases of *ashṭamráh** or falling sickness, to which children are liable.

The first tonsure (locally called *kanbál*)† is done at the *kuldeotá's* temple alone. It is observed by the twice-born castes on a day fixed by a *purohit* or *pádha*: and by other castes with the *deotá's* permission.

2. *Marriage.*—Ritual marriage is confined to the ruling family and to some Darbárís, Brahmans and Bániás of Rámpur town. Amongst them a betrothal once made is irrevocable, except on account of leprosy, constant ill-health or apostasy on the bridegroom's part, or in the event of his committing a crime.

As soon as the date of the wedding is fixed, the preparations for it are begun on an auspicious day. The commencement of the wedding is called the *sarbárambh.*‡ A *kangná* is tied round the bridegroom's wrist, and after that he must not go outside the house. Gaṇpati is then worshipped, and *baṭná* is rubbed on the bodies of both bride and bridegroom for three to five days, according to the means of the family. Worship of the *Kuljá, i.e.,* the boy's family god, is then performed. When the marriage party sets out, the bridegroom is garlanded,§ but those of his family who are under the influence of *gharastak* (Sanskr. *grihastak*, 'family') must not see the garland or it will bring them bad luck. The cost of the garland as well as the expenses of the *graha shánti*|| are borne by the bridegroom's maternal uncle.

After the departure of the wedding party the women observe the *paṛohá* or *paṛowán*,¶ but this is not known in the villages. This custom, general throughout the Hills, is confined to the women because all the men have gone on the wedding procession. The women perform the wedding rites at the bridegroom's house, one representing the priest, others the bride and bridegroom, and so on, with songs and dances.

When the bridegroom reaches the bride's house the parents meet first—an observance called *milní*—and the bridegroom must not see his parents- or sister-in-law until the *lagan pherá* rite has been solemnised.

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* If Ashṭamráh or *ashṭ mráhú*, that is, the planet Ráhu (the eighth *gráh*) is at the eighth place from the *lagná* in which the boy was born, brings sickness to him; and to avert this Ráhu must be worshipped. Since the eighth place from the *janma-lagná* (birth *lagná*) is that of Death, there is danger of sickness if it is occupied by Ráhu, Shani and Mangal *grahas*.

† *Kanbál*, from Sanskrit *karnavedhá*, meaning boring of ears, is the ceremony in which the ears are pierced for the insertion of earrings. The Kuladevatá and Ganpati are worshipped.

‡ From Sanskrit *sarb*, all, and *árambh*, commencement.

§ *i. e.*, a *shehrá* is placed on the bridegroom's head. Children by a former wife are forbidden to see their father put on the *shehrá* on the occasion of his second marriage; throughout the Hills, children by a former wife are not allowed to see their father in the guise of a bridegroom.

|| *Graha shánti* or worship of the nine planets.

¶ *Paṛohá* or *paṛowán* appears to be derived from *pauṛáná*, to send to sleep.

At this rite he recites *chhands.** There come the *sir-gondi, menhdi* and oiling of the bride. After worshipping Ambiká and performing *jaljátrá*† the bridegroom's *sihrá* is untied by his best man, who must be a relative. The wedding concludes with the untying of the bride's *kangná* by a man who is regarded as a great friend of the bridegroom.

The bride returns to her father's house three weeks or a month after the wedding. This is called the *dwirágaman,* and sometimes costs one-fourth of the amount spent on the actual wedding.

Dower.

Only among the twice-born castes does a bride receive dower, *stridhan.* This includes the presents made to her by her father and husband, and the gifts made to her by her mother-in-law and others at the end of the wedding ceremony.

The Bashahr State has recently bestowed two villages on the two Deís of Bashahr who were married to the Rájá of Káshipúr. The income of these two villages will go to the two Deís at Káshipúr, and to their offspring after their death.‡ Occasionally the chief or a *ráni* gives dower to a Brahman girl. She is then called a *kankori,* and is regarded as the donor's own daughter. Even poor men give a daughter some dower according to their means. Locally this is called *sambhál,* a term which includes any present made to a married daughter on certain occasions.

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* Some of the *chhands* recited by the bridegroom are given below:—

1. *Chhand pakáún chand pakáún,*
   Chand pakaigá bírá,
   Barát ái chándni Jamái,
   Ayá lárá hírá.
2. *Chhand pakáún chhand pakáún,*
   Chhand pakáigá khurmá,
   Tumhári beṭí ko aisá rakhún,
   Jaisá ánkhon men surmá.
3. *Chhand pakáún chhand pakáún,*
   Chhand pakáigá roṛá,
   Dúsrá chhand tab kahún,
   Jo saurá dewe ghorá.
4. *Chhand payágá chhand payágá,*
   Chhand payágá thálí,
   Dúsrá chhand tab kahúngá,
   Jab saura degá sálí.

I recite a metre like the betel leaf,
  The wedding procession has arrived, the canopy is pitched,
The bridegroom is like a diamond.
  I recite a metre sweet like a sweet.
I will keep your girl as well
  As (women keep) lamp-black in the eyes.
I recite a metre as hard as a stone,
  The next metre will recite
When the father-in-law gives me a horse.
  I recite a metre as fine as a metal dish,
The next metre will recite
  When my father-in-law gives me my wife's sister also.

Chhand means quatrains; but they also recite some couplets or *doha.*

† This "pilgrimage to a spring" is made on the fourth day after the wedding.

‡ "It seems quite opposed to all custom," wrote Sir James Lyall, "for a Hindu Rájá to give territory as dower with a daughter." Kángra *Sett. Rep.,* § 129. No doubt the custom is unusual but *under certain circumstances* it clearly exists.

Formal marriage is not, however, universally observed even by Brahmans or Rájputs, on the one hand: while, on the other, even Bániás in townships observe the rites in vogue among Brahmans of the higher classes. Brahmans in the villages only observe the *lagan phera.* Among the Rájputs the Ṭhákurs who live in villages and marry in their own class omit the *lagan phera,* as do the agricultural Khash, but Ṭhákurs who aspire to Mián status, and the upper classes among the Khash, do observe it. In brief formal marriage is confined to families resident in a *bázâr* or township or connected with the Bashahr *darbár.*

Customary marriage.

Customary marriage is usually observed by the Ṭhákurs and Khash who perform no *lagan vedí* rites, but simply worship the *dwár-mátri**, the hearth, and the nine planets. Collectively these observances are called *shank-bhari.*† These are the binding ingredients in the rite, although if a girl is being married to several husbands, the attendance of one only is indispensable.

Another form of customary marriage with a maid, who is wooed and won from a fair or a place of pilgrimage, is prevalent among the Khash and Karán. It is solemnised by worship of the door and hearth, and by the *andarera* or *andrela,*‡ and the pair are regarded as bride and bridegroom.

If the girl's parents have a husband in view, but she is forcibly carried off from a fair or elsewhere by another man, they will nevertheless go to her wedding and give her a dower in money, clothes, etc., while the bridegroom gives his mother-in-law, father, or brother-in-law a present in cash.§

The consideration paid by the bridegroom to the bride's guardians is called *ḍheri,* and if from any cause the marriage is dissolved this sum must be refunded to the bridegroom. The man who abducts or seduces a married woman is liable for the payment of the *ḍherí* to her first husband. Moreover, if she has a child by her first husband and takes it with her, the second husband becomes liable for this child's maintenance; but it does not inherit its step-father's property.

An unmarried woman who gives birth to a child is called *bahbí or bahrí,* and the child, who is called *jâṭú* or *jháṭú,* has no right whatever, if she marry, in her husband's property.

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* The *dwár-mátri* are seven nymphs, who reside in the doors; their names are as follows: Kalyáni, Dhanadá, Nandá, Punnyá, Punyamukhi, Jayá or Vijayá. The whole group is called Dwár-mátri.

† From Sanskrit *shákhochchára,* the recitation of the bride's and bridegroom's *got. skákhá* (whence the name), and *parvara.* Hence this rite corresponds to the *gotrachár* of the plains. Brahmans are paid for this recitation. Twice-born castes observe the *skákhochchár,* while the fourth class, that is the Kanets, call the wedding ceremony the *shankh-bharí.*

‡ Said to be the Sanskrit *vadhú-pravesh,* the observance by which a lawfully married wife enters her husband's house at an auspicious time, with music and singing.

§ Customary marriage is not permissible among the twice-born castes, and if such a marriage occur, the issue are only entitled to maintenance, or to a field or shop (for maintenance) without power of alienation: but such issue may succeed in default of fully legitimate issue or agnates.

Observances at Death.

The alms given at death are called *khaṭ-ras,** *deva dán, gáu dán, baitarni dán,* and *panch ratn,* and are offered by all castes.

A *máli* or *nachhatri,* called the *ashánti,* can predict the fates of those who accompany the bier. The *máli* is a worshipper of ghosts (*mashán* and *bhút*). He is not a Brahman, but a Kanet, or even a man of low caste ; and he predicts after consulting his book of divination (*giṇne kí kitáb*).

In the villages of Bashahr are men who can foretell deaths. Such a man is called a *musháṇi.* They differ from the *máli.*

Chelás (lit. disciples) in Bashahr are called *mális* of the *deotá*† and in order to ascertain if a man, woman or child is under a demon's influence, the demon's *máli* is called in. Taking some rapeseed in his hand he predicts the period within which the patient will recover. If the latter regains his health, a *bali* is offered to the demon.

Bakrá sundhá‡ is performed after 13 days among Brahmans, and 15 among Rájputs, while Kanets perform it after 15 or even after 10 days. If the proper day chances to be inauspicious the observance is held a day earlier or later. The Brahman *bhojan,* or feast given to Brahmans, is called *dharmshánti,* and after it the twice-born castes are considered purified.

The *máski* is a *shrádh* held one lunar month after the death. The *chhe-máski* is held six months after it.

The *tarashwá* is held on the first anniversary, and on it alms, including a *shayyá*§, a palanquin, horse, etc., are given to the family Acháraj or, in villages, to the Krishna Brahmans. A similar *shrádh* is held on the second and third anniversaries. On the fourth is held the *chaubarkhi.* The soul goes through three phases, *práni, pret* and *rishet,*|| and on the completion of the fourth year it is purified and becomes a *pitar deotá.* In addition the *párbaṇá*¶ and *kániágat shrádhs* are observed for four or five generations.

The deceased is also worshipped among the twice-born castes as a godling, *sati, páp* or *newa* ; and among others an image is made of stone or of silver, for which some grain is set apart at each harvest, and

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* *Khaṭ-ras dán* generally called *dashadán,* the gift of ten things, *viz.,* a cow, (2) land, (3) sesamum, (4) gold, (5) clarified butter (*ghi*), (6) a cloth, (7) unpounded rice, (8) sugar, (9) silver, (10) salt. *Ant dán* is a gift made, given by the son on his father's breathing his last. Dev-dán is to offer some gift to the deities. Those who receive the death-bed gifts from Brahmans and Rájputs are called Acháraj or Mahá-Brahmans, and those who receive the death-bed gifts from other castes are termed Krishan Brahmans.

† The *mális* are exorcists as well, and also give oracles.

‡ *Bakrá* means a goat, sacrificed 15 days after a death, and *sundhá* means assafœtida, which is never eaten until the ceremony called *bakrá* (and) *sundhá* has been performed.

§ *Shayyá* means bedding. In the *shayya-dán* the following articles are given ; a cot bedding, quilt, bed-sheet, cooking vessels, dish, male and female attire, and ornaments,—all according to one's means.

|| For one year after death the soul is called *pret,* and from the second year to the fourth it is called *rishet,* from *rishi,* a sage.'

¶ The *párvan shrádh* is that which is performed on a *parbí,* such as an eclipse, on the 8th, and 14th of the dark half of a month, at an *amáwas* or a *púranmási.* And the *kshayáh,* or *ekodisṭ shrádh* is that which is observed annually on the date of the death.

sometimes a he-goat is sacrificed and liquor drunk, the belief being that omission to keep up the worship of the dead will end in disaster.

Brahmans and Rájputs observe the *sapindava, sapindi shrádh* and *karchhú.* In the latter rite *khir* (rice, milk and sugar) is prepared, and a Mahábrahman is fed with it. Then the corpse is put in a shroud and carried out to the burning ground. On the road *pinds* are given to ensure immunity to the deceased, and an earthen vessel is also broken. A lamp is kept burning till the *kiriá,* to light the soul on its dark road, and the *dharm-ghata* placed beside it to quench its thirst.*

Cults in Bashahr.

The temples in Bashahr are of undoubted antiquity, and those of Nirt, Nagar and the Four Theris (see p. 471) are said to date back to the Tretá-yug; those at Kharáhan and Súngrá in Bhába *parganá* and at Chúgáon in Kanaur to the Dwápar-yug. Most of them were originally constructed in those periods.

The temple servants are the *kárdár* or manager, *pujári, bhandári, tokrú, máth, káyath, máli*† and *bajantri.*

In the villages the term *pujári* or *deotú*‡ is applied to those who carry the *deotá's* car or *rath,* as well as to those who accompany the *deotá* to their villages.

At Shungrá, Chúgáon and Grámang in Kanaur are temples of the three Maheshras. Grámang is a village in Bhábá *parganá* also called Kath-gáon.

The *bajantri* are drummers or musicians and get grain, a he-goat (and sometimes a shroud at a death) for their services. Others offer a cloth, called *shári*§, to the temple for the decoration of the god's *rath.*

The *pujáris* ordinarily belong to the first class of Kanets. The *bhandári* is the storekeeper. The *tokrú's* duty is to weigh, and the function of the *máth* or *máthas* is to ask oracles of the deity on behalf of the people.

The gods of the village-temples are subordinate to the god of a Deo *mandir* or "great temple," and they perform certain services for him, *e. g.,* at a *yag*‖ and at fairs, in return for the fiefs (*jágirs*) granted them by him.

Similarly the temples at Súngrá¶ and Kharáhan contain subordinate *deotás,* and a Deo *mandir* usually possesses one or more *birs*** to whom food and sacrifice are offered, and who are also worshipped.

Further in the temple of a village-god will generally be found two cars, one for the presiding god, the other for his subordinate, or *kotwál.*

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* A person of the same name and *ráshi* as the deceased must not accompany the bier, and should perform a *graha-dán* for his own protection.

† Here *máli* means the man called *dínwán* in these hills, and *grokch* in Kanaur.

‡ *Deotús* are those who worship the deity; they are also called *pujárís. Deotús* are especially those who carry the *rath* of the deity, and cause him to dance.

§ *Shári* a *dhoti*-cloth or piece of cloth attached to the car of the deity.

‖ Sanskrit *yajna,* a sacrifice.

¶ In turn Maheshwar of Súngrá is subordinate to Bhimá Káli at Saráhan.

** Bir is *par excellence* the deity Mahábir, that is Hanúmán; Bhairab is also termed a Bír. Lánkrábír too is a Bhairab deity.

The Káli *pújans* are called *kheriá-kári** in Bashahr, and include the Pret Pújá, Ṭekar, and Sarvamanḍal *pujans*. They are observed in Sáwan or Phágan, and the *yag* or observance is paid for from the *jágír* of the deity or from funds supplied by his *deotús*† (devotees), who also give grain, *ghi*, oil and he-goats. On an auspicious day chosen by a Brahman as many as 50 he-goats are sacrificed, and the people of the neighbourhood are feasted, the priests and *deotús* receiving the goats' heads and fee, with some grain and *ghi*.

The Shánd‡ *yag*.—In Bashahr the Shánd yag is celebrated where there has been a good crop or an epidemic is raging. Sometimes 108 *balis*, sometimes less, are offered, and sacrifices are also made to the ten *dishas* or quarters. The gods of the four *ṭherís* and the five *stháns*§ (temples) also assemble at it and other gods from the country round attend the *yag*. The expense incurred is considerable. In Bashahr the people also perform the *shánd* for their own villages.

A minor *yag*, called Shándṭu or Bhátpur‖ is also observed every third year, but not universally. Brahmans perform worship and are feasted.

Less important *yags* are the *jágrás* and *jaṭágrás*¶ which are observed annually or every third or fourth year. The biggest, that of Maheshwar of Súngrá, is held every third year at Nachár temple, with the following rites:—

Balis (sacrifices) of he-goats are offered on all four sides, and at night a combat takes place between the villagers and the *gawáls*,** who are armed with large wooden clubs "having fire burning at the ends." The combat lasts all night. The women sing, dance and make merry, and are feasted in return.

In Bashahr the Diáoli is observed in Maghar. It is the special festival of the peasantry, and held only in the village temples. Women observe it by visiting their parents' homes and their eating cold viands.

The Kháppá, held on the 15th of Poh in Bashahr, resembles the Diáoli in that State. It is probably the festival called Khwákchá in Kanaur.

The Jal Játrá†† held in Jeth in Bashahr is the occasion on which the *ṭhákurs* are bathed in the rivers with songs and music, for which the performers are rewarded.

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* So-called because some *khír* (rice boiled in milk) is offered to the deity Káli. Pret-pújan is the worship of ghosts. Teákar and Sarbamanḍal-pújan is the worship of all the deities at one place.

† *Deotús* here are the persons to whom the Deotá belongs, not the *pújáris*.

‡ From *shánti*, peace.

§ These are enumerated in the couplet: Lánḍsa, Dánḍsa, Singaṛ, Saner,———Nirt, Nagar, Nirmanḍ, Káo, Mamel. The villages of Lánḍsá, Dánḍsa, Singṛá and Sanerí, are the four *therís*; and Nirt, Nagar, Nirmanḍ, Káo and Mamel are the five *stháns*. Kao and Mamel are both in Suket, Nirmand in Kullu, and all the rest are in Bashahr. Káo has a temple of Devi, Mamel one to Mahádev. Nirmanḍ has two temples, one of the goddess Nrimunḍa, and the other of Parasrám. In Nirt is a temple to Súraj (the sun).

‖ So-called because boiled rice (*bhát*) is offered to the deity.

¶ *Jaṭágrá*, a small *jágrá*.

** Cattle-grazers.

Jal Játrá, a visit to a spring. Here *ṭhákur* means "deity" or "*deotá*."

In Bashahr at the Jal or Ban Bihár the *ṭhákurs'* chariots are carried out into the gardens, and alms given to Brahmans, musicians, etc.

The Rám-naumi is called Dharm-koṭhi* in Bashahr, and is the occasion for general rejoicings, the *ṭhakurs'* thrones being decorated with heaps of flowers, and many thousands of rupees spent.

In Bashahr the Baisákhí is called Lahol, and the girls who marry their dolls in Párbati's name are given money by the State or from the bazar.

As in the Simla Hills, generally, the abandonment of land is called *sog* or *mandokri*. When a house or field is believed to be occupied by a demon it is regained by sacrificing a he-goat in the name of his mane. But even then a cultivated field so regained cannot be ploughed, and must only be used for pasture.

An oath in Bashahr is termed *dib*. It is administered when it is impossible to find out the truth of a case, and there is no reliable evidence. One party agrees to take the oath. First he has a cold bath. Then he goes to the temple and says that if he is in the right he ought to be successful, but if unsuccessful, in the wrong. Two balls of kneaded flour, one containing a silver coin, and the other a gold piece, are put in a narrow vessel full of water, and the man is bidden to take one ball out. It is then broken, and if it contains the silver, he is supposed to be successful, and if the gold, he is deemed to have failed.

A man can be released from an oath by the *ṭhál darohí*, which consists in making a present to the Rájá and also performing a *yag*, *i.e.*, sacrificing a he-goat in honour of the god.

The 14th of the dark half of *Bhádon* is termed Krishan *chaudas* or Ḍagyálí-*chaudas* (from Ḍag-wálí-*chaudas*); and on that day the worship of *Káli* is observed. It is a general belief in the Punjab hills that some women are Ḍágs or Ḍáins, that is to say that a sight of them is not lucky, or in other words they know some incantations by which they can assume the form of a tiger or vulture, and that any beautiful thing which comes into their sight is destroyed. The 14th of the dark half of Bhádo is their feast day, and they then assemble in the Beás Kunḍ in Kullu, or at some other place, such as the Karol hill, which lies between Solan and Kánḍághát. Some mustard seed is thrown on to the fields so that the Ḍág may not destroy the crops. On that day no man goes out from fear of the Ḍág, and on each house door some thorns are stuck with cow-dung, so that the Ḍág may not enter.

If a part of a field is left while being sown, worship is made on the spot and a he-goat sacrificed because it is unlucky to leave a bit *bejindir* (*banjar*, uncultivated).

KANG.—A tribe of Jáṭs, found chiefly in the angle between the Beás and Sutlej, though they have crossed the latter river into Ambála and Ferozepur, and are apparently found in small numbers all along its banks and even on the Lower Indus. Their tradition is that they came from Gaṛh Ghazni, but in Amritsar they say they were first settled in

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* It is so called because on this occasion the *Dharm-koṭhi* or 'store house of charity' remains open to all, and everyone is given food from it for a week or so.

Khirpur, near Delhi. They occupied a position of some considerable political importance in their own tract during the early days of Sikh rule. Mr. Barkley wrote of the Jullundur Kaṇg :—" Most of the Sikh Sardárs of the Nakodar tahsil either belong to this tribe, or were connected with it by marriage when they established their authority there. Tára Singh Gheba (*sic*), who was their leader at the time of the conquest, was himself of this race and a native of Kaṇg on the Sutlej, where it is said that eighteen Sardárs at one time resided ; but on the village being swept away by the river they dispersed themselves in their separate *jágirs* on both sides of the river." The Kaṇg are said to claim descent from the Solar Rájputs of Ajudhia through their ancestor Jogra, father of Kaṇg, and in Amritsar give the following pedigree ;—

Rám Chandar.
Lahu.
Ghaj.
Harbam.
Talochar.
Shah.
Mal.
Jogra.
Kang.

(According to the Siálkot tradition Jogra had four sons, Rai, Natt, Kang and Abala who founded as many septs.)

Bábá Malha, son of Mángu, 6th in descent from Kaṇg, fell in fight with the Kheras on the spot which still marks a village boundary, and he is now worshipped, Mirásís taking the offerings made to him. Kaṇgs and Kheras still refuse to intermarry.

Kang, a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kang, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Káng-chimpa, lit. 'great house.' The head of the family in Spiti, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *corvée* and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is ordinarily the eldest son as primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father is dead, for by custom the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken to himself a wife. On each estate (*jeola*) there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng-chungpá* or small-house-man. Sometimes in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grandfather, or an uncle, aunt or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and the land attached to it. A person occupying a separate house of even lower degree is called *yáng-chungpa*, and is always some relation of the head of the family : he may be the grandfather who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

* In Pín *kothi* or village the *bozan* families, descendants of monks of orders which permit marriage, commonly hold a house and a small plot from the family from which they sprang, and are in the position of a *yáng-chungpa*. For the fiscal terms on which the *káng* and *yáng-chungpas* hold, see Lyall's Kángra *Settlement Rep.*, § 148.

Káng-chumpa, a cottager or farm servant in Láhul. Like the *cháksi*, the *káng-chumpa* does not appear to be a mere tenant on the *garhpán* or demesne lands of the Ṭhákurs, but holds on the same tenure as the *yulfa* or *dotoen*, *i.e.* as a subordinate proprietor. The *káng-chumpa*, however, pays no rent and do private service only for the Ṭhákur. His holding is a quarter of a *jeola* or less, as against the half or whole *jeola* of a *cháksi* and the one or two of a *dotoen*. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man or woman for continuous work at the Ṭhákur's house or on his *garlpár* land. The person in attendance gets food and does work of any kind. Those who live at a distance work on the *garhpán* land near them, but are also bound to feed a sheep for the Ṭhákur during the winter. Some *káng-chumpas* now pay Rs. 5 a year in lieu of service.

Kangar, Kingar.—The Kangar is a travelling hawker, but he confines his traffic to small articles of earthenware such as pipe-bowls, and especially to those earthen images in which native children delight. These he makes himself and hawks about for sale. But Baden-Powell gives at p. 267 of his *Punjab Manufactures* a long account of an operation for a new nose said to be successfully performed by the Kangars of Kángṛa. According to Mr. H. L. Williams the Kingar are also called Ale Bhole and are Muhammadans, often suspected of petty pilfering from threshing-floors and hen-roosts; a primitive race whose conditions of life resemble the Kuchband.

Kangiára, a *got* or section of the Telis.

Kangrah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kanhía, or **Ghanía**, the fifth of the Sikh *misls* or confederacies which was recruited from Jáṭs. It derived its name from Ghani, a village near Lahore.

Kaniál, a tribe which belongs, according to the late Mr. E. B. Steedman, to that miscellaneous body of men who call themselves Rájputs, hold a large portion of the south-eastern corner of the Báwalpindi district, and are of much the same class as the Budhál and Bhakrál. They also appear to stretch along the sub-montane as far east as Gujrát.

Kánith, see Káith.

Kanjan, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kánjan, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) well-known in Lodhrán tahsil, Multan district, see under Channar and Nún.

Kanjar.—(1) The Kanjar of the Delhi territory, or as he seems to be called in the Ambála division the Jallád, is a wandering tribe very similar to the Perna; and in that part of the country a pimp or prostitute is called Kanchan or by some similar name, and never Kanjar. In the remainder of the Punjab the word Kanchan is not used, the wandering tribe of Kanjars is apparently not found, and Kanjar is the ordinary word for pimp or prostitute. Thus Kanchan and Kanjar (including Jallád) are separately returned in the eastern districts, but only Kanjar for the rest of the Province. The Kanchans are almost all Musalmáns, while the Kanjars are all Hindus, except in Sirsa;

and probably the Musalmán Kanjars in Sirsa are really Kanchans. The Kanjars of the Delhi territory are a vagrant tribe who wander about the country catching and eating jackals, lizards, and the like, making rope and other articles of grass for sale, and curing boils and other diseases. They particularly make the grass brushes used by weavers. They are said to divide their girls into two classes; one they marry themselves, and them they do not prostitute; the other they keep for purposes of prostitution. The Kanjars appear to be of higher status than the Nat, though they are necessarily outcasts. They worship Máta, whom they also call Káli Mái; but whether they refer to Káli Devi or to Sitla does not appear, most probably to the former. They also reverence Gúga Pír. Delhi is said to be the headquarters of the tribe. But the word Kanjar seems to be used in a very loose manner; and it is not certain that these Kanjars are not merely a Bauria tribe; and it is just possible that they have received their name from their habit of prostituting their daughters, from the Panjábi word Kanjar. The words Kanjar and Bangáli also seem often to be used as synonymous. Further, to quote Mr. H. L. Williams, Sánsis in Hindustán and the Districts of the Punjab east of the Ghaggar river are known as Kanjars, but the relations between the Sánsis of the Punjab and the Kanjars of Hindustán are not always clear. There are permanent Kanjar colonies in several important cantonments, the men being mostly employed in menial offices in the barracks while the women attend the females of other castes in domestic duties, as cuppers and sick-nurses; they also sell embrocations and curative oils. The members of these colonies intermarry on equal terms with the wandering Kanjars of the Delhi division, journeying down country for the purpose. They admit a relationship between the Sánsis and the Kanjars of the south, and that they speak a common dialect, which may be a thieves' patter or a *patois* of their original home. Wandering Sánsis style themselves Kanjars only in the Delhi territory and parts of the east, dropping the name when they approach the Sutlej. (2) A Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kánjú, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kanon, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kanonkhor, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kansárí, see Sayyid.

Káṇwarí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Káṇwen, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kapáhí, (of the colour of the cotton-plant flower), a section of the Khattrís.

Kapáí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kápri, a caste which claims Brahman origin and makes the *mor* and other ornaments worn by the bridegroom at weddings, artificial flowers and similar articles of talc, tinsel and the like. (These would appear to be by caste Phúl Mális). They also appear to be connected, at least in Delhi, with the Jain temples where they officiate as priests,

and receive offerings.* They also act in Gurgáon as Bháts at weddings in singing the praises of the pair. They are said to come from Rájputána or the Bágar, where they are known as Hindu Dúms. The following account appears to confuse them with the Khappari:—In Rohtak the Kápri are a Brahman clan, which is divided into two classes, *tápashi* and *kápri*. The story goes that when Mahádeo was going to be married, he asked a Brahman to join the procession and ceremony. He refused saying, 'what can I do if I go?' Mahádeo then gave him two *dhatura* flowers and told him to blow them as he went along with the procession. He said, 'how can I blow two flowers?' He then told him to pick up a corpse (*káyá*) lying (*pari*) on the ground, but it at once rose up and took the other flower. The progeny of the Brahman were henceforward called *tapshi* (worshippers) and the offspring of the corpse *kápri* (*káyápari*).

In Nábha they make cups (*dunna*) of leaves and also *pattals* or platters of them. In Ambála they are said to print cloth.

KÁPRIA, KÁPARI, a sect which covers the whole body, even the face, with clothes. Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, I, p. 280; VI, 217.

KAPÚR (camphor, fr. Arabic *káfúr*), a section of the Khattrís.

KARÁR, see KIRÁR.

KARAUNKH, KARAWAK, see KIRAUNK.

KARELA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KARHÁLAH, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KARKHÍAD, a sect or order of the Súfis, founded by Khwája Márúf Karkhi.

KARLÁNI, one of the principal branches of the Patháns, whose descent is thus given:—

Yahúda (Judah).
|
Bani Makhzúm.
|
Walíd.
|
Khálid.
|
Qais-i-Abd-ur-Rashíd, the Patán.
|
Saraban.
|
Sharf-ud-Dín *alias* Sharkhabún.

Amar-ud-Dín or Amár-Dín. | Miána. | Tarín.
|
Urmur.

Two men of Urmur's family, Abdulla and Zakaría, were once out hunting, and Zakaria, who had a large family and was poor, found a male child abandoned on an encamping ground, where Abdulla who was wealthy and childless found a shallow iron cooking vessel (*karáhai* or *karhai*). The brothers agreed to exchange their finds, and Abdulla adopted the foundling whom he named Karlánai. Another account

* These are probably the Kápria or Kápari, *q. v.*

makes Kaṛlánai a Saṛaban by descent and the adopted son of Amar-ud-Dín; while Muhammad Afzal Khán, the Khaṭṭak historian, makes Kaṛlánai a brother of Amai and Urmuṛ, and relates how the latter found Kaṛláni, who had been left behind when the camp was hurriedly struck, and placed him in a *kaṛhai*. Amai accepted the *kaṛhai* in exchange for him, and he was then adopted by Urmuṛ who gave him a girl of his family to wife. On the other hand, the Dilazáks give Kaṛlánai a Sayyid descent.

By his Urmuṛ wife Karlánai had issue :—

- Karlánai.
  - Kodai.
    - Utman.
    - Dilazák.
    - Warak.
    - Mánai.
    - Luqmán *alias* Khaṭak.
    - Khogai.
    - Mangalai.
      - Jadrán.
  - Kakai.
    - Sulaimán.
      - Wazír.
      - Bai.
      - Malik Mír.
    - Sharaf-ud-dín *alias* Shítak.
      - Gíwai.
      - Ado.
      - Dawaṛ.
      - Malakhai.
      - Surránai.

Khushhál Khán, however, gives a different table. He makes Burhán, progenitor of the Dilazáks, and Warak, sons of Kodai; but he gives Khaṭak, Utmán, Usmán and Jadrán as descendants of Kodai.

Further, Sayyid Muhammad, a pious *darwesh*, espoused a daughter of the Kaṛlanai family and had by her two sons, Honai and Waṛdag.

The Kaṛlánis, generally, were disciples of the Pir-i-Roshán, and those of Bangash (the modern Kurram) were peculiarly devoted Roshánias, but they were regarded as heretics by both Shias and Sunnís. Their tenets brought great disasters upon the Kaṛlánis as the Mughals made frequent expeditions against the tribes addicted to the Roshánía heresy.

Kárlúgh, Kárlúk, see Qárlúgh.

Karnatak, a *got* of the Oswál Bhábṛas, found in Hoshiárpur.

Karnaul, a Mahtam clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Karnere, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Karol, see Qarol.

Karúla, a Muhammadan clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Karrál, a tribe found only in Hazára. According to the late Colonel R. G. Wace "the Karrál country consists of the Nára *iláqa* in Abbottábád tahsil. The Karráls were formerly the subjects of the Gakkhaṛs, from whom they emancipated themselves some two centuries ago. Originally Hindus, their conversion to Islám is of comparatively modern date. Thirty years ago their acquaintance with the Muhammadan faith was

still slight; and though they now know more of it, and are more careful to observe it, relics of their former Hindu faith are still observable in their social habits. They are attached to their homes and their fields which they cultivate simply and industriously. For the rest, their character is crafty and cowardly." He further noted that the Karráls are identical in origin and character with the Dhúnds. This would make the Karráls one of the Rájput tribes of the hills lying along the left bank of the Jhelum; and they are said to claim Rájput origin, though they have also recently set up a claim to Kayáni Mughal descent, in common with the Gakkhaṛs; or, as a variety, that their ancestor came from Kayán, but was a descendant of Alexander the Great! But the strangest story of all is that a queen of the great Rája Rasálu of Punjab folklore had by a paramour of the scavenger class four sons, Seo, Teo, Gheo, and Karu, from whom are respectively descended the Śiáls, Tiwánas, Ghebas, and Karráls. They intermarry with Gakkhaṛs, Sayyids and Dhúnds.

KARTÁRÍ, KALTÁRÍ, a Hindu sect which has sprung up in the south-west of the Punjab of late years. Its founder was one Assa, an Aroṛa of Bhakkar, in Dera Ismaíl Khán, who made disciples not only from among the Hindus, but also from among the Musalmán cultivators of that District. The followers of this Pír usually go through the ordinary business of the world up to noon, after which they will paint their faces with *tilaks* of wonderful patterns and various colours, and will either sit in the bazar without uttering a word, even when spoken to, or will wander about with fans in their hands. They are indifferent to the holy books of either creed. Their behaviour is harmless and the sect does not appear to be progressing.

KARÚṆJAṚÁ, fem. -í, a seller of vegetables, *i. q.* Kunjrá.

KASÁÍ, fem. -IN, (fr. Arab. QASÁB, a butcher).

KASÁNYE, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KÁSBI, a synonym for Juláhá in Hazára.

KASERA, a brazier, a worker in pewter or brass. See ṬHAṬHERA.

KASHMÍRI.—The word Kashmíri is perhaps applicable to the members of any of the races of Kashmír; but it is commonly used in Kashmír itself to denote the people of the valley of Srínagar. In any case the term is a geographical one, and probably includes many of what we should in the Punjab call separate castes. The cultivating class who form the great mass of the Kashmíris proper are probably of Aryan descent, though perhaps with an intermixture of Khas blood, and possess marked characters. Drew describes them as "large made and robust and of a really fine cast of feature," and ranks them as "the finest race in the whole continent of India." But their history is, at any rate in recent times, one of the most grievous suffering and oppression; and they are cowards, liars, and withal quarrelsome, though at the same time keen-witted, cheerful, and humorous. A good account of them will be found in Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmír.*

In the Punjab the term Kashmíri connotes a Muhammadan Kashmíri. It is rarely, if ever, applied to a Hindu of Kashmír. The most im-

portant Kashmíri element in the Punjab is found in the cities of Ludhiána and Amritsar, which still contain large colonies of weavers, employed in weaving carpets and finer fabrics. Besides these, many Kashmíris are found scattered all over these Provinces, many being descended from those who were driven from Kashmír by the great famine of 1878 into the sub-montane districts of the Punjab. Many of the Kashmíris in Gujrát, Jhelum and Attock are, strictly speaking, Chibhális. A full account of the Kashmír *kráms* and tribes will be found in Sir Walter Lawrence's *Valley of Kashmír*, Ch. XII. The principal tribes returned in the Punjab are the Bat, Batti, Dár, Lún, Mahr, Mán, Mír, Shaikh, Wáin and Warde. Jú is also common and like Bat and other tribe-names is now practically a surname. A Khokhar tribe—who do not intermarry at below 20 years of age—is also found in Ferozepur. Waterfield noted the following castes and titles or occupations among the Kashmíris in Gujrát :—

No.	Caste or designation.	Corresponding to	No.	Caste or designation.	Corresponding to
1	But (Bat) ...	Pandits and Brahman proselytes.	14	Mochi	Mochi.
2	Beg	...	15	Pandit	Proselytized Aroṛas or Khatris.
3	Busbainde ...	High caste.	16	Pallú	Ajar-Ahír.
4	Dár	Low-class *zamíndárs.*	17	Pálik	Dák-runner.
5	Don	Painja.	18	Pándi	A porter.
6	Gár	Atár Pansári.	19	Pánde	Of high rank.
7	Kanáe	Average *zamíndárs.*	20	Ráthur ...	*Zamíndárs* of good degree.
8	Khán	Those who may be connected by marriage with Patháns.	21	Raishu	Majáwar, Pírzáda.
9	Karrár	Kúmbár.	22	Sháh	Sayyid-Fakír.
10	Kotu	Paper-maker.	23	Súfz	Darzi.
11	Lavinah ...	Dharwái.	24	Aram	Rain.
12	Mallá	Mánjhi.	25	Vair	Khoja, Bannia.
13	Malik	Rájput.			

KASRÁNA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KASRÁNI, Qaisarani, is the northernmost of the BALOCH organised *tumans*, its territory lying on either side of the boundary between the two Deras, and being confined to the hills both within and beyond our frontier and the sub-montane strip. The tribe is a poor one, and is divided into seven clans, the Lashkaráni, Rúbadan, Khepdín, Budáni, Wasuáni, Leghári, Jarwár and Badá, none of which are important. They are of Rind origin, and are not found in the Punjab in any numbers beyond the Dera Gházi and Dera Ismail Khán districts.

KASSAR.—The Kassars hold the greater part of the north-west quarter of the Chakwál tahsil in Jhelum, and as far as is known are not found in any numbers in any other part of the Province: Ibbetson (Census Report, § 508) remarks that until 1881 they seem to have enjoyed the rare distinction of being one of the few Salt Range tribes which claimed neither Rájput, Awán, nor Mughal descent, but according to Bowring they once claimed Rájput origin* asserting that their original home was in Jammu; and that they obtained their present territories by joining the armies of Bábar; most of them, however, recorded themselves as Mughals at the Census of 1881, a claim "evidently suggested by their association with the Mughal power": this claim has now developed into a genealogical tree in which the Kassars are shown as being of common origin with the Mughal emperors. Their present account of their origin is as follows:—

"They were originally located in the country of Kinán in Asia Minor, whence they migrated to Ghazni at some time unknown with the ancestors of the Mughal dynasty, and subsequently accompanied Bábar in his invasion of India in A. D. 1526, their ancestors at that time being Gharka and Bhio (or Bhol), according to some; or Jajha, Láti and Kaulshi according to others: all agree, however, in stating that Gharka is buried on a mound in *Mauza* Határ, not many miles from Dhok Pipli in Bal Kassar, which is said to be the original settlement of the tribe in these parts. The Dhanni was then in the hands of wandering Gujars, while Changas Khán Janjuá held the hills to the south, living at Fort Samarqand near *Mauza* Máira. Bábar made over to them the western part of the Dhanni, on condition that they would drain off the water with which the eastern part was then covered, a work which they proceeded to carry out: and Gharka obtained some additional country to the south-west as a reward for restoring to Changas Khán a favourite mare, which the Janjuá Rája had lost. They claim that the name, Baluki Dan, under which the tract figures in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, is derived from that of their ancestor Bhal, who also gave his name to the important village of Bal Kassar; and in this they are supported by the spelling of the lithographed edition of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, against the assertion of the Janjúas, that the name is Maluki Dhan, from the Janjúa chief, Mal of Malot. They explain the presence now of the Máirs and Kahúts in the Dhanni by stating that, as relations of the reigning dynasty they were themselves able to keep out all intruders in the time of the Mughals; but in Sikh rule the Máirs, being of the same stock as the powerful Jammu Rája, were able to obtain a footing in the tract: they generally admit that the Kahúts came with them in Bábar's train and settled here at the same time as themselves, but say that they were of small account until the time of the Sikhs. They state that the original profession of the tribe was '*hákúmat*' or government; and that it is now agriculture or Government employment. They use the title of *chaudhri*. They have no special Pírs or places of worship, and their customs do not differ in any respect from those of the tribes surrounding them, except that the graves of women are distinguished by stone at the head and foot parallel to the breadth of the grave, while those of men's graves are parallel to the length; this is just the opposite of the custom in the Jhelum Pabbi."

Whatever may be thought of the claim of the Kassars to rank as Mughals, they certainly have a good position amongst the tribes of the District, ranking in popular estimation with the Máirs and Kahúts, they

*J. A. S. B., 1850, pp. 43—64 (the Káhuts also claimed Rájput descent).

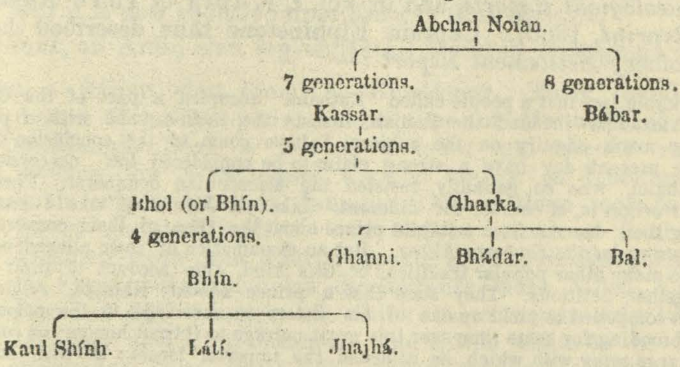
intermarry freely with the former, both giving and taking daughters: but a Kassar of good family who married his daughter to a Kahút of fair standing incurred the displeasure of the brotherhood: they do not intermarry with any other tribe, though as is usually the case in the Jhelum district low caste wives are occasionally taken by them. Máirs, Kassars and Kahúts eat together, but not with *kamíns*.

The doggerel rhymes of the tribal Mirásís contain little of interest, either setting forth in extravagant terms the power of individual chiefs of bygone generations, or recording the incidents of the comparatively recent internecine feuds of the tribe: the following is well known, and another version is given by the Máirs also:—

Charhiá Bábar Bádsháh ; Kahár tambú tanáe :
Bhín te Gharká Kassar doen nál áe.

"Bábar Bádsháh marched, and pitched his tent at (Kalla) Kahár : Bhín and Gharká, the Kassars, both came."

An abbreviated tree of the tribe is given below:—



The earlier part of the tree connecting the tribe with Bábar is obviously fanciful, and the latter part not altogether reliable. Such names as Tilochar, Nand, Pres, etc., are mixed up with Muhammadan names in the former part, while a Jhan Deo occurs low down in the tree: these names may indicate a Hindu origin, though the tradition of the tribe is that they were Musalmáns long before they came to these parts. About 35 generations on the average intervene between Kassar and members of the tribes now living. In character they resemble the Máirs.

KAṬ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KATALBÁSHI, see Qizzilbásh.

KAṬÁRYE, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KAṬÁL, a sept of Rájputs found in the Simla Hills. To it belong the chiefs of Jubbal, Ráwín, Sairi and Tarhoch. The Khaus or Khash sept of the Kanets is also called Kaṭál.

KAṬÁRIA, a small Jáṭ clan, found in Báwal; it derives its name from *kaṭár*, a dagger.

KATAYÁ, a fine wire-drawer: see under *Târkash*.

KATBÁL, a Baloch clan said to be found in the Deraját, as well as in Multán and Lahore. But *cf.* Katpál.

Kaṭhâne, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kathânye, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kathar, Kahtar, see Khaṭṭar.

Kâthia.—One of the Great Rávi tribes, and next in importance among them to the Kharral. The Káṭhias claim to be Punwár Rájputs, and are almost confined to the Rávi valley of the Multán and Montgomery Districts, but they hold a considerable area in the south of Jhang, which they are said to have acquired from the Kamlána Siáls in return for aid afforded to the latter against the Nawáb of Multán. The Káṭhias once practised female infanticide. Previously they had lived on the Rávi and in the lower part of the Sándal Bár. They were supposed to be the same people as the Kathæi, who in their stronghold of Sángla so stoutly resisted the victorious army of Alexander. The question was elaborately discussed by Sir Alexander Cunningham at pp. 33 to 42 of Vol. II of his *Archæological Reports*, and in Vol. I, p. 101*ff* of Tod's *Rájasthán* (*Madras Reprint*, 1880). Captain Elphinstone thus described them in his Montgomery *Settlement Report* :—

"The remarkable fact that a people called 'Kathaioi' occupied a part of the Gugaira district when Alexander invaded the Punjab, invests the Káṭhia tribe with a peculiar interest. After much enquiry on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that the Káṭhias of the present day have a strong claim to be considered the descendants of the same 'Kathaioi' who so gallantly resisted the Macedonian conqueror. Their own account of their origin is, of course, far different. Like all Játs they take a particular pride in tracing their descent from a Rájput prince about the time of their conversion to Muhammadanism under the Emperor Akbar. But an examination of their alleged pedigree shows that, like many other popular traditions of this kind, this account of their origin must be altogether fictitious. They state that a prince named 'Khattya,' reigning in Rájputána, was compelled to yield up one of his sisters in marriage to the emperor of Delhi. After brooding for some time over this great outrage to Rájput honour, he contrived to assemble a large army with which he attacked the imperial forces: he was, however, overcome by superior numbers, and was made a prisoner after nearly all his adherents had been slain. He was then conducted with great honour to the Court of Delhi, where the emperor treated him with kindness, and at last induced him to embrace the Muhammadan faith, and placed under his charge an important post near the Court. Some time afterwards he was sent with a force to subdue a portion of the Rávi tribes who had risen in insurrection, and after conquering them was so much attracted by the beauty of the country, that he remained and received a grant of the whole tract for himself and his descendants. All the Káṭhias claim descent from this prince, but, unfortunately for the credibility of this story, the only way that his 8,000 descendants manage to arrange the matter is by assuming that the prince had no less than 150 sons; whilst in a pedigree prepared by the chief Mirási of the tribe, in which the increase of offspring in the different generations is arranged with more accordance to probability, the line is only brought down to a few of the principal families of the tribe.

"In their hábits the Káṭhias differ little from the other Jáṭ tribes. Before the accession of Ranjít Singh they lived chiefly on cattle grazing and plunder. Like the Kharrals and Fattiánas they still keep up Hindu *parohits*, who take a prominent part at all marriage festivities, an undoubted sign of their conversion to Muhammadanism having been of recent date. They are a handsome and sturdy race, and like nearly all Játs of the 'Great Rávi' do not allow their children of either sex to marry until they have attained the age of puberty, because, as they justly consider, too early marriages would be detrimental to the 'physique' of the race. Their chief and favourite article of food is buttermilk; the consumption of wheat among them is very inconsiderable."

Mr. Purser, however, gave a somewhat different account of their migrations. He said :—

"The Káṭhias have been identified with the 'Kathaioi' of Alexander's time. According to their account they are descended from Rája Karan, Súrajbansi. Originally they resided in Bíkáner, whence they emigrated and founded the State of Káthiáwár. From there they went to Sirsa and then to Baháwalpur. Next they crossed over to Kabula and went on to

Daira Dínpanáh. Here they quarrelled with the Balochis and had to leave. They then settled at Mírah Siál in Jhang. They stole the cattle of Aláwal Khán of Kamália, who was killed pursuing them. Saadat Yár Khán obtained the release of their leaders (who were imprisoned on account of this affair) on condition of their settling on the Rávi. Thus the Káṭhias obtained a footing in this District. They always held by the Kamália Kharrals, but plundered the others whenever they could get a chance. The Káthias are Punwár Rájputs. There are two main divisions; the Káṭhias proper and the Baghelas."*

This would make the Káṭhias of the Rávi immigrants from Káṭhiawár. But a Paṇḍit of Guzerát who was sent into the Punjab by the Rája of Jazdán, one of the principal Káṭhiawár States, to make enquiries on the subject, found that the Káṭhiawár Rájputs, who also claim descent from Rája Karan, have a tradition that they came to their present territory from the Punjab *viá* Sindh and Kach. The Káṭhia tradition is that they were driven out of Sirsa Ránia, or the valley of the lower Ghaggar, about the time of Tamerlane's invasion. Balwána and Pawar are two leading clans.

In recent times the tribe has in Jhang been going from bad to worse, and it is now of little importance in that District.

KATHURA, an Aráíṇ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KÁTIL, a Rájput clan found in Gurdáspur. Their founder Rája Karet, driven from the plains in the time of Mahmúd of Ghazni, settled in Mangla Devi, a fort in Jammu and thence raised Kharipur, whence his descendants became known as Khokhars. They still hold large estates in Jammu. One of them took to robbery in the forest round Sámbha,† and thence seized a Sambiál girl, so her kinsmen gave him a large tract of land in Shakargarh tahsil. In this he founded Katli and his descendants were called Kátils. The tribe founded 360 villages, of which there remain only 100, 60 in British territory and 40 in Jammu. The Kátils claim to be Surajbansi, and descended from Báwá Sáhi, regarding the Mahájans, Kuprás, Aswárs (horse-tamers), Chamárs, Batwáls and Dumnás as branches or offshoots of the tribe, whose observances those castes follow.

In Aurangzeb's time the Kátils, Rao, Balel, Mal and Nihála became Muhammadans, but remained Kátils by caste.

The Kátils do not intermarry with the higher Rájput septs, such as the Sambiál, but they intermarry with a number of the Rájput septs of Jammu, as well as with the Lalotari and Deowania, and the Thakkar septs. Intermarriage with the Khokhars is prohibited because they are regarded as akin to the Kátil by descent.

This is based on the following tradition:—'Brahma, who was descended from Suraj (sun), Mirichak, Kásyab after whom our *got* (sub-caste) is named, Taran, Karan, Sompat, Brihaspat, Avagyádhátá, Dayadhátá, Mahándhátá, Beaspál, Ratanpál, Atter, Rájá Sahasranar, Santan Rájá, Karet Rájá, Kood Rájá, Rájá Chit, Rájá Gora, Bharath, Rájá Sántal, Rájá Bál and Rájá Jasrath took possession of the fort of Mangla Devi in the Khari territory and settled there. His descendants thus became known as Khokhars, and still hold lands in the Jammu State though they have become Muhammadans.'

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* The Baghelas are confined to the neighbourhood of Kamália and were probably only retainers of the Káthia originally.

† The then capital of Jammu.

Kelan who was descended from Baui, Sugga, and Sai settled at Katli in Jammu and his descendants became known as Kátals.

Pajan, Khang, Gega, Dherú and Ládá were the ancestors of Bhúra who founded the village Bhúre Chak and named it after himself. Ladha, the son of Kundan and grandson of Bánon had two sons:—Nihálá and Surjan. Nihálá founded Nihálá Chak. Rughal was the son of Surjan.

Dharewa, also called *udhálá*, is practised by the Kátils,* even Brahman widows being espoused under this system. But the offspring of such unions are looked down upon and find it difficult to obtain wives, though they succeed equally with the children of full legitimacy, *Dharewa* is most usually contracted with a man of the husband's family and, provided the second husband declares that the widow is his wife before all the brotherhood, no rite is necessary or customary. But if she marry outside her husband's family she loses the custody of his children; and she forfeits her right to succeed to his property if she re-marry.

The Brahmans of the Kátils must be of the Manútara or Sársut branch, and of the Kásyapa *gotra*, as they themselves are.

In the government of the tribe a learned Brahman is associated with a leading man of good position and influence, who is elected from time to time, not for life but for an indefinite period. He alone, or in consultation with 3 or 4 members of the brotherhood, decides all disputes. Many disputes are decided by oaths—a deponent being made to bathe and touch a *pípal*, a temple or an idol, or to hold his son in his arms, and then swear. Boundary disputes are settled by one of the parties placing a clod of earth on his head and walking along what he declares to be the true boundary. This is a very solemn oath as if sworn falsely the earth will refuse to receive him.

The only tribal cult of the Kátils appears to be that of their *satis*† whose tombs still exist at Katli, to which place pilgrimages are made twice a year. But the Kátils have various other cults in common with other Rájput tribes on the Jammu border. Such are Káli Bir, Vaishno Devi, Báwá Sárgal, a snake god, B. Sadda Garia besides the better-known Lakhdatta, Narsinghji, Bhairon Náth and others.

KATOCH. The generic name of the dynasty whose original capital was at Jullundur but whose territories were subsequently restricted to the Kángra hills. The kingdom whose capital was at Jullundur (Jálandhara) was called Trigarta, but the name of its dynasty does not appear to be recorded, and the name Kaṭoch is confined to the house of Kángra. From it sprang four or five branches, the Jaswáls or rulers of the Jaswán Dún in Hoshiárpur, the Goleria, once rulers of Guler or Haripur in Kángra, the Sibáia or Sipáia of Síba in Kángra and the Dadwáls of Datárpur on the borders of Kángra in Hoshiárpur. A fifth branch which claims Kaṭoch descent is the LUDDU Rájput

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* Or rather in some families: those of position disallowing the practice.

† Twice a year *murandas* (sweets) and *til-cháwali* (sesame and rice) are offered to the *satiavati*. These offerings are taken by the Manútari Brahmans.

sept. The Kaṭoch are by status Jaikaria Rájputs of the 1st grade. The Goleria represent the elder line and from it sprang the Síba and Dadwál, the Jaswál being an offshoot of the main branch.

Kator, a race mentioned by several Muhammadan historians of India. Baihaki in his *Táríkh-i-Sabaktigin* mentions that all the Hindu Kaṭors were brought under the rule of the Sultán Mas'úd, but he does not specify their locality.* Abú Rihán at Bírúni speaks of Kaṭormán as the last of the Turk kings of Kábul,† but the dynasty appears to have been also called Katormán, Katorián or Kayormán.‡ Elliot gives a full account of them, but it is doubtful if the dynasty was generally called Kaṭormán.§ Taimúr however unquestionably found the Kaṭors in alliance with the Siáhposh and holding a kingdom which extended from the frontier of Kashmír to the mountains of Kábul and contained many towns and villages. Their ruler was called 'Adálshu, Udá or Udáshu (which recalls Udáyana or Swát) and had his capital at Jorkal. He describes the Kaṭors as men of a powerful frame and fair complexion, idolaters for the most part, and speaking a tongue distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi or Kashmíri.‖ Taimúr attacked their strongholds, reaching, according to Raverty, that part of Káfiristán known as Kashṭúr while the prince Rustam advanced into those parts where the Káṭibi, Siáhposh, Pándu and Sáláo now dwell.¶ This was in 1398 A.D., and in the end of the 15th century Sultán Mahmúd, a descendant of Taimúr led expeditions against the Kaṭor Káfirs and Siáhposh and thereby earned the title of Ghází. Raverty identifies the Kaṭor with the Spín or White Káfirs,** but the historians of Akbar, who sent an expedition under Jahángír in 1581 against the Siáhposh Káfirs of the mountains of Kaṭor, and Abu'l Fazl in his history of Taimúr's expedition speak of the Hindúán-i-Kaṭor, a country which they describe as bounding Buner, Swát and Bájaur on the north. The family of the Mihtar of Chitrál is still called Kaṭor (*vide* p. 174 *supra*), and Biddulph's proposed identification of the Kathar or Khattar of Attock cannot be regarded as proved.††

Kator(e), a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Katpal, said to be a synonym for or a sub-group of the Pakhiwâra. *Cf.* also Katbál.

Katrah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Katthak, a story-teller, a rehearser of the Shástras: a singer, a dancing boy, fr. *kath*, *kathá*, a story, fable.

Katwál, a Ḍogar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kaum, a small tribe found near Mitru in Multán which is said to have come from Central Asia.

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* E. H. I., I. p. 128.
† Ibid. p. 403.
‡ Ibid. pp. 405-6.
§ Ibid. pp. 407-8.
‖ Ibid. pp. 400-1. *Cf.* pp. 480-1.
¶ *Notes on Afghánistán*, p. 136.
** Ibid., p. 135.
†† It is abandoned by Irvine: J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 217-9

KAURÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur: also in Montgomery where it is recognised as a Kharral clan.

KAURÍ, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KAURIÁNA, a sept of the Siáls.

KAWÁRÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KAWERA, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KAYÁNI, see under Gakkhaṛ.

KÁYATH, see Kaith.

KÁZÍ, see Qází.

KAZRÚNÍAN, one of the sects or orders of the Súfis: founded by Abu Isháq Kazrúní, whose shrine is at Shiráz.

KEHAL.—A nomad tribe of fishermen and boatmen, who ply their boats between Kálábágh and Sakkar on the Indus, rarely if ever quitting the valley of that river. But Malláhs, described as Jhabel by caste and Kehal by *got* are found in Ludhiána, and doubtless elsewhere.

The Kehals claim to be the earliest converts to Islám between Kálábágh and Karáchi, but profess to follow Imám Sháfí, and eat unclean animals and fish found in the Indus in spite of the Qurán.

Thus their favourite food is the flesh of the *sisár* or long-nosed fish-eating crocodile, but they avoid that of the *bagú* or snub-nosed crocodile. Centuries ago the Kehals had a saint, one Cháchá Mithá, of their own tribe, but nothing is known of his life or history.

Like the Mohánas and Jhabels the Kehals invoke "Dum Dín-panáh," Dum Baháwal Ḥaqq, Lál Isá and Ailí Rájin or simply Aili.*

The Kehals are said to have no belief in devils, but the Mohánas and Jhabels hold that any disease is due to demoniacal possession and that these demons of disease belong to certain saints of the neighbouring tracts, such as Lál Isá of Karor, Ailí Rájin, Dínpanáh, Jamman Sháh, etc. These demons have human names such as Gorá Khetrípál, Zulf Jamál, Nur Jamál, Nur Muhammad, Chingú, Ghulám Rasúl, Kundai, Shabrátin, etc., etc., and of these the last two are female *jinns*. Women are most commonly possessed and they promptly inform their relatives of the *jinn's* name, and which saint he or she belongs to. Children of both sexes have to swim when 5 years of age and are expert in swimming and diving by the time they are 10.

Fishing is practised at any time of the day or night, but avoided on Fridays, and forbidden on the day when a wedding is being celebrated. Alligators are caught in the following way: a back-water or pool which forms a branch of the main stream is chosen and a heavy net, in which is a large opening, is placed across its mouth. A putrescent carcase or fish bones are placed in the pool as bait, and four Kehals lie in ambush on the bank. When the alligator is seen inside the pool two

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* Ali, whose name is pronounced Ailí by *doda*-players also. *Cf.* Yaili, the Balochi form of Alí.

of the hunters rush to close the hole in the net, while the other two drive the animal into it, or harass it until it is tired out, when it is speared and killed. Occasionally a man is bitten but fatal bites are very rare. Tortoises are killed in a similar way. Sometimes in shallow pools nets are unnecessary, and in the cold season when alligators, tortoises and large fish lie concealed in the mud at the bottom of the shallow streams and back-waters the Kehals prod it with their spears and kill the animals before they can escape. Fish are sometimes caught by stirring up the mud until they float half-dead on the surface.

Kehals ply their boats for hire, sell baskets and mats, reap crops for hire and beg for grain. They do not sell fish in the bazars of a town.

Birth customs.—A first-born child, if a boy, is peculiarly auspicious, and if a daughter, unlucky. It is very unlucky to have three daughters, and still worse to have a son after three girls, as he never fails to cause his mother's or father's death within 3 years. Great rejoicings are held for a first-born son, *mulláhs*, Sayyids, eunuchs and their followers being feasted. On the 3rd day a boy is named, and on the 7th his head is shaved. A girl's head is merely shaved on the 7th day, and her ears pierced in 10 or 15 places before she is 5. Kehal women do not pierce the nostril for the nose-ring. A boy is circumcised before he is 10 by a *pirahin*, precisely as he is among the Baloch. He is made to put on a *gáná* or string of red cotton thread round his right wrist, a piece of cotton cloth 1½ yards long by ½ wide, as a *tahmat*, and a second piece about 3 yards long for a *pagri*, but his *kurta* should be white. If a mosque is handy, he is taken to it, followed by drummers who dance and sing. A new earthen *parát* or jar is placed on the ground at the gate and on it the boy is seated with his feet on the ground. A man holds his hands back while the *pirahin* operates.

Marriage.—Muhammadan rites are observed at weddings, but one or two points deserve notice. The boats, etc., are swept and all bones and refuse removed to make them fit to receive strangers. The bride is dressed in red (*chúní*, *cholí* and *ghaghará*): the bridegroom in white (*pagri*, *kurta* and *tahmat*). The day before the *nikáh* drummers and an eunuch are called in to dance and sing. Muhammadan friends also come with their own cooking vessels and kill two or more goats or sheep. On these they feast, giving a share to the Kehals, but no Kehal may approach while the animals are being killed, cooked or eaten. After mid-day they all play, dance and sing together, going home in the evening. Next day all re-assemble at the same place, the *nikáh* is read, the strangers withdraw, after congratulating the bridegroom and his parents. The bride and bridegroom are then shut up together in a hut of reeds for an hour or two to consummate the marriage, and the ceremonies close. The cost of the wedding falls on the boy's father, but the bride's dress, ornaments, if any, and the household chattels are provided by her father.

Unlike other Muhammadans a married Kehal goes to live permanently with his father-in-law and subsequently becomes his heir. If he is a minor at the time of his wedding he continues to live in his father's house till of age. A newly married wife waits 6 months and if not pregnant by then she gets herself circumcised, whereon pregnancy usually ensues.

Succession.—Daughters and sons share equally in their father's property, and disputes regarding succession are said to be decided by the *mulláhs* according to Muhammadan Law.

The Kehals are divided into three groups, Loria, Daphala and Morá; of which the first is the chief. It is said to derive its name from the *mulláh*, a Lori of Luristán, who first taught them Islám. The Daphala are so called because they have large mouths,* and the Morá because they have dark complexions.

Closely akin to the Kehals, or at least allied to them by occupation and habits, are the Jhabels† and Mohánas. The latter are said to be More-háná or "allied to the Morá" branch of the Kehals and they have two divisions, the Kutpál and the Rora. Kutpál is said to mean "feeder (*pál*) of a large city or army" (*kut*), because centuries ago a large force of a king of Multán who had met with defeat was marching westwards to cross the Indus and the Kutpáls supplied it with fish, in return for which its leader taught them to avoid eating unclean animals and made them perfect Moslems. But it is also said that many Kehals have become Mohánas, Jhabels or Mancheras, since the introduction of Islám, and taken to cultivation. In former times these tribes were wont to combine against a common enemy.

Kejah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kejar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kele, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kerah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kes, a Muhammadan tribe, apparently Jáṭ, found in Montgomery.

Kesar-sháhi.—On the death of Faqír Sayyid Mír Sháh, also styled Mían Mír (from whom the Cantonment of Lahore took its former name), Sayyid Bháwan Sháh of Nurpur Chaumak in Jammu succeeded him as *faqír*, and conferred that same title upon his friend Ibrahím Khán, a *zamindár* of the Gujránwála district. When the latter died his son Ghulám Sháh became *faqír*. He was in turn succeeded by his son, Kesar Sháh who founded a sect. He died aged 65 in 1863 and his son, Muhammad Husain or Súbe Sháh, then became its leader. Hindus as well as Muhammadans can enter it, and the latter, though supposed to follow the Qádria tenets, do not abstain from wine, do not fast or pray, and are fond of sport. When a new member is admitted there is no ceremony, nor is he bound to adhere to any prescribed mode of life. Members of this sect are found in Gujránwála, Siálkoṭ, Sháhpur, Gujrát and Lahore.

Ketwál, a Rájput tribe in Báwalpindi. It belongs to the same group of tribes as the Dhúnd and Satti, and holds the hills to the south of the Satti country. The Ketwál claim descent from Alexander the Great (!) and say that they are far older inhabitants of these hills than either

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* Said to be from Sindhi *daphi*, a large wooden spoon: *cf. Multání Glossary*, 2nd ed. Dicty. p. 20.

† Jhabel is said to be derived from *jhaba*, a small leather sack used for holding flour, salt or anything except water. In the *Aín-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's trans.) they appear as the Chhabels. This would suggest a derivation from *chhamb*, a marsh or swamp.

the Dhúnd or Satti; but the tribe was apparently almost exterminated by the Dhúnd at some time of which the date is uncertain, and they are now few and unimportant.

KHAB, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KHABERA, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KHACHÍ, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KHÁDAL, a Jáṭ clan found in the north of Multán tahsil where it settled in Mughal times from Jammú.

KHÁDÁNÁ, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

KHÁDAR, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán and in Sháhpur.

KHAGAH, (1) a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) and (2) a Qureshí clan (agricultural), both found in Multán (doubtless Khagga).

KHAGAR, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KHAGGA, a semi-sacred tribe found in the south-west Punjab. Mr. Purser thus described them: "The Khaggas came to the Montgomery district after the conquest of Multán by Ranjít Singh. They claim to be Qureshi, and name as the first Khagga, Jalál-ul-dín, disciple of Muhammad Iráq. *Khagga* is said to mean a peculiar kind of fish; and the name was given to Jalál-ul-dín by his spiritual teacher on the occasion of his rescuing a boat overtaken by a storm." In Multán the Khaggas own land in Multán and Mailsi tahsils and are still regarded with a certain amount of respect. In the troublous days before Sáwan Mal if any one was distressed he took refuge with a Khagga, and if a marauder entered a Khagga's house he was miraculously struck blind.

KHAINTWÁL, a Rájput tribe : see Ketwál.

KHAIRI, a sept of Rájputs, descended from Záhir Chand, a son of Tárá Chand, 31st Rájá of Kahlúr.

KHÁJAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KHAJAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KHAJJI, a tribe in Baháwalpur, some of whom are *khatíks* or tanners by profession.

KHAK, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Kabírwálá tahsil, Multán district, and reputed to be one of the four most ancient tribes in that tract, the other three being the Panda, Pahor and Sahú.

KHAKH, a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KHAKHA, said to be a not uncommon epithet to apply to any petty Khatri trader. The Khakhas are in fact Khatris converted to Islám, and are found in greatest numbers in the Kashmír hills, lying along the left bank of the Jhelum; whence a few have made their way in to Hazára and Ráwalpindi. Sir George Campbell called them "a curiously handsome people.

KHÁKÍ (1) a Jáṭ clan found in a more or less solid block between the Núns and the Chenab river, in the Shujábad tahsil of Multán, where they settled from Bhaṭner in Jahángír's time, and (2) a class of KAMBOHS.

Kʜáᴋᴡáɴɪ, a Paṭhán family of Multán, which derives its name from Khákán, a village near Herat or from an incident connected with the hunting of the boar (*khok*). Ali Muhammad Khán of this family was Súbahdár of Multán under Ahmad Sháh Abdáli till 1767 A. D., when he was put to death.

Kʜᴀʟ, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kʜᴀʟᴀꜰᴢᴀí, a Paṭhán clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kʜᴀʟᴀʜ, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kʜᴀʟᴀɴí, a Ját clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kʜᴀʟíꜰᴀ, Arab, a successor. (1) a title not infrequently borne by the successors of famous saints, especially in the south-west Punjab* ; (2) a term said to be applied to Mírásis who are servants of Pírzádas ; (3) a title bestowed half satirically upon Darzis or tailors. It is said to be the title of the head of a guild of Dhobis.

Kʜᴀʟíʟ, a tribe of the Ghoria Khel Paṭháns. It occupies the left bank of the Bára river, and the country along the front of the Khyber in the Pesháwar plains between that pass and the Dáúdzai. Of its four main clans, Matuzai, Bározai, Isháqzai and Tilarzai, the Bározai is the most powerful. The Khalil are not good cultivators. According to Raverty the Khalíls were in the early Mughal period an exceedingly powerful tribe, the strongest among the Ghwaría or Ghoria Paṭháns, and having compelled the Khashi Paṭháns many years before to abandon Gára and Nushki they first occupied part of Bájaur with some of Yúsafzais about 1517 A. D., but they subsequently drove their allies out of that territory,† and in 1550 we find them in possession of the country immediately west of the Khyber. Like the Mohmands they threw in their lot with Kámrán and took part in the attack on Humáyún's camp in which Hindál lost his life. They must have suffered heavily in Kámrán's final defeat by Humáyún. But the real cause of their downfall was the hostility of the Khashi Afgháns. Holding, as they did, all the country from Dháka to Attock, with the Khyber and Kharappa passes, they had become very rich, for the Pesháwar district was very fruitful and as the royal road lay through it and all the trading caravans halted at Bagrám (Pesháwar), the Khalíls levied tolls on them in return for escorts, and as their wealth increased so did their

* For instances see the Baháwalpur *Gazetteer*, Chap. I, C ; and also Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, III, p. 173, where Pir Wali, a follower of Mián Shaikh Ghaus Wali of Jullundur, is said to have borne the title of Khalífa Irshád, 'the expounder of the orders of God.'

† Elsewhere Raverty gives a fuller account of these operations in Bájaur. He relates how a portion of the Khalíls having quarrelled with the other Ghoria Khel, left Tarnak and Kalát-i-Ghilzai and settled in the Láshora valley in Bájaur. Then in alliance with the Yúsufzais and Mandars they defeated the Dilazáks under Malik Haibu and partitioned Bájaur among themselves and their allies, but they soon fell out with them and drove them out of Bájaur. The Yúsufzai and Mandar, however, soon combined with the Umr Khel Dilazáks and, though the Khalíls retreated to the fastnesses of the Hindu-Ráj range, they secured the help of the Hindu-Rájis, who were probably Arabs, and surrounded the Khalíls in the Chhármang valley. Here the Khalíls were completely defeated and lost so many captives that Khalíl boys and maidens were sold for a pot a-piece, until Malik Ahmad and other chiefs of Yúsufzai and Mandar directed that all the Khalíl prisoners should be set free. The Khalíls however never regained Bájaur.

arrogance. The plunder of a Yúsufzai caravan, the murders of the two sons of the Malik of the Abazai and of the Gagiáni Malik, who was venerated as a saint, in a Khalíl mosque, roused the Khashis and their allies to fury and under Khán Kaju they overthrew the Khalíls at Shaikh Tapúr in 1549 or 1550, according to Raverty.*

The present Khalíl *tappa* or tribal area consists of a tract 20 miles long by 10 broad along the foot of the Khyber hills from the Kábul river southward to the Mohmand *tappa*. It is 73 square miles in area. In great measure resembling the Yúsufzais the Khalíls wear in winter dark blue coats of quilted cotton which are discarded in summer for a large Afghán skirt. A white and blue turban, with a *lungi* twisted round the waist or thrown over the shoulder completes the costume. Sháh Jahán conferred the title of *arbáb*† on Muhammad Asíl Khán, Khalíl, and their chiefs have borne it ever since, instead of the older title of *malik*. The *arbábs* all belong to the Mitha Khel section.

Khalj, an extinct tribe of Turk origin, claiming descent from Khalj, son of Yáfis‡ (Japheth), according to one tradition. It was akin to the Ghuzz. A portion of this great tribe was settled in Garmsír, and some held lands in Nangrahár, north of the Kirmán district, several centuries before the Afgháns came into it. The pressure of the Mughal invasions however compelled them to move eastwards, and in the latter part of the year 623 H. a body of Khalj, which formed part of the Khwárazmi forces, overran Mansúra, in Sewistán. It was however overthrown by Násir-ud-Dín Kabájah and its chief slain. The Khalj gave sovereigns to Lakhnauṭi (Bengal), but as a tribe it never established itself in India. The Khalj are entirely distinct from the Ghilzai Paṭháns.

Khálsa.—The Sikh Commonwealth. According to Cunningham§ the Khálsa were the followers of Govind Singh, as opposed to the Khulása, or followers of Nának. He adds that the Surbat Khálsa or whole Sikh people met once a year at Amritsar. The terms Khulása and Surbat Khálsa are now obsolete, the latter being replaced by Tat Khálsa.

Khalwáh, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Ḳhámah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Khamán, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Khanḍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Khand, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur. It is, however, mainly found in Peshávar, occupying a few villages east of the city of that name. It claims indeed to have once occupied the whole country between Peshawar and Nowshera. Folk-etymology derives its name from the Hindko word *khand*, 'one whose front teeth are broken,' because its ancestor once received in battle a blow on the face which broke his front teeth. Another derivation is from *khand*, 'sugar,' because the tribe

* But it must have been later, while Humáyún and Kámrán were engaged in their final struggle beyond the Hindu Koh.

† Pl. of *rabb* (*'rab.*), 'lord.'

‡ Yáfis received from Núh (Noah) the famous stone which produced rain and other blessings.

§ *History of the Sikhs*, p.

once entertained a king who had come into its territory to hunt with bread and sugar. The name no doubt suggests some connection with Gandhára, the ancient name of the Pesháwar valley, but the tribal tradition is that Mahmud of Ghazni on his return from one of his expeditions to Hindustán brought the Khands back with him from some part of the Punjab and settled them in the Pesháwar valley which was then uninhabited and filled with thick jungle.* The tribe, on the other hand, says it was converted to Islám before the time of Mahmúd's conquests, though its head assumed his name as a compliment to him. Its leaders, who affect the title of *arbáb*, claim descent from this Mahmúd Khán and his brother Muhammad Khán. In appearance the Khands do not differ from the other inhabitants of the valley, and the ordinary tribesmen are hardly distinguished from their Awán neighbours. Indeed they are often called, and call themselves, Awáns, though the latter tribe does not admit the kinship. The Khands however claim to be superior to the Awáns, and the *kamíns* or menials of Khand villages are actually called Awáns. Both tribes speak Hindko as well as Pashto.

The Khands commonly intermarry with Awáns, as well as with Pathâns; and marriage with the *kamíns* who are called Awáns is also allowed provided they do not follow an unclean occupation. Marriage with impure castes such as Mochis and Chamárs is also forbidden. The Khands have no sub-divisions, though they are divided into about a score of *birádaris* or brotherhoods which all intermarry, except that the *arbábs* only form alliance with the *birádari*, named Lála, which is descended from Muhammad Khán. Outsiders of good caste are admitted into the tribe, if they wish it, on marriage with a Khand woman, but, unlike other married Khands, when visiting their wives' parents they are not admitted into the women's apartments. There is no ceremony of admission. Marriage is sometimes infant, sometimes adult, and it is permissible between cousins german. Marriages are arranged by the parents, any other being viewed with disfavour. Adult marriage is usual at from 15 to 20 for boys and from 13 to 16 for girls, and marriage at a later age for girls is unknown, a girl who remains unmarried in her father's house being honoured rather than despised† and succeeding on his death to a full share of his estate for life. Adultery is regarded with abhorrence, the man being heavily fined by a *jirga* of his fellow-villagers and the woman divorced by her husband under the pressure of public opinion. In all other observances, such as weddings and funerals, the general Muhammadan custom prevails, but inheritance is governed by custom not by Muhammadan Law. The Khands are Sunnis and affect four well known *ziárats* within their borders, *viz.*, those of Akhún Darweza Sáhib, Mián Shaikh Umr Sáhib, Akhún Panja Sáhib, and Káka Sáhib. None of these was a Khand or has any particular connection with the tribe. Annual fairs are held at their shrines. The most noteworthy is that of the Káka Sáhib, which takes place

* Contrast this tradition with the statement made in the history of the Khalíls, at the time of whose advent to the Pesháwar valley it was extremely fertile. The Khalíl chiefs are also styled *arbáb*.

† The institution of *musalla-nashíni*, so common in the Ráwalpindi district, is clearly alluded to.

on 16th—20th Rajab, as it is said that the saint died on one of these days. The Káka Sáhib lived in the time of Aurangzeb and is therefore comparatively modern. But on the anniversary of his death, at the time of the fair, his people, the Káka Khel Paṭháns, put out cooked meats and rice, etc., by the shrine, which are then carried off by the pilgrims.

KHANDOYA, a tribe (agricultural) found in Jhelum. They appear to be a branch of the Chauhán Rájputs.*

KHANḌYE, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KHÁNGURWÁH, a synonym of Khánzáda, *q. v.*

KHANJAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KHANNA, lit. 'half,' a section of the Khatris.

KHÁNUÁNA, a sept of the Siáls.

KHÁNZÁDA.—A tribe of Rájputs, practically confined to the Gurgáon district in the Punjab but also found in Alwar, in which State, Captain Powlett thus described them:—

"They are the Mewáti chiefs of the Persian historians, who were probably the representatives of the ancient Lords of Mewát. These Mewátis are called Khánzádas, a race which, though Musalmán like the Meos, was and is socially far superior to the Meos, and has no love for them; but who in times past have united with them in the raids and insurrections for which Mewát was so famous, and which made it a thorn in the side of Delhi emperors. In fact, the expression Mewáti usually refers to the ruling class, while Meo designates the lower orders. The latter term is evidently not of modern origin, though it is not, I believe, met with in history; and the former is, I think, now unusual, Khánzáda having taken its place.

"The Khánzádas are numerically insignificant, and they cannot now be reckoned among the aristocracy. In social rank they are far above the Meos, and though probably of more recent Hindu extraction, they are better Musalmáns. They observe no Hindu festivals, and will not acknowledge that they pay any respect to Hindu shrines. But Brahmans take part in their marriage contracts, and they observe some Hindu marriage ceremonies. Though generally as poor and ignorant as the Meos, they unlike the latter say their prayers, and do not let their women work in the fields.

"They are not first-rate agriculturists, the seclusion of their women giving them a disadvantage beside most other castes. Some have emigrated and taken to trade in the Gangetic cities, but these have no connection now with the original Khánzáda country. Those who have not abandoned the traditions of their clan are often glad of military service, and about fifty are in British regiments. In the service of the Alwar State there are many. There are 26 Khánzáda villages in the State, in most of which the proprietors themselves work in the field and follow the plough.

"The term Khánzáda is probably derived from Khánazád, for it appears that Bahádur Náhar, the first of the race mentioned in the Persian histories, associated himself with the turbulent slaves of Firoz Sháh after the death of the latter, and, being a pervert, would contemptuously receive the name of Khánazád (slave) from his brethren. The Khánzádas themselves indignantly repudiate this derivation, and say the word is Khán Jádá (or Lord Jádú), and was intended to render still nobler the name of the princely Rájput race from which they came. Converted Jádús were called by the old Musalmán historians Mewátis, a term Chand applies to a Mewát chief of the Lunar race, of which race the Jádú Mahárája of Kasauli calls himself the head."

To this Mr. Channing added:—

"Khánzádas are a race who were formerly of much more importance than at present; they claim to have been formerly Jádú Rájputs, and that their ancestors Lakhan Pál and Sumitr Pál, who dwelt at Tahangarh in Bhartpur, were converted to Islám in the reign of Firoz Shah (A. D. 1351 to 1388), who gave Lakhan Pál the name of Náhir Khán and Sumitr Pál the name of Bahádur Khán, and in recognition of their high descent called

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* *Punjab Record*, 83 of 1895.

them Khánzádas and made them bear rule in Mewát. At first they are said to have lived at Sarahta near Tijára, and afterwards, according to tradition, they possessed 1,484 villages. However this may be, there is no doubt that they were the ruling race in Mewát down to the time of Bábar; since then they have gradually declined in importance, and now in this district own only a few villages near Núh and to the north of Firozpur. Traces of their former importance exist at Sohna, Bundsi, and Kotila. Kotila was one of their chief fortresses; the village is situated in a small valley, wholly surrounded by the hill, except where a small funnel-like pass gives entrance to it. In front of this pass is the Kotila jhíl, and when this is filled with water the only road to the pass lies along a narrow strip of land between the lake and the hill. The remains of a breastwork along the face of the hill and across the mouth of the pass still exist, while on the hill above the village is a small ruined fort. The village now belongs to Meos. Some of the buildings bear witness to its former greater importance. I have a suspicion that they are more intimately connected than they acknowledge with the Meos, whom they seem to me to resemble in personal appearance. They do not ordinarily intermarry with Meos, but the Meo inhabitants of five villages in the Firozpur tahsil profess to have been formerly Khánzádas, and to have become Meos by intermarriage. Their traditions also, which point to Sarahta as their ancient home, agree, I think it will be found, with those of more than one clan of Meos. If my supposition that the Meos are converted Mínas is correct, I am inclined to suspect that the Khánzádas are the representatives of the noble class among the aboriginal population. Tod mentions an Asíl or unmixed class among the Mínas, known as Mainas."

The Khánzádas of Gurgaon call themselves Jádúbansi by clan, and they commonly say that this is their only *got*. Khánzáda, or "the son of a Khán," is precisely the Musalmán equivalent to the Hindu Rájput or "son of a Rája"; and there can be little doubt that the Khánzádas are to the Meos what the Rájputs are to the Játs.

Khar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. It traces its origin to the Kharrals of Montgomery and Lahore, accounting for its truncated name by a tale that once a party of Kharrals from the Lahore Bár encamped near a field of sugarcane in Multán and cut the cane to feed their cattle and make huts of it. When the owner of the field complained they declared that they thought the cane was a kind of reed. So they were dubbed *khar*, 'ass' in Persian.

Khára, a Jáṭ tribe, found it Nábha. It claims Chhatriya descent, and says its ancestor held office at the Delhi court, but his son Khára became a robber and went to Khandúr where he married a woman of another tribe and so became a Jáṭ. The Kháras believe in a *sidh* whose shrine is at Khandúr and there they offer *panjeri*, etc. They do not use milk or curd until it has been offered at the shrine. On the 5th of the second half of Baisákh, Maghar and Jeth special offerings are made there. The *sidh* was a Khára who used to fall asleep while grazing his cattle. One day his head was cut off by robbers, but he pursued them for some yards and the spot where he fell is now his shrine, and though the Kháras have left Khandúr the *sidh* is still worshipped.

Khara, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar and in Montgomery; in the latter district it is Hindu as well as Muhammadan.

Khárak, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kharal, lit. a mortar, a tribe found in the southern part of the Rachná Doáb: see Kharral.

Khari, E. H. I., V. 278. Possibly the Khattríl, *q. v.*

Khariah, apparently an offshoot of the Bajwá Jáṭs, descended from Kals, one of the two sons of Rájá Shalip, the Bajju. Kals had a son by name Dáwa, whose three sons were Múda, Wasr and Nána, surnamed Chacbra.

KHARIÁLA, apparently a synonym for, or a class of, Mírási.

KHAROKA, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

KHAROPAR, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

KHARORA.—A small clan of Jáṭs found in Nábha. Uppal, their ancestor, ruled at Barágaon, a Muhammadan village of Paṭiála. When he went to pay the revenue into the treasury he got himself recorded as its owner and in their resentment the people murdered him. His wife on her way to her father's house, gave birth to a son, on a hard piece of ground, whence the name Kharauda or Kharora.

KHAROṬI, a Paṭhán tribe occupying the hills near the sources of the Gúmal and the district of Warghún or Arghún to the west of the Sulimánkhel country and south by east of Ghazni. They generally arrive in the plains towards the end of November and depart in May. Their *kirris* or encampments during the winter are located near Tánk, Mulazai and Paharpur. They are a poor tribe, and have been nearly ruined by a long and unequal contest with the Sulimánkhels. This feud, though allowed to rest during their stay in Hindustán, breaks out afresh as soon as they re-enter the hills; though attempts have latterly been made by the Deputy Commissioner with some success to bring the two tribes to terms. Most of the Kharoṭis engage as labourers and carriers like the Násirs. A large proportion of them are *charra* folk. Some are merchants, and trade in dried fruit and madder.

The Kharoṭi were identified by Bellew with the Arachoti of Alexander's historians, but though they dwell in the ancient Arachosia, it is difficult to accept that theory. They claim descent from Tokhi, mother of Hotak, grandson of Ghilzai, but the Tokhi themselves say they are descended from a foundling adopted by their tribe. Bellew was probably right in saying that they and the NÁSIRS are of different origin to the mass of the Ghilzai.

KHARRAL.—The Kharrals would appear to be a true Rájput tribe, though a very considerable portion of them are styled Jáṭ. The Rájput Kharrals of Baháwalpur return their main tribe as Bhaṭṭi. The few Kharrals in Jullundur are there recognised as Rájputs and those of Montgomery claim descent from Rájá Karan. The Kharrals are found in large numbers only along the valley of the Rávi, from its junction with the Chenáb to the boundary between Lahore and Montgomery; while a few have spread up the Deg river into the Lahore and Gujránwála *bár*, and smaller numbers are found all along the Sutlej valley as high up as Ferozepur. The tribes of this portion of the Rávi, are divided into two classes, the Great Rávi tribes and the NIKKI or Little Rávi tribes. Among the former tribes the Kharrals are the most northerly and one of the most important. They are themselves divided into two factions, the upper Rávi and lower Rávi, the head-quarters of the latter being at Kot Kamália. The two are at bitter feud, and the only tie between them is their hatred of their common enemy, the Siál Rájputs of Jhang. The Kamália Kharrals rose to some prominence in the time of Alamgír, and still hold remains of grants then made them, but the upper Kharrals are now the more powerful branch of the two. The Kharrals have ever been notorious for turbulence, and Mr. Purser's Montgomery *Settlement Report* contains details of their doings before and under Sikh rule, while the

history of the family is narrated in full at pages 509*ff* of Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs.* They trace their origin from one Bhúpa, a descendant of Rája Karan, who settled at Uch and was there converted by Makhdúm Sháh Jahánián. From Uch they moved up to their present territory. There are now very few in the Multán district; but the fact of their being found along the Sutlej, though in small numbers only, lends some support to the story of their having come upwards from below. Captain Elphinstone thus described the Kharrals in his Gugaira *Settlement Report* :—

"The 'Kharrals' are the most northerly of the 'Great Rávi' tribes. They occupy a great portion of the land between Gugaira and the Lahore district, on both sides of the river, and extend some distance into the Gujránwála district. In turbulence and courage they have been always considered to excel all the others except the Káthias; but the tract occupied by them has been gradually denuded by the rapid extension of cultivation, of what formerly constituted their greatest strength,—heavy jungle. In case of disturbances, therefore, they have had at more recent periods to evacuate their own lands on the approach of large military forces, thus sustaining much damage by the destruction of their villages. Their most celebrated leader, Ahmad Khán, who was killed in September 1857 by a detachment under Captain Black, headed the combined tribes, however, in no less than five insurrections, which to a certain extent all proved successful, their chief object—the plunder of the Khatris and Hindus—having usually been accomplished at the expense of a moderate fine imposed on them under the name of *nazarána*, after the conclusion of peace. This success had spread his renown far and wide, and had given him a great influence over the whole of the 'Great Rávi,' as was proved by the outbreak of 1857, which appears to have been mainly planned and organized by him. In stature the Kharrals are generally above the average height, their features are very marked, and their activity and endurance are remarkable. Like all the other Játs they pretend to a descent from the Rájputs, and like that class look down with some contempt upon men who handle the plough. The cultivation in their villages is, therefore, almost exclusively left to the Wásiwáns and inferior castes, the Kharral proprietors contenting themselves with realizing their share of the produce. They only possess land in tracts inundated by the rivers, mere well-cultivation being too laborious a task even for their dependants."

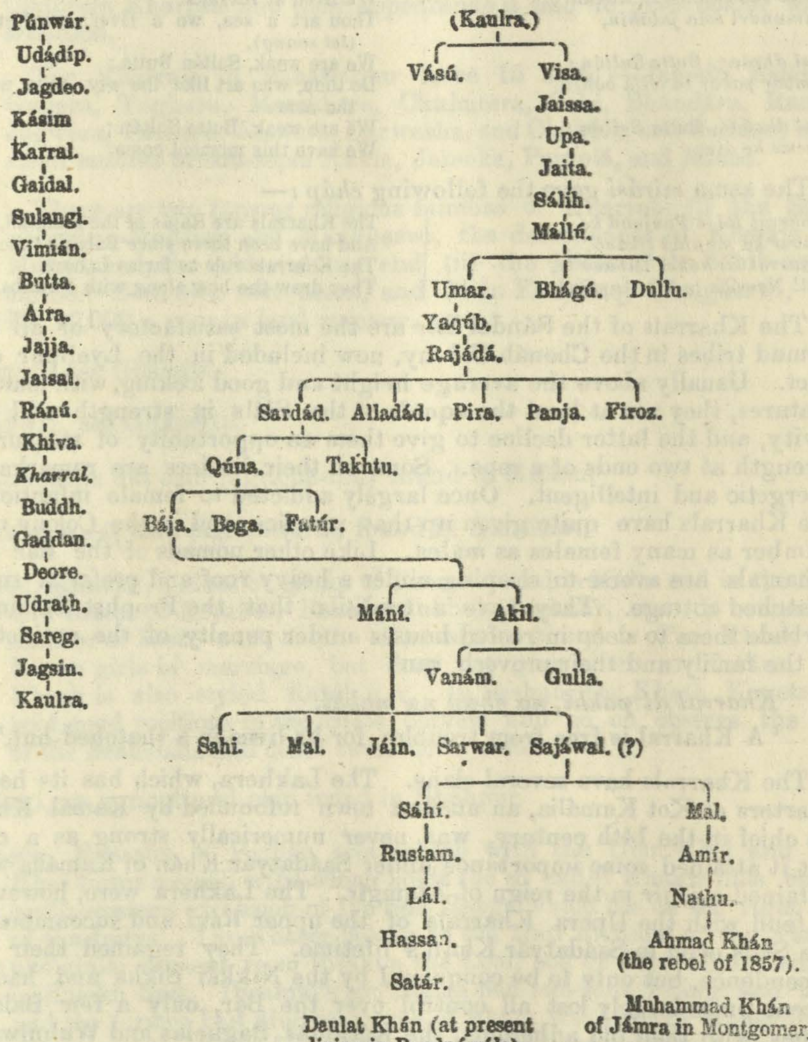
Mr. Purser adds that they are wasteful in marriage expenditure, hospitable to travellers, thievish, and with little taste for agriculture; and that they still follow many Hindu customs, especially on the occasion of marriage. In Lahore they appear to bear a no better character than in Montgomery; and there is a Persian proverb: "The Ḍogar, the Bhaṭṭi, the Waṭṭu, and the Kharral are all rebellious and ought to be slain." Sir Lepel Griffin wrote of them: "Through all historic times the Kharrals have been a turbulent, savage, and thievish tribe, ever impatient of control, and delighting in strife and plunder. More fanatic than other Muhammadan tribes, they submitted with the greatest reluctance to Hindu rule; and it was as much as Diwán Sáwan Mal and the Sikhs could do to restrain them; for whenever an organised force was sent against them they retired into the marshes and thick jungles, where it was almost impossible to follow them." In Gujránwála they are said to be "idle, troublesome, bad cultivators and notorious thieves, their persons generally tall and handsome, and their habits nomad and prædatory."

From notes collected by Mr. E. D. Maclagan in Jhang it appears that the Kharrals in that District claim to be Punwárs* and connected with Rája Jagdeo, not Karn. They say they have been on the Rávi from time immemorial. They practise *karewa* (which accounts for their

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* This accords with the Multán tradition that the Langhâs are Punwárs and allied to the Kharrals, Harrals, Bhuttas and Laks: Multán *Gazetteer*, 1902, p. 138.

being ranked as Jáṭ*) and give wives only to Khichis and Awáus, but take them from Chaddrars, Kamokes, Harrals and even Siáls. But in the Chenáb colony at any rate they do not appear to get wives from Siáls, and for that tribe we should read Othwáls in that tract. They give a long pedigree which is reproduced here to make what follows clear :—



Of these Jaisal was the first to come west to Dánábád in Montgomery. After Kharral's time the tribe began to disperse to Jámra and elsewhere. Vású is the head of the Kamália section : and Akil's descendants live south of it. Jagdeo was a great king with long arms that reached below his knees : and he could break a *tilis* (staff) over his knees.

* In Sháhpur also the Kharrals are classed as Jáṭ (agricultural).

Butta or Butti Sultán was a Kharral chief in the time of Muhammad of Ghor, and was converted to Islám by Pír Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál. The following ballad about him was given by a *mírásí* of the tribe :—

Kák de dar de Solgi	When the Solgi tribe fled from fear of the Kák
Aise unchhe Butte Rá sái,	To the mighty Butte Ráo,
Sádá bas banárá te Káknai ;	We lived at Kákanai ;
Samundri sota juláhin,	Thou art a sea, we a river, comfort us (*let swing*).
Así dhráan, Butte Sultán ;	We are weak, Sultán Butta ;
Ambar pakar tu leiiá báhí ;	Do thou, who art like the sky, take us by the arm :
Así dhráan, Butta Sultán ;	We are weak, Butta Sultán ;
Awwe he áin.	We have this moment come.

The same *mírásí* gave the following *cháp* :—

Kharral Rájá Panjnad ke,	The Kharrals are Rájás of the Panjnad,*
Bábar ká muniád tikáná.	And have been there since Bábar's time.
Kharral ká hukm Láhaur te.	The Kharrals rule as far as Lahore.
Nál Nawábe te kass kamáná.	They draw the bow along with Nawábs.

The Kharrals of the Sándal Bár are the most satisfactory of all the nomad tribes in the Chenáb Colony, now included in the Lyallpur district. Usually above the average height and good looking, with marked features, they are at least the equals of the Siáls in strength and activity, and the latter decline to give them an opportunity of measuring strength at two ends of a rope. Some of their leaders are remarkably energetic and intelligent. Once largely addicted to female infanticide, the Kharrals have quite given up that practice and in the Colony now number as many females as males. Like other nomads of the Bár the Kharrals are averse to sleeping under a heavy roof and prefer a small thatched cottage. They have a tradition that the Prophet Sulaimán forbade them to sleep in roofed houses under penalty of the extinction of the family and their proverb ran :

Kharral di pakhi, na ghun na makhi,

'A Kharral is free from troubles, for he lives in a thatched hut.'

The Kharrals have several clans. The Lakhera, which has its headquarters at Kot Kamália, an ancient town refounded by Kamál Khán, its chief in the 14th century, was never numerically strong as a clan but it attained some importance under Saádatyár Khán of Kamália who obtained a *jágír* in the reign of Alamgír. The Lakhera were, however, at feud with the Upera Kharrals of the upper Rávi and succumbed to the Siáls even in Saádatyár Khán's lifetime. They regained their independence, but only to be conquered by the Nikkái Sikhs and had in recent times largely lost all control over the Bár, only a few Baloch tribes, with their old adherents, the Káthidas, Baghelas and Wahniwáls, standing by them. Most of the Kharrals in the Colony belong to the Upera clan.

Two clans, often called Chuhrera Kharrals, class themselves as Kharrals, but they do not really belong to the tribe. These are the Piroke and Jálálke and they are called Chuhrera, because the famous Chuhra dacoit Sándal, who gave his name to the Sándal Bár,† refused to

* Apparently meant for Punjab.

† For another derivation see under Shoondal.

allow the Kharrals to graze in it, unless they provided him with a bride. To this degradation the Kharrals at last assented, and when he went to fetch his wife Sándal was received with great pomp, but he and his companions were treacherously blown up with gun-powder concealed under the grass on which the feast was spread. The Kharrals then took the Chuhṛa women to wife. Their descendants are the Chubṛera Kharrals and their appearance is said to give colour to the tradition.

The Kharrals in Baháwalpur have 15 septs :—Jag-sin, Salar-sin, Gugera, Tughera, Mamkhera, Chuharera, Sahi, Bhandára, Ran-sin, Jagwera, Fatwera, Jaswera, Darwesha, and Chahlak, and Gaddan, and 4 small *muhins* or sub-septs Kakla, Jameka, Paropiá, and Miána.

There are two famous religious families of Kharrals (i) the Sáhibzádagán-i-Mahárwi and Mangherwi, the descendants of Khwája Núr Muhammad, the Qibla-i-Alim, and (ii) the Miáns of the Sáhib-us-Sair shrine. Both own vast areas, and Mián Fazl Haq, Mangherwi, pays Rs. 10,000 a year in land revenue.

Kharsin, see Gharsin.

Kharwál, see Gharwál.

Kharwála, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Kharye, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Khash, Khaush, a class or group of Kanets found in Kullu and in the Simla Hill States of Koṭkhái, Balsan, Jubbal, Bashahr, etc. It comprises a number of *khels*, such as the Khashṭa in Kanaur. The Khash takes Kurán girls in marriage, but does not give them to Kuráns. The Khash is also styled Kaṭál, *q. v.* In Bashahr the Khash Kanets who hold good positions in the State service and so on observe the rites of the Brahmans and other twice-born castes.

Khášhá, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Khasor, Khassúr, a Paṭhán sept which with the Umr Khel and Malli Khel forms a small tribe which holds the so called Khasor hills on the south-western extension of the Salt Range which lies on the right bank of the Indus. The Khasor belong to the Mati division of the Paṭháns and claim descent from Ibrahím the Lodi, son of Bíbi Mato, daughter of Shaikh Baiṭ. Ibrahím's son Siánai had two sons, Prángi and Ismáil and the former had nine sons, one of whom was named Khasyúr, the ancestor of the Khassúrs. Ibbetson dates their settlement in the hills of the Khassúr Afgháns early in the 13th century, but it was probably somewhat later.

Khás-Kheli, a tribe found in Baháwalpur. It is an offshoot of the Máchhis and its members were in the service of the Abbási Kháns. A Khás-Kheli, Yákúb Muhammad, rose to be *wazír* of Baháwal Khán III, but after the death of Baháwal Khán IV their influence declined and now they have not access to the Darbár.

KHÁTI,* an occupational term used in the north of Sirsa and the Phulkián States for the carpenter and blacksmith (Lohár) and generally in the eastern plains for the carpenter, except on the Jumna where the term used is Bárhi. Thus in Hissár Káthi includes the Hindu carpenter of the south-eastern Punjab and the SUTHAR or carpenter of the Bágar, who is a distinct tribe from the former. The Suthar too affects a certain superiority over the Kháti, as he has taken to agriculture to a considerable extent while the Kháti has not; and he does not intermarry with him. Many Khátis are by sect Bishnoi, but they do not intermarry with other Bishnoi castes such as the Bishnoi Jáṭs. See under Tarkhán.

KHAṬÍKS.†—The Khaṭíks are only found in any numbers in the Jumna zone, in Sirsa, in Paṭiála, and the other Phulkián States. They are *par excellence* tanners and dyers of goats' skins, and claim to be of Hindu status because they do not eat dead animals though they use flesh and liquor. Brahma, they say, assigned to them a goat's skin, the bark of trees and lac—so they graze cattle, dye the skins of goats and deer, and tan hides with bark and lac. Their priests are Gauṛ Brahmans who officiate in the *phera* rite at weddings and in the *kiria* at funerals, although the Khaṭíks are menials, and only Chuhṛas and Chamárs will drink water at their hands. In the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha the Bágṛi‡ group is found which claims Khatrí descent, and has four *gots*, the Jaṭoria named from the place whence it migrated, and the Bairiwál, Áswál and Kenchí which three latter are numerically large. Khaṭíks only avoid one *got* in marriage and allow widow remarriage. Their women wear no nose-ring. The tribe worships Bhairon and Sidh Masáni, also known as Mátá Masáni. At Hájípur in Alwar, where there is a shrine of the goddess Durga, they perform children's first tonsure and the bride and bridegroom are also taken to worship at the shrine. The *gurús* of the Hindu Khaṭíks are Nánakpanthí Sikhs, yet they observe none of the Sikh tenets. In the Phúl and Amloh *nizámats* of Nábha are found two classes of Muhammadan Khaṭíks—the Rájput and Ghori Paṭhán groups, each of which is as a rule endogamous.

The Khaṭíks are sometimes confused with the Chamrang, but the latter tans baffalo and ox hides with lime, and does not dye leather, so that he ranks below the Khaṭík who tans and dyes only sheep and goat skins, using salt and the juice of the *madár* (*Calotropis procera*), but no lime. On the other hand, the Khaṭík is certainly below the Chamár because he will keep pigs and poultry, which a Chamár would not do; and he will even act as a butcher, it is said, though this appears unlikely as he is of so low a status. He is however possibly a

* Kháti is defined by Platts (*Hindustáni Dicty.*, p. 867) to be a caste of Hindus who are generally employed as cartwrights, a carpenter. *Káṭh* is wood or timber in Hindi and in Multáni *káṭhi* or *káṭh*. The derivation of Kháti is obscure.

† The Khaṭík is a caste of Hindustán and the name is defined by Platts (*Hindustáni Dicty.*, p. 872) to mean a hunter, a low caste which keeps pigs and poultry, a tanner, *i. q.* Khaṭík. The word is used in a very vague way and probably the Hindu Khaṭík pig-keeper of the eastern Punjab is a Porbia immigrant, while the Muhammadan Khaṭík of the west is a Chamár who has taken to tanning. But in Nábha at any rate the Hindu Khaṭík is certainly a tanner.

‡ *i. e.*, immigrants from the Bágaṛ.

pork-butcher. He is also said to keep sheep and goats and twist their hair into waist bands for sale. The Khaṭík appears to be by origin a scavenger who is rising in the social scale by taking to dyeing and tanning, but has not yet attained to the status of a worker in leather. He is closely akin to the Pási and may even be a sub-group of that caste.

KHATRA, a Hindu Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KHATRÁÍ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KHATRÍ, or less correctly KHATTRI, fem. KHATRÁNÍ dim. KHATRETÁ, fem. -í, a child of the Khatrí caste. Khatrí appears to be unquestionably a Prakritised form of the Sanskr. Kshatriya. Philologically Kshatriya appears to be connected with Sanskr. *kshatra* 'country.' The Pers. Kshatrapá is derived from the same root and *pá-*, 'to protect.' *Oxford Dicty.*, *s. v.* Satrap.

Literature assigns various origins to the Khatri caste. According to the *Vishnu Purána,* Bharata, the king whose name so constantly crops up in various forms in the Punjab, had nine sons, whose mothers put them to death, fearful that he would disown them as they bore no resemblance to him. Thus left sonless, Bharata sacrificed to the Maruts and they gave him Bharadwája, son of Brihaspati by Mamatá. Bharadwája had four grandsons, of whom two became Brahmans while two remained Khatris, though all continued to be of the Bháradwája *gotra.*

The Angiras-gotri Khatris are described as descended from Agni, Havishmat or Havirbhuja, as he also called, though the Havishmats or Havismats are also said to be descendants of Angiras and the great progenitors of the Kshatriyas.

The Kausika-gotri Khatris are of Lunar descent, through Kusa, the king who was 11th in descent from Soma and 9th from King Pururavas. But one of Kusa's four sons had a descendant Vishvamitra whose family became Brahmans. To this *gotra* belongs the Khanna *got* of the modern Khatris.

The Kausilya or Kausalya-gotri Khatris are of Solar race, King Kausalya or Hiranyanábha Kausilya their eponym, being 22nd in descent from Raghu.

To this *gotra* belong the Mihira Khatris, the Kapura *got* being by *gotra* Kautsika.

Time was when Brahmans intermarried with Khatris on equal terms, but this has long since ceased to be allowed. The Sarsut or Saraswat Brahmans, who are the *parohits* of the Khatris,* will, however, eat any food prepared by a Khatri, a privilege said to be denied to a Rájput. And the true Saraswat will accept gifts from Khatris alone, in accordance with the ancient rule that a Brahman shall only accept gifts from the warrior class.

* For instance the Jetli Sársut, who are descendants of Jetal, a son of [illegible]ishta *muni* priest to Rám Chandra, are *parohits* of the Mihira or Mahra Khatris to this [illegible].

Rationally interpreted these historical legends say clearly enough that the Khatri caste is made up of at least three probably racial elements, Solar, Lunar and the Agni-kula or Fire-race. Of those races some families became Brahmans and others remained Kshatriyas. Others, according to the Mahábhárata, became Vaisyas, Sudras or even barbers.

The meaning of the word Kshatriya is usually said to be warrior, or at least the Kshatriya* is described as the warrior class. But Fick has an instructive passage on this point and says: 'Kshatriya corresponds to the Vedic *rájanya* and is applied to the successors of the conquering families under whose leadership the Aryan stocks had secured their new settlements in the Gangetic lands, and, *also*, to. the overlords of the indigenous peoples who had been able to maintain their independence in the war against the foreign invaders. The Kshatriyas then were not by any means of one and the same race. They represented the political power and embodied the idea of a community which stood above the family, above the caste, the idea of the State. We have no right to speak of a Kshatriya 'caste' in the modern sense of that term. The Kshatriyas formed a ruling class and were not necessarily warriors, any more than the army was necessarily recruited only from Kshatriyas.'

As the name of a ruling race, or as the title of several ruling families, the term Kshatriya is of great antiquity. This is not however a place for a discussion of the problems connected with the Kshatriyas' place in history. "The three great Kshatriya lines," writes Mr. Pargiter, "the Solar and Lunar and Yádava dynasties, profess to exhibit more than 50 well-remembered generations."† The following table of descent is compiled from his article:—

Manu Vaivasvata.

- Ikshváku.
  - Solar Line.
  - Videha Line.
- Dishtha or Nedishtha.
- Ila, his daughter.
  - Purúravas.
    - Áyus.
      - Nahusha.
        - Yayáti.
          - Yadu.
          - Turvasu.
          - Druhyú.
          - Anu.
          - Púru.

From Yadu is descended the Yádava race which developed into two lines, first the Haihaya, sprung from Sahasrajít, son of Yadu, with a branch called Tálajangha,‡ and the second line descended from his son Kroshtu. From Yadu's son Púru sprang the Paurava or Lunar race, which had two branches, the North Panchála, descended from Ajanídha, which reigned in Ahichchhatra, and the South Panchála. Omitting the

* *Die sociale Gliederung in Nordoestlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*: p. 51.

† See *Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology* in J. R. A. S. 1910, pp. 1—56, by F. E. Pargiter, M. A.

‡ Sprung from Tálajangha, grandson of Arjuna.
Jyámagha, the Yádava, married a Shaivya princess.

dynasties which had no connection with the Punjab, we learn that the descendants of Yayáti's son Anu branched out in the north-west into the Punjab tribes of the Kekayas, Shivis, etc. Shivi, son of Ushínara of this line had four sons who originated the Vrishadarbhas, Suvíras, Kekayas or Kaikayas and Madras of the Punjab.

The earliest and greatest Vishvámitra was the son of Gádhi or Gáthin, king of Kányakubja, and his Kshatriya name was Vishvaratha. Gádhi's daughter Satyavalí was married to the *rishi* Richíka Bhárgava and had a son Jamadagni, whose youngest son was Ráma.

Kritavírya, king of the Haihayas, had the Bhárgavas* as his priests and endowed them with great wealth. During the reign of his son Arjuna, who reigned at Mandháta on the Narmada river, the Haihayas endeavoured to recover this wealth from the Bhárgavas and, failing to do so, killed or dispersed them. This brought them into conflict with Ráma, as Arjuna or his sons had robbed Jamadagni, the Bhárgava, so Ráma killed Arjuna, and in revenge the latter's sons murdered Jamadagni. Ráma swore vengeance on the Kshatriyas, destroyed all Arjuna's sons, save five, and thousands of Haihayas; and moreover he extended his hostility to all Kshatriyas and exterminated them, according to the legend, 21 times. But in spite of this 'extermination' the Haihayas and Tálajanghas soon after overran the whole of North India, which was simultaneously invaded by foreign hordes from the north-west.

The curious story which connects Ráma and his brother Shatrughna with the Yádavas, explains some important territorial facts. Madhu, called king of the Dánavas,† was a Yádava and his realm extended from Guzerat to the Madhu-vana or forest on the Jumna. Fourth in descent from him reigned Sattvata whose son Bhíma was contemporary with Ráma. Shatrughna killed Lavana,‡ the local ruler, felled the forest and founded Mathura, but after Ráma's death Bhíma recovered the city and his son Andhaka reigned there, but Mathura continued to be also called Shúrasena, after Shatrughna's son who had held charge of it. Kans, a descendant of Andhka, reigned there however in the Pándavas' time. Samvarana, the Bhárata, was driven out of his kingdom by the Panchálas and sought refuge in a fortress on the Sindhu for many years, until a Vasishtha became his priest and encouraged him to recover his realm. Samvarana's expulsion from it must have been effected by Sudás, who defeated the kings on the Parushni (Rávi), after subduing the Lunar kingdom of the Bháratas. His conquests stirred up against him the tribes to the west, such as the Yádavas, of Mathura, the Shivas, or Shivis, descendants of Anu, the Druhyus, or Gándháras, apparently a tribe which gave its name to Gandhára (the Pesháwar valley), the Matsyas§ (to the west of Mathura), the Turvasha, probably on the north-west of Sudas' kingdom. Samvarana's dispossession lasted over Sahadeva's reign into Somaka's, and the story goes that he sacrificed his first-born son Jantu in order to obtain others.

* The modern Dhusars, or Bhárgava Dhusars.

† A word still found in the Simla Hills in legends of local gods, but not as the name of a tribe.

‡ Doubtless the Lau of Punjab legend.

§ We may surmise the Meos.

This barbarous piece of magic apparently drove Vasishṭha to espouse Samvarana's cause, the more so in that his own sons had been put to death by Sudás' descendants. After Samvarana came Kuru, who gave his name to the Kurukshetr. His descendants, the Kauravas, fought the great fight with the Pánḍavas and with that event nearly all the genealogical lists of the Kshatriyas end, as if an era of considerable prosperity and refinement had abruptly ceased. Whatever the historical facts may have been there is hardly a name in the semi-mythical legends of the modern Punjab which does not appear in the Kshatriya chronicles.

Quite apart from the resemblance of the names Kshatriya and Khatri the position of the Kshatriya in ancient times finds very close parallels in his relations to the modern Hindu castes in the Punjab. The ancient Kshatriya literature was imbued with the historical spirit. The Kshatriyas played a very great part in the early days of Indian history and a consideration of the literature originated by them is essential to a right understanding of those times. We have the results of their literary aptitude in the Epics and Puránas, overlaid though they be with Brahminical accretions. The general trend of the ancient Kshatriya teaching was monotheistic and ethical. It was not anti-Brahminical but anti-Brahmanist, and opposed to the orthodox Brahmaism of the older Upanishads, which was mainly taught by the Brahmans of the Madhyadesa. The Sánkhya-Yoga and Bhagavata systems are both in their origins connected with a number of Kshatriya names.

It is hardly necessary to point how modern Sikhism reproduces in a most striking way all that is distinctive in the relations of the ancient Kshatriya to the masses of the Hindu peoples of Northern India. The position of the Bedi, the Sodhi and other quasi-sacred sections of the Khattris, as the teachers and leaders of the Jáṭs and other tribes, is essentially that which they occupied in the time of the Mahábhárata, and it would be of great interest to investigate whether the modern Khatri teaching is based on any literary or traditional descent from the old Kshatriya literature.

Though all the names preserved in the Epics and Puránas belong to pre-history, many generations after the war of the Mahábhárata elapsed before the Kshatriya dynasties ended. Thus the Solar line terminates with Rájá Sumitra, 30th in descent from Brihadhal, who was killed by Arjun's son Abhimanyu; and the Lunar ends with Kshemak, 25th in descent from Arjun's grandson.

The well-known legend tells how Parasu Ráma, the Brahman and the sixth incarnation of Vishnu exterminated the Kshatriyas in 21 attacks, and not content with slaughtering the men he destroyed even the infants in the womb. So the Kshatriya women fled to the

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* Dr. G A. Grierson holds that there was in ancient India a long struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas; that the Kurukshetra or Madhyadesa was the centre of Brahmaism, all the surrounding countries being unorthodox, their unorthodoxy being fostered by learned Kshatriyas. Some of these Kshatriyas found an asylum in the tracts to the east and south of the Madhyadesa, among the Panchálas who permitted polyandry like the modern Játs; and that the *fons et origo* of the Mahábhárata war was the insult offered by Drupada, the Kshatriya king of the Panchálas, to a Brahmana who sought a refuge with the Kurus, so that in its essence the war of the Mahábhárata was a cult war between the Brahmaist Kurus and the Kshatriya-guided Panchálas. J. R. A. S., 1908, pp. 843-4.

Sársut Brahmans of Kurukshetr on the Saraswati and when Parasu Ráma demanded their surrender the Brahmans declared them their own daughters. Parasu Ráma in his wrath bade them eat *kacha bhojan* (unlawful food) from their hands as a test of the relationship and only when they did so did he spare the women. So their children were called Khatris instead of Chhatris.*

The chronology of the Kshatriyas is still largely a matter of conjecture, and it is not until the period of their decadence sets in that actual history begins. "In the Puranic lists the earliest dynasty which can claim historical reality," writes Mr. Vincent Smith, "is that known as the Saisunága, from the name of its founder 'Sisunága'—or Sheshnág." And the first of this dynasty of whom anything substantial is known is Bimbisára, or Srenika, the fifth of his line. He ruled *circa* B. C. 519. This dynasty was certainly of foreign origin and during its ascendancy much of the Western Punjab formed the Persian satrapies of India and Gandaria. Mahánandin, the last of the Saisunága dynasty, had a son by a Súdra woman and he usurped the throne, establishing the Nanda dynasty which waged wars of extermination against the Kshatriyas. The last of the Nine Nandas was in turn deposed by Chandragupta Maurya (321 B. C.), who found his opportunity in the troubles consequent on Alexander's death in 323 B. C. and became master of north-western India before he seized the throne of Magadha.

But to retrace our footsteps still further back for a moment, it may be of interest to see whether the Kshatriyas were still existent in the Punjab at the time of the Macedonian invasion.

It is difficult to accept the identification of the Xathroi of Alexander's historians with the Kshatriya, though McCrindle appears to favour it. The Xathroi lay between the Indus and the lower course of the Chenab (Akesines). Elsewhere McCrindle identifies the Xathroi with the Kshátri,† a low caste quite distinct from the Kshatriya. (*Ancient India, its Invasion by Alexander*, pp. 347 and 156). It is tempting to identify Porus with Paurava, but he is nowhere described as a Xathros or a *satrapés*, as he would have been if he had been a Kshatriya. M. Sylvain Lévi identifies Phegeus or Phegelas whose territory lay between the Rávi and the Beas, with Bhagala‡—the name of a royal race of Kshatriyas which the Gana-pátha classes under the rubric Báhu, etc., with the name even of Taxilas, Omphis, (Sanskr. Ámbhi): *Ibid.* p. 401.

After the Christian era we find the rulers of Bráhmaur, now the Chamba State, bearing the Kshatriya affix Varma for a long period, from A. D. 620 to about the end of the 16th century.§

From the *débris* of the Kshatriya dynasties sprang the Rájput families, but the exact process of the transformation is obscure. Tradition has it that the *rishis* created the four Agnikul Kshatriyas, the Prahar, Sulankhi, Panwara and Chauhán (names unknown to the earlier Kshatriya history) to fight against the infidels. From these Agnikuls sprang the 36 Rájput Chhatris or Rájput houses of Rájputána. But these are Tod held, doubtless rightly, not pure Kshatriyas, but descend-

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* P. N. Q., I, § 578.

† The Kshátris are unknown in the modern Punjab.

‡ Mr. Vincent Smith says Bhagala *or* Bhagela (whelp) *q.v.*: *Early Hist. of India*, 1st ed., p. 34.

§ Chamba *Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 69 to 86. Varma was not a Rájput, but a Kshatriya affix, as Sharma was a Brahman and Gupta a Vaisya affix.

ants (at least in some cases) of converted Buddhists, Huns and Takshaks, affiliated to the purer Kshatriya families. It is quite certain that the Rájputs are a far later development than the Kshatriyas.

The Khatri occupies a very different position among the people of the Punjab from that of the other mercantile castes. Superior to them in physique, in manliness, and in energy, he is not, like them, a mere shop-keeper, but a direct representative of the Kshatriya of Manu. The following extract from Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* admirably describes the position of the Khatri :—

"Trade is their main occupation; but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Punjab and the greater part of Afghánistán, and doing a good deal beyond those limits, they are in the Punjab the chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, moreover, the priests or *gurus* of the Sikhs. Both Nának and Govind were, and the Sodis and Bedis of the present day are, Khatris. Thus then they are in fact in the Punjab, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Mahratta Brahmins are in the Mahratta country, besides engrossing the trade which the Mahratta Brahmins have not. They are not usually military in their character, but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Díwán Sáwan Mal, governor of Multán, and his notorious successor Múlraj, and very many of Ranjít Singh's chief functionaries, were Khatris. Even under Muhammadan rulers in the west, they have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatri Diwán of Badakshán or Kunduz; and I believe, of a Khatri governor of Pesháwar under the Afgháns. The emperor Akbar's famous minister, Todur Mal, was a Khatri; and a relative of that man of undoubted energy, the great Commissariat contractor of Agra, Joti Parshád, lately informed me that he also is a Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatris are one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India, though in fact, except locally in the Punjab, they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatris are staunch Hindus; and, it is somewhat singular that, while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The Khatris are a very fine, fair, handsome race. And, as may be gathered from what I have already said, they are very generally educated.

"There is a large subordinate class of Khatris, somewhat lower, but of equal mercantile energy, called Rors, or Roras. The proper Khatris of higher grade will often deny all connexion with them, or at least only admit that they have some sort of bastard kindred with Khatris; but I think there can be no doubt that they are ethnologically the same, and they are certainly mixed up with Khatris in their avocations. I shall treat the whole kindred as generically Khatris.

"Speaking of the Khatris then thus broadly, they have, as I have said, the whole trade of the Punjab and of most of Afghánistán. No village can get on without the Khatri who keeps the accounts, does the banking business, and buys and sells the grain. They seem, too, to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of this kind. In Afghánistán, among a rough and alien people, the Khatris are as a rule confined to the position of humble dealers, shop-keepers, and money-lenders; but in that capacity the Patháns seem to look at them as a kind of valuable animal; and a Pathán will steal another man's Khatri, not only for the sake of ransom, as is frequently done on the Pesháwar and Hazára frontier, but also as he might steal a milch-cow, or as Jews might, I dare say, be carried off in the Middle Ages with a view to render them profitable.

"I do not know the exact limits of Khatri occupation to the west, but certainly in all Eastern Afghánistán they seem to be just as much a part of the established community as they are in the Punjab. They find their way far into Central Asia, but the further they get the more depressed and humiliating is their position. In Turkistán, Vambery speaks of them with great contempt, as yellow-faced Hindus of a cowardly and sneaking character. Under Turcoman rule they could hardly be otherwise. They are the only Hindus known in Central Asia. In the Punjab they are so numerous that they cannot all be rich and mercantile; and many of them hold land, cultivate, take service, and follow various avocations.

"The Khatris are altogether excluded from Brahmin Kashmir. In the hills however the Kakkas, on the east bank of the Jhelum, are said to have been originally Khatris (they are a curiously handsome race), and in the interior of the Kángra hills there is an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds called Gaddis, most of whom are Khatris. Khatri traders are numerous in Delhi; are found in Agra, Lucknow, and Patna; and are well known in the Bara Bazar of Calcutta, though there they are principally connected with Punjab firms.

"The Khatris do not seem, as a rule, to reach the western coast: in the Bombay market I cannot find that they have any considerable place. In Sindh, however, I find in Captain Burton's book an account of a race of pretended Kshatriyas who are really Bánias of the Nának Sháhi (Sikh) faith, and who trade, and have a large share of public offices. These are evidently Khatris. Ludhiána is a large and thriving town of mercantile Khatris."

Within the Punjab the distribution of the Khatri element is very well marked. It hardly appears east of Ludhiána, the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion, nor does it penetrate into the eastern hills. It is strongest in the central districts where Sikhism is most prevalent, and in the Râwalpindi division and Hazára, and occupies a fairly important position in the western Hill States. Although the Khatris are said to trace their origin to Multán, they are far less prominent in the southern districts of the Western Plains, and least of all on the actual frontier; but this would be explained if the Aroṛas be considered a branch of the Khatris.

As Sir George Campbell remarked, it is curious that, intimately connected as the Khatris always have been and still are with the Sikh religion, only 9 per cent. of them should belong to it. Nor is it easy to see why the proportion of Sikhs should double and treble in the Jhelum and Ráwalpindi districts. But the social gradations of the Khatris, based as they appear to be upon an immemorial tradition of former greatness, hinder their acceptance of the stricter democratic doctrines of the Sikh faith. A Khatri, when a Sikh, is ordinarily a Sikh of Nának, rather than a devotee of Guru Govind, and he thus avoids the necessity of completely abnegating his caste principles. The same pride of birth has militated against the Rájput's acceptance of Sikh teaching. The Khatris are probably numerous in Jhelum and Ráwalpindi because the Rájput element in the north-west Punjab has always been weak. Some are Musalmán, chiefly in Multán and Jhang where they are commonly known as KHOJAS; these are said to belong chiefly to the Kapúr section. The rest are Hindus.

The Khatris are essentially a trading caste, like the Aroṛas and Bháṭias, comparatively few being engaged in agriculture, but they stand higher than either of those castes, many of them being bankers, and they are also largely employed in the civil administration. The distribution of these castes is illustrated by the maps, I, II, and IV facing pp. 303 and 308 in chapter *Report* of the *Punjab Census* 1901.

The Aroṛas hold the south-west, as the Bánias do the south-east, of the Punjab, tracts in which the Khatris are hardly to be found. On the other hand, the Bháṭia is found side by side with the Khatri in Siálkoṭ, Gujrát and Sháhpur. The connection between these three castes is obscure, and indeed it is doubtful whether the Bháṭia has any ethnological connection with the Khatri or Aroṛa. The two castes indeed appear to overlap, for in Jhang the Magu and Katiál sections who deem themselves Khatris, but are regarded as Aroṛas by the Lahoria Khatris, used it is said to give wives to the admitted Khatris of the northern Chenáwan country—on the upper reaches of the Chenab—taking their wives from the Dakhanáda Aroṛas further down the Indus valley. And in Baháwalpur Khatris generally take Aroṛa

women as wives (but do not give daughters to Aroṛas), though whether regular ritual marriages occur or not does not appear.

Organization.

The Khatris are divided into three main groups, *viz.* :—

I—Bári, II—Bunjáhi, and III—Sarín.—The Báris generally may take wives from the Bunjáhis, but do not give them daughters in return. If a Bári family gives a daughter in marriage to a Bunjáhi it loses status and becomes itself Bunjáhi. The exact position of the Sarín is obscure. It is implied in more than one account sent to me that they are hypergamous, giving daughters to the Bunjáhis. In Paṭiála they used to intermarry with that group, but infrequently, as such alliances were not approved. In Pesháwar the Sarín claim that the Bunjáhis used to *give* them daughters, which is hardly possible, for it is admitted on all hands that they are below the Bunjáhis in status, and in Delhi they cannot even smoke with the two higher groups. Practically it may be said that they now form an endogamous sub-caste; but there is one important exception, as will be noted *infra*. Each of these three groups is further divided into sub-groups, as described below :—

Group I—Bári.—This group comprises 12 exogamous sections, and its name is undoubtedly derived from *bárah*, '12.'

These sections appear to rank thus :—

Sections :—		Sub-groups (*dhamas*) :—
1. Kapúr.	or senior.	
2. Khanna.		
3. Malhotra or Mehra.		
4. Kakar or Seth.		
5. Chopra.	or junior.	i. Dháighar.
6. Talwár.		ii. Chárghar.
7. Sahgal.		iii. Chheghar.
8. Dhawan or Dhaun.		iv. Báraghar or Bára-záti.
9. Wadhaun.		
10. Tannan.		
11. Bohra or Wohra.		
12. Maindharu.		

This group seems to be very generally recognised and there is usually no dispute as to the twelve sections comprised in it. But in Pindigheb, Gandhoke, Bahi, Wahi and Soni are given instead of Nos. 9 and 12 above, so that the Bári there would appear to have 14 sections.

The Bári group is apparently a close corporation into which no new sections could be admitted, though a family of any of its 12 sections may be degraded to a lower group. It contains four sub-groups based on the status of the families (not of the sections) in each. Thus the families of the Dháighar sub-group are of the highest status and their status depends on the fact that they can only give their daughters in marriage in 'two and a half' (*dhái*) sections. Similarly the Chárghar

are below the Dháighar in status because they can give a daughter in marriage to four (*chár*) sections; and so on.*

It follows from this that the families in each section are not all of the same status. For instance the Kapúr section is mostly of Dhaighar status, but certain families having given daughters to the Sahgal section have fallen to Báraghar status, *i. e.*, to the status of those who will give daughters to all twelve sections. Other families again have even fallen to Bunjáhi status, by giving daughters in that group.

Group II—Bunjáhi.†—This group comprises, theoretically, 52 sections, as the name *bawanjahi*, from *bawanja* '52,' would imply. The names and numbers of the sections are however variously stated, and it is clear that, all told, the number of sections in this group greatly exceeds 52. The sub-groups are variously given, but the typical grouping would seem to be as follows :—

Sub-group i.—Khokhrán.—This group consisted of 8 sections originally, and hence it is also known as Ath-zátia or Ath-ghar, and these sections are, in Ráwalpindi, divided into four *thamas* as grouped in the margin. Of these the first three form exogamous divisions, intermarriage being forbidden between the two sections in each *thama* because they belong to the same Brahmanical *gotra*. To these eight sections the Chandiok have been affiliated in Peshávar, and in Paṭiála the Kannan section is said to belong to this group.

Thama.	Sections.	*Gotra.*
1	Anand ... Basinh ...	Chandrbansi.
2	Chadha ... Sahni ...	Virbans. Surajbansi.
3	Suri ... Sethi ...	Chandarbansi.
4	Koli ... Saharwal ...	Chandarbansi.

The Khokharán were originally an offshoot of the Bunjáhis, and I have therefore classed them in this group, but, though they are said in one locality to still take wives from the other Bunjáhis, they are as a rule endogamous and thus really form a sub-caste.

Bunjáhi khás or kalán.

Sub-group ii.—The *Asli, Pakka* (or '*real*') or *Bári-Bunjáhi*,‡ comprising 12 sections.

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* This explanation is advanced tentatively: for a further discussion of the meaning of these terms see the Appendix to this Chapter.

† A Jhang account says that the Bunjáhi consist of 9 sections only, *viz.* :—

1 Ketál (? Katiál).	3 Mehndru.	5 Wásan.	7 Chine.
2 Magun.	4 Dánd-dhuna.	6 Bhambri.	8 Dhil.

(The 9th is not known, nor can its *parohit* be found.) These 9 sections are called *phali*. At marriages the boy's father bathes and then gives 5 rupees per *phali* to the *parohits* of the 9 sections. This ceremony is also called *phali*.

‡ The Bári-Bunjáhi must not be confused with the Bári *group* above. The Bári-Bunjáhi are a sub-group of the Bunjáhi.

Sub-group iii.—Bará or *elder Bunjáhi,* with 40 sections, called collectively *Dharmán* or *Dharmain.*

Sub-group iv.—Chhoṭa or *younger Bunjáhi,* with over 100 sections. This sub-group is also called Ansar, or Sair, or Bunjáhi-khurd or-' *ám.*

Of the last three sub-groups the third used to give daughters to the second. The relations of the fourth, the Chhoṭa Bunjáhi, to the second and third are not explicitly stated, but they also appear to be hypergamous.

The conjecture may be hazarded that the peculiar Khatri organization reflects in some way not at present traceable the old Kshatriya division into Lunar and Solar families or dynasties. The division into the Bára and Bunjáhi groups is noticed in the *Aín-i-Akbari** :—

"The Kshatriya (now called Khatris) form two races, the Surajbansi and Sombansi. * * There are more than 500 tribes of these Kshatriyas, of whom 52 (Báwanjái) are pre-eminently distinguished and 12 (Báraghar) are of considerable importance. * * Some of their descendants, abandoning the profession of arms, have taken to other occupations, and this class is known to the world by this name."

The Sarín would thus appear to be of later origin than Akbar's time.

Group III.—Sarín.—This group comprises a large number of sections, and the story goes that in 1216 A. D., the group was divided into 20 grades, each consisting of 6 sections, though, as a matter of fact, 123 sections are specified. At present there are two sub-groups :—

Sub-group i.—Baṛa, or *elder Sarín.*

Sub-group ii.—Chhoṭa or *junior Sarín.*

The first sub-group comprises, according to one account, 10 sections and according to another, 13,† but of these 13 the last two are unable to obtain wives from the other 11 sections, to which they give wives. The Chhoṭa Sarín, comprising 103 sections, used to give daughters to the Baṛa sub-group, but the two sub-groups are now said not to intermarry. Generally speaking, the Sarín sections are distinct from those of the Bunjáhi and Bári groups, and it is unusual to find a section partly Bunjáhi and partly Sarín.

Territorial groups.—The territorial groups of the Khatrís render it exceedingly difficult to give a clear account of their organization and for this reason any allusion to them was excluded in the preceding paragraph. They must, however, be described and as far as possible explained, for they are constantly mentioned in the received accounts of the caste and, what is more important, have a place in its organization. They are indeed cross-divisions of the groups already described.

The most ancient territorial group appears to be the Uchhándi, or Khatrís 'of the uplands,' which may be taken to mean 'of the north-west Punjab.' Other territorial groups are Multáni, which was of high standing, Pesháwaria, and Bharochi (of Bhera in Sháhpur). None

* Blochmann's Trans., III, p. 117.

† It would almost seem that the Sarín attempted or are attempting to form a Bári sub-group, with 12 sections at the top in imitation of the Bári Bunjáhi.

of these seem to be endogamous. The Lahoria and Sirhindia* intermarry on equal terms, though the former possesses an exalted status, so that "Dháighar (Bári) Lahoria" denotes the *fine fleur* of Khatri-ism.

In the Siálkoṭ sub-montane there are two endogamous groups, the Jhikli, 'of the plains,' and the Ḍugri, 'of the low hills,' and in both of these the Bári and other social groups appear not to exist.

In the south-east of the Punjab there are two groups, the Dilwála† (of Delhi), and Agrawála, to which may be added a third, the Púrbia, (in the United Provinces). In the Agrawála the Bári group does not appear to exist but there are Dháighar, Chárghar, Chhezáti and Khokharán groups, and below them the Bunjáhi and Sarín groups, as in the central districts of the Punjab. Of these the Sarín and Khokharán are strictly endogamous, but the others are hypergamous. The territorial groups here are distinctly hypergamous, for the Agrawálas take wives from the Púrbias and some Agrawála families take a pride in giving daughters to the Sirhindia and Lahoria groups; so too the Dilwálás used to give daughters to other groups, especially to the Agrawálás, though they are now said to be endogamous. These territorial groups however appear to be somewhat nebulous in character, for to the Khatrís of the United Provinces all the Khatrís of these Provinces are 'Punjabi,' and conversely to the Punjab Khatrís those of the United Provinces are 'Púrbia.'

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* Lahoriá='of Lahore,' and Sirhindia='of Sirhind,' *i.e.*, of the country near Paṭiála, etc. The two groups have nearly the same sections and intermarry on equal terms, but they have different ceremonies at marriages. They are said, in an account of the Khatrís written by Rai Bahádur Piáre Lál of Delhi, to be grouped thus:—

	Sections.
i. Of Dháighar and Chárghar status :—	1. Seth. 2. Mehra. 3. Kapúr. 4. Khanna.
ii. *Chhezáti (i.e., of six sections)*	5. *Bahl.* 6. Dhaun. 7. *Chopra.* 8. *Sahgal.* 9. Talwár. 10. Puri.
iii. *Panjzáti (i.e., of five sections)*	1. *Bahl.* 2. *Beri.* 3. *Sahgal.* 4. Wáhi. 5. Vij.

The sections are stated in the order given. It will be seen that Bahl and Sahgal occur in the two latter groups while Beri is but an offshoot of Chopra. A Dháighar cannot give his daughter to anyone but a Dháighar without losing status, and becoming Chárghar if, for example, he gives her to a Chárghar. But he may take a wife from a Chárghar or Chhezáti or even from a Bunjábi. Chárghar and Chhezáti may also take wives from the Bunjábi. The Panjzáti are said to be strictly endogamous. It will be observed that the writer does not *mention* the Báris but that group is certainly found in Paṭiála and Lahore.

† Dilwála (Delhi-wála) comprises :—

1. Seth.	3. Kapúr.	5. Kakkar.
2. Mehra.	4. Tandan.	6. Bohra.

But the last section cannot obtain wives from the first five.

L. Piáre Lál also notes that the Dilwála have ceased to smoke with the other divisions of the caste.

The sacred sections of the Khatris.—There are four sacred sections among the Khatris, whose position must be touched upon. These are the—

Bedi,* of the Dharmán-Bunjáhi or Chhoṭa-Sarín sub-group.
Sodhi, of the Chhoṭa Sarín sub-group.
Tihún or Trihún } of the Baṛá-Sarín sub-group.
Bhalla }

These four sections became sanctified by the births of the various Sikh Gurús to them. Thus the second Gurú, Angad, was a Trihún, and, strictly speaking, his descendants are styled Báwá-Trihúns: the third Gurú, Amr Dás, was a Bhalla and his descendants are, similarly, Báwá-Bhallas: but in each case the section, as a whole, appears to have acquired a sacred character by the birth of the Gurú within it, and it is not merely his descendants who possess that character. Nevertheless it is to be noticed that this inherited sanctity has not altered the social status of these sections in the caste. The Sodhis† remain Sarín, but they intermarry with the Bedis, whose status is generally said to be Bunjáhi. Further the Bedi have actually in a few cases violated the rule of exogamy and permitted marriage within the *got*, it being apparently held a less evil to break that rule than to give a daughter in marriage to any but a member of a sacred section.

Rules of marriage.—Generally speaking, the Khatris avoid the usual four sections of *gots*, *viz.*, those of the father, mother, father's mother and mother's mother: but when the law of hypergamy narrows the circle of alliances, this rule has to give way. Thus the Dháighar families of the Kapúr, Khanna, Malhotra and Seth sections are not bound by this rule, and avoid only the father's *got* and the near relations of the mother. Further, the rule forbidding intermarriage between the descendants of a common ancestor is not invariably observed, for the first three of these sections are descended from three brothers, yet their descendants are closely intermarried. The Khokharán again avoid only the *gots* of the father and mother, because they have so few sections to marry into. The Báris appear to avoid both the parents' *gots* and the relations of *their* mothers within seven degrees, but no general rule can be laid down.

A common Brahmanical *gotra* is also said to be, as a rule, a bar to intermarriage, but though the Khanna and Kapúr sections are both of the Kaushal *gotra*, they intermarry. Thus we have the unexpected result that the higher groups are the least bound by the ordinary rules which prohibit marriage within certain circles of relationship.

* The Nánakputra or 'children of Nának' appear to have been Bedis. In later Sikh times they were employed as escorts to caravans whose safety was insured by their sacred descent. Nánakputra is however also said to be a synonym for Udási. Prinsep gives the following account of the Bedis as traders in Siálkoṭ:—'Formerly a race of Bedis from Dera Bábá Nának were wont to bring large herds of cattle for sale at stated periods. The arrival of these *hers* or droves were looked forward to with much interest. The Bedis divided the Doábs out among themselves, and considered the villages their constituents, to whom long credit was purposely allowed in order that the extra charge in the bill, in honour of the Gurú, might be overlooked, but they have given up coming regularly, and so the people are driven to the Bár or to Amritsar fairs to purchase:' Siálkot *Sett. Rep.*, 1865, § 123.

† The Sodhis of Anandpur are the descendants of Suraj Mal (not Surat Mal, as printed in 101 of the Punjab *Census Report*, 1892), son of Gurú Hargobind and are called the *baṛe mel ke Sodhi*, as opposed to the *chhoṭe mel ke Sodhi* or Mína Sodhis.

The ages of betrothal and marriage.—The age of the betrothal in the case of the Khatrís depends on the status of the group. For example in Ráwalpindi, where the Khatrís are proportionately most numerous, the age of betrothal varies. It is stated to be from 4—8 for girls among the Khokharán and Báris, and 8—10 among the Bunjáhis. Marriage follows at 8—12 among the former and at 10—12 among the latter. There is no *mukláwa* and married life commences at 13—15 in all the groups. In Gurgaon the Khatrís, as a body, are said not to practise infant marriage.

The traditional origin of the groups.—The origin of the division into the four groups called Bári, Bunjáhi, Sarín, and Khokhrán, is said to be that Alá-ud-dín Khilji attempted to impose widow-marriage upon the Khatrís. The western Khatrís resolved to resist the innovation, and sent a deputation of 52 (*báwan*) of their members to represent their case at court; but the eastern Khatrís were afraid to sign the memorial. They were therefore called followers of *Shara Ayín* or the Muhammadan customs—hence Sarín—while the memorialists were called *Báwanjai* from the number of the deputation or of the clans respectively represented by the members of the deputation; hence Bunjáhi. The Khokhrán section is said to consist of the descendants of certain Khatrís who joined the Khokhars in rebellion, and with whom the other Khatri families were afraid to intermarry; and the Bári section, of the lineage of Mehr Chand, Kahn Chand, and Kapúr Chand, three Khatrís who went to Delhi in attendance upon one of Akbar's Rájput wives, and who, thus separated from the rest of the caste, married only within each other's families. There are however other accounts, which vary in details, and of these the most circumstantial is as follows:—When Alá-ud-dín Khilji attempted to impose the custom of widow remarriage on the Khatrís, those of the caste who lived at Delhi and Sirhind said they would abide by the decision of the Khatrís of Lahore, who in turn referred the matter to the Khatrís of Multán. It was thereupon determined to resist the Imperial edict, but the Khatrís of the Bári Doáb, of Ark and of Sirhind were afraid to adhere to this resolve, and in consequence they formed the Sarín group. On the other hand the 377 sections, called Uchandi, deputed 56 of their number to urge their cause at Delhi, and thus the remaining 321 sections became known as the *Ansâr* or supporters. Of the 56 sections deputed to Delhi, 52 became the Bunjáhi-*Kalán* or *Khás* (or senior Bunjáhi), and four became Dháighar. This latter sub-group was formed of the three eponymous sections, Khanna, Kapúr and Mehra, whose ancestors, at the instigation of their mother, had headed the resistance to the imperial will. To these the Seth-Kakar were affiliated.

This explanation of the origin of the Dháighar is hardly tenable because these sections are by no means exclusively Dháighar. The legend does not attempt to explain the origin of the Bári group, or of the Chárghar and other sub-groups. As to the term Sarín, the derivation from *shará' 'aín* (because they adopted the *shará'* or Muhammadan Law), is often given, but the word is most probably a corruption of *sreni*, a line, or a guild of traders. *Sreni* is, Sir H. Risley notes, a common term for sub-caste in Bengal. It also recalls the word Srenika the other name or title of Bimbisára : see p. 505 *supra*.

The results of the Khatri social system.—The general principle underlying the Khatri organization appears to be perfectly clear, and is that the higher (and therefore in the nature of things the narrower) the circle within which a daughter may be given in marriage, the more exalted is the social position of the family in its own group. This principle finds full scope in the Bári group, within which the social status of a family may constantly change, while the section, as a whole, has no fixed status. In the two lower groups the sections appear to be more definitely allotted, as it were, to the various groups. This however is a very obscure point and I need not pursue it further here. It is sufficient to note that hypergamy leads to its usual results, though owing to the general complexity of the Khatri organization and to its endless local variations it is not possible to do more than state those results generally.

In the first place there is competition, in the lower groups, for sons-in-law, so that marriage expenses are as the author of the *Tawáríkh-i-Qaum Khatrián* says, ruinous among the Sarín, very heavy among the Bunjáhis, heavy among the Báraghars, and very slight among the Dháighars.

But this was not the only result. In 1852 Sir Herbert Edwardes, then Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, described how the Lahoris* used to make away with the girl-wives they obtained from the Bunjáhis in order that they might obtain fresh brides and fresh dowries. The Báris, as a whole, are to this day in the same position, and however poor or distressed a Bári may be, he is sure of getting a wife with a handsome dower from a respectable Bunjáhi family: (Paṭiála). If a Bunjáhi wife died, when married to a Bári, it was callously said:—'*purána chula, ghi jadíd,*' or 'if the hearth be cold, the *ghi* is fresh,' meaning that the dead wife could be easily replaced.

As might well be expected strenuous efforts have from time to time been made by the lower to shake off the social tyranny of the higher groups and these have met with some measure of success. The manœuvres of the various groups concerned are too complicated for description here, but it may be said that the results have been, in Gujrát, to sever all connection between the Báris and the Bári-Bunjáhis, so that the latter are now apparently endogamous, while in Paṭiála and Jullundur the object seems to be to make the Báris reciprocate by giving wives to the Bunjáhis, and this object is said to have been attained. Thus, generally speaking, the tendency is to revolt against the inequitable rule of hypergamy and transform the hypergamous groups into endogamous sub-castes. The close resemblances in this system to the institution known as Kulinism in Bengal need not be pointed out.

The Khatri got names.—Folk-etymology would derive Sarín from *surín*, 'warrior,' but the derivation already given is more probable.

It is also said that Khukrán (Khokharán) is derived from Karakhan descendants of Krukhak, 'one of the sons of Manu,' who settled and reigned in the North-West Punjab.

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* Meaning, obviously, the Bári-Lahoria, especially the Dháighar.

The *got* names proper are popularly derived from various titles and so on, and are cited as proofs of the ancient military character of the caste. Thus Bhalla is derived from *bhall*, a spear. Bhasín from *bhas*, brilliancy, and *ien*, master, *i.e.*, the sun. Bohra from *buha*, a column in military array, and it is said that in the United Provinces a *buha* is still drawn and worshipped on the Dasehra day. Dhawan, or Dhavan, is said to mean a messenger on the field of battle. Kakkar is said to be originally Karkar, 'strong' or 'powerful'; and Kapúr to mean the moon, 'Karpur.' Khanna is even derived from *khan*, a mine and said to mean sapper. But another account says it means that 'half' the family became Brahman. Kochar is said to come from *kavach*, 'armour.' Mahendru is naturally derived from Mahendra, 'lord of the earth' or 'chief.' Mehra is also derived from Mihir, the sun. The Sáhi *got* declares that its ancestors were once bankers and are styled Sháhji. Sahni, Seni are both said to be corruptions of the Sanskr. 'Sainani,' the head of an army or general. Seth, *sreshta*, means rich and also a *rájá*. Tandan is also said to be an abbreviation of *martand* and to mean the sun, but it is also said to mean warrior. A *kabit* describes the relations of some of the *gots* thus:—

Bade Baderá, Púri, parán,—Kochar, Nandá bhu parwán,
Sohni, Mehtá, Hándá, Saigal,—Bhallá, Kholar, Dúgal, Upal,
Tinsau Búnjáhi, Zát Búnjahe—Nand-ghan, Handán barán bháe;
Sikh-Bhunjáhi, Mol, Dharmán,—Nátá Kare karo parwán.

"The Bade Bunjáhis are the highest, the Púrís are the like, the Kochars and Nandás are Rájás, the Sohni, etc. (the 12 tribes) and the 300 Bunjáhi tribes and the Nandghan are such that there is no impediment to contracting marriages with them."

The Khatrís have not, as a caste, any distinctive caste customs, but many of their sections have special usages on various occasions.

In Ambála the Khatrís celebrate a wife's first pregnancy by the 'custom' called *rít*. Her parents send her sweets, clothes and cash. *Sati* is specially worshipped on this occasion, with other deities.

The Púrís of the Bunjáhi group cook a mess of *karhi*, two and a half *mats** full, on this occasion, and also worship a *patri* or small board like a slate. The *karhi*, which is made of gram flour, is distributed among the brotherhood.

In this section again on the birth of a son *shíra*,† weighing about 1¼ *mans kacha* or some 40 lbs., is made and distributed among the brotherhood. The family barber also make a goat out of it. Taking a reed he splits it up into two or four pieces, bleating all the while like a goat. For making this idol the barber gets 7 Mansúri pice as his fee, and a rupee is also given to the family *parohit*.

The popular idea as to the origin of the *devkáj* is that once a Khatráni with a child in her arms met the Brahman Pars Rám and, in her terror, fled, leaving the child behind her. A wild cat was about to devour it when some kites appeared and spread their wings over it. Now Rájá Kans, Krishna's maternal uncle, had been told by his astrologers that his sister's eighth son would kill him, so when Krishna was born he was replaced by a girl-child whom Rájá Kans killed. She was dashed upon a washerman's board, but fell in the Himalayas

* Large earthen vessels.

† A kind of pudding, made of flour, sugar and a little *ghi*.

where she is worshipped as Bhajan Bashni Devi,* and it is apparently in commemoration of that event that the mother of a first-born son among the Chopra, Kapúr, Kakkar, Khanne and Malhotra Khatrís leaves her husband's house, *after* the child's birth, and takes refuge in a relative's house, but not in her parents' home. Thence she is brought back by her husband as if she were a bride, and a symbolical remarriage takes place, but without the usual Vedic *mantras* being read.

The Abrola section has a tradition that a snake was once born to one of its members. One night it fell into a pot and next night died from the blows of the churning-stick. So Abrolas never churn or make butter and never kill a serpent.

The Anand give no alms on a Sankránt, the first of a solar month. Their women *tabu ghi* for the hair. The Nand appear to be the same as the Anand.

The Bahl will not remain in Delhi at night. They may visit it in the day time but must leave it before dark.

The Bejal Seths, a section of the Dilwáli (of Delhi) Khatrís observe the following usage at a tonsure. The rite is always performed at the door of the house, and when the family barber prepares to shear the child's hair, two persons disguised as Mughals, one having a bow and arrow in his hand, and the other a shoe, stand close to him. They remain in this posture until the shearing of the child is over. The child then enters the house, and the females of the family, when they see him with his hair shorn, begin to beat their breasts and cry *hai! hai! merá kin munda, Sethon jaya kin munda:* "Woe! woe! who shaved my son, who shaved the son of a Seth?" They regard, or pretend to regard, that day as an unlucky one, and observe a kind of pretended mourning for the next 24 hours. The daily food is not cooked on that day, and even the lamps of the house are lighted, not by the members of the family, but by a neighbour. Curious and laughable as this ceremony may appear to be, it has not sprung up without a cause. It has its origin in the following story :—

Once upon a time the son of a poor Seth had on account of the poverty of his parents passed the prescribed age of tonsure, and having been not properly looked after, was suffering from lice which had grown in abundance over his head. He was one day seen on the road, weeping and crying bitterly from the pain they occasioned him, by two Mughals, who felt such compassion for him that, having by chance met a barber, they ordered him to cut off the child's hair then and there. The barber knowing that the object of their compassion was a Khatri's son who could not be shorn without the formal ceremony, refused to comply with their demand. The Mughals seeing that he was obstinate in his refusal resolved to use force: one of them beat him with his shoes and the other pointing his arrow threatened him with instant death if he failed to shave the child on the spot The terrified barber had no alternative left but to cut the child's hair without further loss of time. When this had been done, the Mughals let the barber go and told the child to go his way home. The child accordingly returned to his house with his hair thus shorn. The females of the family were shocked at the child's appearance, and thought this unceremonious shearing of his hair very unlucky. They all began to beat their breasts and burst into lamentation. It was a day of regular mourning for the whole family.†

* In the Central Punjab this girl-child is supposed to have become the lightning and during a thunderstorm the maternal uncle and nephew will not sit or stand or sleep in the same room.

† From N. I. N. Q, III, § 447.

The Beri are an offshoot of the Chopra and ascribe their name to the fact that their ancestor was born under a *beri* tree.

Among the Bhadwár the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread for the first time is thus observed:—When the boy is of an age to don the *janeo* his father, with his brotherhood and a band of musicians, goes on one day to the sweeper's house to invite a black bitch to the feast at the ceremony; next day, the family priest (*parohit*) brings the black bitch together with the sweeper to his master's house. The *parohit* performs a certain ceremony of worship to the bitch. Then all the different dishes cooked for the ceremony are put in a large brass dish, and placed before the bitch, and the members of the family fold their hands before her and so continue until she eats something from the dish. They will even wait sitting till the evening, if she does not touch the food. After the bitch has eaten, the remains and a red cloth are given to the sweeper. After that Brahmans are feasted, and then the members of the family may eat. The origin of this rite is said to be that the Bhadwárs once lived towards Delhi and when the Muhammadan rulers tried to convert them to that faith they fled from that tract but many were murdered. One of their women who was far advanced in pregnancy gave birth to a male child and abandoned it, she herself escaping. The child was however carried away by a black bitch and suckled by her, so when he grew up he directed his descendants to adore the black bitch for ever.

Bhalla, Bahl, Hánda, Siál, and *Sabbarwál Khatrís.*—The *bhaddan* ceremony is performed by Siáls, Bahls and Bhallas, at the age of five in the Kángra hills, by Háudas at Rám Tirth near Amritsar and by Sabbarwáls at their houses after 13 days of the birth of a child.

Among the Bhandárís at the birth of a child the mother is made to sleep on the ground. Seven thorns of a *kíkar* or *jandi* tree are buried in the earth under her pillow. Bread or anything made of corn is avoided for the first three days, only milk being given her for food. On the fourth day *chúrma* (a mixture of flour, *ghi* and sugar) is prepared and given her to eat and what she cannot eat is buried under her bed. On the 13th day she puts on a barber's shoes, leaves her room and resumes to her household duties. No cause is assigned for the burying of the thorns. At the *bhadan munan* ceremony a *jandi* tree is cut and a kite feasted. The mother affects displeasure and goes to a neighbour's house, but is brought back by her husband who gives her some ornament or cash.

The boy becomes a Sanyási, or recluse, and begs alms of his brotherhood. Out of the alms, which generally comprise flour, *chúrma* is made and offered by the boy to his Brahman *guru*, and then distributed amongst all the brotherhood.

Among the Bhandárís the *janeo* is generally performed at 8 or 9 years of age. On the evening before, the family *parohit* invites a kite to the feast next morning. Before the rite begins bread, *khír*, etc., are sent to the kite, then Brahmans are feasted, and lastly the brotherhood. Then the boy is shaved, the family *parohit* shaving first one lock of hair and receiving Rs. 5-4 as his fee, the remainder being shaved by the barber. The *janeo* is put on after the boy has bathed and he

then cuts a branch of a *jaṇḍi* tree. After him his mother, whom her husband kicks, goes away displeased (*ruskar*), to her parents who, if not residents of the same place, visit it on this occasion. On his return from cutting the *jaṇḍi*, finding his mother gone, the boy, together with his father and the brotherhood go to appease and fetch her back. Her husband (the boy's father) pacifies her and brings her back home. Sometimes she is given an ornament or some other thing to conciliate her.

This custom also prevails among the Mokol and other Bunjáhi Khatrís

The Bhanḍáris, like the Hánḍas, affect Shaikh Faríd who once met a company of them in a wilderness. They entertained him and in return he said: *tumhárá bhanḍárá bhará rahe,* 'May your store-house remain full.' Thenceforth they were called Bhanḍári. They have three sub-sections, the Ber-pálni; so called because an orphan was brought up by his sister (*ber-bahin*), the Páṭni, from Pákpaṭṭan, and the Bhoria, so called because its founder was brought up in an underground room, (*bhora-tah-khána*). Weddings are celebrated by a visit to Baṭála, in Gurdáspur, as that town is regarded as their original settlement.

The Bhagre do not worship a *chíl* but the *ak*, for, they say, this plant saved the life of Bábá Mumáli, one of their progenitors, by feeding him with its juice, when as a new born baby, he was thrown away by his mother, who was fleeing for her life. A Jáṭ maid-servant known as Bharwain Mátá, who had accompanied the mother in her flight, rescued the child some 20 days after its abandonment, and she is commemorated at weddings when 2½ Jáṭ females (2 adults and a girl) are fed. The Bhagre perform the *bhaddan* in the Káng̣ra Hills, and ancestor worship at Burj Lattan in Jagraon tahsil, Ludhiána, on 15th Katak. They came originally from Sirsa. The name Bhagar means corn of very inferior quality, and was given them by a Bháṭ, because he got corn of that quality from one of their ancestors, who was distributing grain during a famine, the truth being that the Bháṭ only came when the good grain was all gone and nothing but *bhagar* remained.

The Bhalla in Hoshiárpur always have a sweeper present at a wedding because a sweeper protected their female ancestor during Pars Rám's persecution.

The Bhuchar *got* is said to have been originally Talwár. One of that *got* left a son without any one to protect it, but a buffalo and a kite took care of it. His mother, who had abandoned him owing to her poverty, found him again and called him 'Bhuchar,' as he was well-fed and developed. This *got* feeds kites at weddings and it has also preserved the buffalo's horns, one being kept by the Bhuchars of Delhi and the other by those of Nawashahr in Jullundur.

The Chaḍḍa hold the *ak* sacred, because they say their forefathers once fought with Babar near Eminábád and all fell, save one who hid under an *ak* bush. He refounded the section and it still performs the *munnan* at Eminábád and worships the *ak*.

The Cham, a *got* of Bunjáhi status, were really Tannan Kapúrs, but one of their ancestors accepted a *cham* (skin) from a Chamár in payment of monies due to him, whence the name. Followers of Gurú Rám Rai, the Cham, have *satis* at Tungaheri in Ludhiána tahsil and at Kíratpur in Ambála. They perform the *bhaddan* like a wedding in most respects, but they do not worship the *chil* or *ak*. One peculiarity in connection with the rite is that all the food for it is cooked on a fire produced by rubbing two pieces of *pláh* wood together. The fire must also be kindled by members of the family only and until it is made food or drink is avoided. A *parohit* may join in the ceremony, but no one else can take part in it. The boy too becomes a Sanyási, but is brought back home by his sisters.

The Chhotra *got* is an offshoot of the Dhírs, and worships a serpent and a Muhammadan *mirási* because once a serpent fed Bábá Malla, their ancestor, with its tail, and a *mirási* taking him from the reptile nursed him, when he had been abandoned as a child by his mother who was fleeing for her life. Chhotra is derived from *chhúṭná* to leave, and the section has a *sati* at Amargaṛh, in Paṭiála, where there is an image of a serpent also.

The Chhúra Khatrís still commemorate Bhái Lálú, whose shrine is situate at Dalla in Kapúrthala, by an annual fair. By repeating his name or legend intermittent fever is cured. His grandson, Salámat Rai, was importuned by Mahárája Ranjít Singh to pray for his recovery from a mortal sickness. This the Bábá refused to do, but he gave three years of his own life to prolong that of his master, and in gratitude Ranjít Singh spent a crore of rupees on the golden temples at Benares, Amritsar, Hardwár and Jawálamukhi.

The Chopra are also called Chopra Rajáva, Jat(?) and Qánúngo Chopra. They claim descent from one Chaupat Rái. Once, they say, they lived at Benares, but incurring the wrath of Chandragupta went to the Deccan, where Chaupat Rai, their ancestor, was slain in battle by Sultán Mahmúd. The Chopra are named after him, but are really Surajbansi.

The Chopra and Kakkar perform a son's *bhaddan* ceremony in his 5th year. On this occasion the boy's father goes away, and the mother too goes *ruske* (being displeased) to the house of a relation. Then the boy's father, with some of his relatives, follows her there. They first kick her slightly and then appease her and bring her back home after tying her garment to her husband's *chádar* or *dupaṭṭa*.

The Chopras give from Re. 1 to Rs. 31 (at most) in cash as the bride's dowry at her marriage. At a girl's marriage her mother also asks alms for her of the women of the *got*; and at a son's wedding he is given a plough. The Chopras do not use *khaṇḍ* but *guṛ* only at weddings.

The Dhand *got* performs the *jaṇḍi* rite about 2 years after the birth of a son. Three top-knots are left on the child's head and until the *bhaddan* is observed no razor may be applied to it, nor may the boy wear a shirt. The *bhaddan* is celebrated with much *éclat*, many rites similar to those observed at weddings being performed.

The Dhír, or 'brave,' section has a tradition that it once migrated from Ajudhia and settled at Kandahár. Expelled thence by the Arab invasions it came to the Punjab. The Dhír of Kapúrthala are descended from Bábá Mahya, who was the *gurú* of Gurú Amar Dás, and is still reverenced at Dhír weddings.

The Dhír, in Ludhiána, feast a woman of the Sindhu Jáṭ tribe on the birth of a son, because in a fight with dacoits, a Dhír fought on even after he had lost his head. A Sindhu girl who saw his valour was rebuked for standing there to watch the fight and tauntingly asked if it was her husband's head that she must look at it. She retorted that it was indeed her husband's, and thereupon she became *sati*. So Dhír Khatrís commemorate her to this day.

The Duggal at the *maunan* don a *trági* (a waist band to which a strip of cloth is fastened and carried between the legs) of *munj*. The strip of cloth must be red and the *pagṛí* too must be of that colour. The boy must also wear wooden sandals and carry a *fakír's* wallet (*baglí*). He cries *Alakh* (the mendicant's cry) and his kinswomen give him alms. He then runs away, pretending to be displeased, but his sister or brother's wife or father goes after him to conciliate him and gives him something. The rite is performed outside the village. A goat is killed and a drop of it's blood applied to the boy's forehead. The flesh is cooked and eaten on the spot and what remains is buried there. Till the *maunan* is performed at the age of 5, 7, or 9, the boy's head must not be shaved with a razor, but his hair may be cut with scissors.

The Gúndis are a section of the Khatrís found in Gujrát and said to be the only community of the caste found in that District. They say that the emperor Bahlol brought them from Siálkoṭ and established them at Bahlolpur in Gujrát. They are agriculturists and think that to relapse into trade would be derogatory.

The Hánḍa perform the *maunan* at Pákpaṭṭan, alleging that Shaikh Faríd-ud-dín Shakarganj is their patron. North of Lahore the Hánḍa resort to a tank near Gujrát town to perform the *maunan*, carrying the youngsters about to undergo it in procession with drums and music. A brick from Shaikh Faríd's shrine has been thrown into the tank there and so made it sacred. The Hánḍas will not eat animals slaughtered by *jhaṭká* (striking off the head at a blow) after the Hindu fashion, but cut their throats like the Musalmáns. A Hánḍa bridegroom has a piece of red silk, weighing 1¼ *tolá* (half ounce), tied to the strings of his *chapkan* (coat), and when he reaches the bride's house he opens it and puts it before his mouth with the right hand like a handkerchief.

Among the Jaidke at the *bhaddan* the boy becomes a Sanyási and is brought home by his sisters.

The Jerath or Jaret also venerate the kite (*chíl*) because it saved the life of their progenitor.

The Jhanji section has a peculiar observance called *ṭhengna* (lit. a tiresome child). The sweeper of the bride's parents makes a male figure of wood, with clothes, and dances it before the bridegroom's party, who give him a rupee. *Halwá* is thrown to the kites when the bride reaches her husband's house, and after the wedding the party goes to worship the gods.

The Jíwar are Sikhs and Murgái* Khatrís by origin. One of the Murgáis called Bábá Dari (Dari Chak in Amritsar is called after him), was a Sikh of Gurú Nának. He had a son named Mának Chand, who came to Gondwál where his father-in-laws were and being a Sikh of the Gurús, went to the third Gurú, Amar Dás, who lived at Gondwál. The Gurú bade him break the bed of the Mauli Sáhib. A *báoli* or tank had been dug at Gondwál, but owing to the hard clay, the water level could not be reached, and so Mának Chand was ordered to break through the level clay while others were busy in the excavation. Through his exertions the water was reached but he himself was drowned and for full three days no trace was found of his body. On the third day his mother-in-law went to complain to the third Gurú, and he came to the spot and called 'Mának Chand,' whereupon his body swam out of the water. The Gurú touched it with his feet and Mának Chand came to life again. So the Gurú bade that his descendants should be called Jíwar (from *jína* which means living) and none are now called Murgái.

The Kauṛa, a *got* of Bunjáhi status, are really Kapurs. The name means 'bitter' and is thus explained: 'A woman far advanced in pregnancy became *sati* and her child was born near an *ak* plant. It was found on the third day after its birth sucking the tail of a serpent, while a kite shadowed it with its wings. As the *ak* is a bitter plant and the kite (*chíl*) is considered poisonous the boy was called Kauṛa. And when a twig is cut from a *janḍi* tree, a rite performed at weddings, a *chíl* is feasted and food placed near a serpent's hole and also near an *ak*, round which a thread too is wound when a child is teething, its head is shaved clean only four top-knots being left. A confection (*halwá*) cooked on a fire that is produced from stones, is then distributed to the brotherhood, a he-goat made of *halwá* having been previously slaughtered. The Kauṛa are followers of Gurú Rám Dás, at whose shrine the *bhaddan* is performed and all the top-knots are then shaved clean off.

The Khanna Khatrís take their sons for the ceremony of *maunan*, or first head-shaving, to Dipálpur, tahsil Chunián, in Lahore, owing to a belief founded on the following legend:—A Brahman, named Laha, was childless and went into the *bár*, or wilds of Lahore, to practise austerities, which he performed with such success as to draw upon him the favour of Chandika (Durga), the patron goddess of the clan, who granted him a son; but as he was too old to beget one, she gave him one ready grown up called Jasráj,† on condition that no abusive epithet was to be applied to him. Like all spoilt children he was wayward and fretful, and his adoptive mother, forgetting the warning, one day said to him: *Tu niggar já*, "sink into the earth," because he would not heed her call from the door to come into the house. He immediately sank into the earth, and the old woman was only just able to save him

* Murgái doubtless means 'teal.'

† A variant from Kapúrthala makes the goddess Nihangláj (? Hingláj), and says the boy's name was a Lálú Jasrái. Once he was sent to the bazar for turmeric but dawdled over the errand. When his step-mother scolded him he sank into the earth and the Brahman in vain invoked the goddess, who declared that what had been could not be undone, but promised that the shrine of Bálá Lálú Jasrái should be worshipped by the Khannas throughout all ages.

by his top-knot. And so Khanna boys to this day never wear a top-knot.

The Kapúr, Malhotra, and Seth Khatrís may perform the *maunan* ceremony anywhere, provided there is no river or well containing water from Dipálpur.

At a son's *bhaddan* among the Khosla* (Sarín) the *parohit* goes on the previous evening to invite an eagle to the feast. Next morning before the shaving is begun, four loaves, a small quantity of confectionery (*síra halwá*) and two pice are put on the house for the eagle. When these things have been taken away by an eagle the ceremony may be performed. The eagle is feasted in the same manner at weddings soon after the bride comes to her father-in-law's house for the first time.

The Kochhar claim to be an offshoot of the Seth and say their founder was left an orphan, his father having been slain in battle. He was brought up by his sister and their name is derived from *kochhar*, 'lap.' The Kochhar† have an interesting custom connected with a bride's first pregnancy. Six months after her pregnancy she deliberately feigns displeasure with the members of the family and goes to some other house. The bridegroom on hearing of her departure goes in search of her, after having his head, moustaches and beard clean shaved. When he finds out where she is, he collects a few of his brotherhood and goes to the place where she is staying. After many entreaties he promises to give her an ornament, and then takes her back to his own house.

The Koli or Kohli *got* whose original home was at Jamsher, a village in Jullundur, worship the kite at the *bhaddan* rite. They eschew the use of dry cotton plants as fuel because a snake once got mixed up with them and was burnt to ashes.

The Líkhí *got* performs the *bhaddan* in the Kangṛa Hills and ancestor worship at a *sati* in Dhaipai, Ludhiána tahsíl. They cut a *jaṇḍi* tree and worship a *chíl* in the usual way.

Among the Mehndru—a section of the Bárhi—and the Ghands—a section of the Bunjáhi—the head of the boy who is to don the *janeo* is shaved quite clean with a razor, and he is then disguised as a *faqír* with a *munj* rope (*tṛági*) round his loins, wooden shoes (*kharáṇwáṇ*, on his feet, a wooden *phaori* in his hand, a deerskin under his arm, a *janeo* made of *munj* rope, one *jholi* or wallet in his right hand and another under his left arm, and goes round begging alms of his assembled kinsmen and friends. Whatever he gets in his first *jholi* he gives to his *gurú*, who gives him the *janeo* and whispers the prescribed *mantra* in his ear. This rite is called the *gurú mantar dená* or *sanskár dená*. The contents of the second *jholi* he gives to his *parohit*. Worship on this occasion is not restricted to any particular deity.

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* Folk-etymology, of course, derives the name of this section from *khosná*, to rob. *Cf.* the Khosa Játs and Baloch.

† A Kochhar husband shaves his head and face clean—as Hindus do on a father's death—when his wife conceives for the first time.—(Siálkoṭ.)

The Mehndru perform the *jandián* rite, when a child has reached the age of 3, 4 or 5, at a pond called Suniáránwála. The kinsmen go there in the morning, the father's priest carrying on his head a brass tray full of *khír*. The priest walks round the pond until a *chíl* has taken away some of the *khír*, and if no *chíl* appears for two or even three days none of the family will eat or drink. When it has taken some of the *khír* the father is congratulated. A he-goat is also taken to the tank and, if no *chíl* appear, it is slaughtered at sunset. When the *chíl* takes away some of its flesh the father is congratulated. Blood is then taken from the goat's ear and a *tíka* made on the boy's forehead with it. The goat's head and feet are sent by a barber to the kinsmen and the flesh and *khír* that remain are distributed to the brotherhood. Once, it is said, the *got* was all but extinct, all the males having died of a plague. But a pregnant woman fled from Bhera or Khusháb (the family is still called Bherú or Khushábí) to her father's house, the family *parohit* accompanying her. On the way she gave birth to a son, and the *parohit* coming to know of the event after they had gone some distance returned and found the boy still alive and shadowed by a *chíl* with its feathers. The *parohit* restored him to his mother assuring her that his family would attain greatness. This is how *chíl* worship arose in this family.

The Malhotra *got* observes the *deokáj* in the 5th year after the birth of the first child, and no Malhotra can marry his eldest son or daughter until it has been solemnized.

Both at a true wedding and at a *deokáj* the *chíl* or kite is worshipped because, it is said, one of those birds once burnt itself alive in the *chitá* or pyre in which a Malhotra widow was being burnt with her husband. So the *got* regards the kite as itself a *sati* and is worshipped as such.

At a wedding when the marriage party reaches the bride's house a goat is demanded from her parents and its ear cut with a knife, a drop of the blood being dabbed on the bridegroom's forehead.

The Sirhindia Malhotrás take boys to Dandráta in Paṭiála for the *mundan* rite, as their *gurú* lived there, and after the boy's head has been shaved his representative gives the child a *jhunjhuná* with a knot at each end for the first time. No Malhotra will give his son such a toy till this has been done, though he may give him one with a single knot. There too the *guru's* quilt (*gudṛí*) is worshipped and *jhandúlás* or bachelor Brahmans are fed.

A Malhotra wife in the seventh month of her first pregnancy sits in the *dehli* or portico of the house and there removes her nosering and *laung* which she never puts on again. She also gives up dyeing her hands and feet with *henna*, saying thrice—

Nak nath láhi, sar matti pái, asi láhi láhi.

Main láhun, meri bahu láhe, meri sat kuli láhe.

"I take off my nosering, throw earth on my head. As I have taken it off so may my son's bride take her's off, and seven generations of my children take it off".

The Mengi also do not kill the snake. It was, they say, born to one of their ancestors and at the shaving (*maunan*) rite they worship a picture of it. At this ceremony they slice off of a goat's ear and apply smoke to its nose to make it sneeze. They consider that no good luck will come unless the goat sneezes.

The Merwáha claim Central Asian origin, and say they came from Merv (Marusthal). They belong to the Sarin group, and say they entered the south-west Punjab through the Bolán Pass. Their earliest traceable settlement is, however, at Govindwál or Gondwál, in Amritsar, which they say was made into a large place by one Bábá Govind Rái, a devotee. This man was granted lands in *jágír* for giving food to a Musalman king, who came to him hungry during a hunting expedition. Afterwards one Gurú Bhala, with whom the Merwáhas had quarrelled, cursed them for refusing to allow his followers to drink from the same well. Thereupon large numbers of them settled elsewhere.

The Merwáha perform their *maunan* ceremony at the shrine of Bábá Thaman, at Rámría, 16 miles west of Jhang, and at Kángṛa.

The Mithu are goldsmiths. They have a *sati* at Talwandi Nímí, in Jagraon tahsil, in Ludhiána. One of the family, on his way from his father-in-law's house, with his wife, was killed by a tiger. She became *sati* with him and so the place is visited, every year in Bhádon, and seven times mud is taken out of a pond near by in the neighbourhood of Talwandi Nímí.

Among the Mokol Bunjáhí when the *janeo* rite is performed for the first time (generally between 8 and 10 years of age), is a goat slaughtered (*halál karná*) by a Qázi, and the *parohit* of the family applies (*tika lagáná*) a drop of its blood to the forehead of the boy who is to don the *janeo.** The goat's flesh is then eaten by the brotherhood; but they must eat it indoors and no one is allowed to take it outside. Before the ceremony is performed the boy is shaved with scissors, and not with a razor. At a wedding when the party starts towards the bride's village, the bridegroom is required to cut a branch of a *janḍ* tree in his own village, females of the brotherhood accompanying him; and he must not return to his own house but go straight to his father-in-law's village with the wedding party.

Among the Najjar *waṛí ṭukná* is prohibited. *Waṛís* are made of pulse (*mungi* or *másh*). The pulse is steeped in water for a whole night. Then it is ground fine on a stone with a stone or stick, water being sprinkled on it when it begins to dry. It is called *píṭhi* (from *písna* to grind). Spices are then mixed with it, and small cakes made of it by hand and spread out on a *charpái,* while they are wet, and allowed to dry in the sun; when dried they are kept and cooked as vegetables from time to time. This process is called *waṛí ṭukna.*

The Najjar trace their origin to Uch in Baháwalpur.

The Nanda† worship the *ak* which must not be touched by the women of the section, or mentioned by them: they worship it once a year.

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* Mokol Khatrís call in the Mullah at the *janeo ḍálná,* as Mullahs in old times taught their children—(Siálkot).

† The name Nanda or Nenda is derived from *ninán*, husband's sister.

Amongst the Pasi at a *maunan* and a marriage the eagle is worshipped in this wise. On the day before the date fixed for the *munan* or the wedding, the family priest invites an eagle to a feast on the following morning. Next day, the boy or the girl's father, together with the *parohit,* goes out taking with him four loaves and a confection (*karáh parshád*) thereon and puts it before the eagle. Standing barefooted with folded hands before her, they beg her to eat the meal (*bhojan*). They must stand in the same position until the eagle takes away part of it.

They then come back and perform the marriage or *maunan* ceremony and feast Brahmans.

The Púrís are sub-divided into three sub-sections, the Sidh Gharmals of the Bist Doáb, the Malik Wazírí of Lahore and Gujránwála and the Kasúri of Lahore, Dharmkoṭ and the Málwa. Bábá Sidh Gharmal was a saint who originally came from the Málwa. At a wedding in this *got* the bride's mother feigns anger and seeks refuge in a kinsman's house, until her husband soothes her displeasure and she is brought back amid the songs of the girls of the kindred. In some Púrí families a mother never drinks milk after the birth of a child. Others cut off a goat's ear with a sword at a birth, stain the child's forehead with its blood, and then kill and eat the goat at a feast of all the brotherhood.

The Rihán, a *got* of Bunjáhi status, perform *bhaddan* at Nangal, in tahsil Nakodar in Jullundur, after cutting a *janḍi* twig, which is worshipped on the Janamashtmi day. A he-goat, whose ear has been previously pierced near the *janḍi* is taken home and beheaded by the eldest male of the family with an iron weapon. The flesh is distributed to the brotherhood and the bones and blood buried in the house-yard. On Sundays Brahmans are not allowed to see or use milk and curds in a Rihán's house. The following tale is told of the origin of this custom :—During the Muhammadan period all the women of the section, and the wife of their *parohit* determined to save their honour by throwing themselves into a well, but the *parohitni's* heart failed her, so the other women called her a Chanḍální and thus milk and curds, the best of earthly things, have been prohibited to their Brahmans on Sundays ever since. The *taṛági* rite, which consists in putting a thread round the loins, is observed at a high mound, said to be the ruins of a village, near Ghálib Kalán, in Jagraon tahsil, in Ludhiána. The Siriṛe Khatrís of Delhi also visit this mound and offer a cloth, etc., there after a wedding, as it was their original home and was called Keráṛíwála.

The Saonchi section of the Bunjáhis has a curious rite on the 8th *sudi* of Asauj. The arms of every male, even a new-born boy, are both incised with razors until blood oozes from the cuts. *Kúnga,* a red powder, is then sprinkled on them by way of worship, and the blood is dabbed on the forehead. An idol shaped like a headless man is also made and a knife placed near its right hand. It is then worshipped. Nothing but bread and milk may be eaten on this day.

The Softi *got* has a *sati* at Rattowál, a village in Ludhiána. They came originally from Lahore. At a tank called Bábá Hansuáná named after one of their ancestors, children who are supposed to be under evil

influences and so grow thin are bathed and cured completely. Corn is vowed on recovery.

The Soi perform the *bhaddan* in the Kángṛa Hills, and that of cutting the *janḍi* tree at their own villages. They worship their ancestors at Jangpur in Ludhiána tahsil at the Diwáli.

The Tuli *got* is so named because its founder was being carried away by a torrent when he caught hold of a *tula*, a small toy made of grass or reeds and shaped like a boat, in which lamps are put. By its aid he was saved and so was called Tuli.

Uppal is said to mean 'stone,' and this *got* performs the *bhaddan* rite whenever its *gurus* from Anandpur, in Hoshiárpur, visit them. Each *guru* gets 1¼ rupees and gives in return a small *pagri*. A few days after a child's birth, its mother takes it to a *sati's* place outside the village and then to the tomb of *Báwá* Lál, whom Muhammadans call Sháh Kamál. Offerings of *bagar* (pounded rice) are made at both places. The child's head is shaved at the first place and a shirt and some ornaments put on at the second.

The Wadhera make offerings of *luchis* at the shrine of Bábá Tomba, when a boy at the age of 1½ years dons a shirt for the first time, and regard it as a good omen if kites take the offerings: when a boy first dons shoes, at the age of 6, the ear of a he-goat is cut and water sprinkled on the animal; if the goat shivers it is auspicious. In either case the spirits of deceased ancestors are supposed to be propitiated. At 11 a boy's head is shaved and he declares that he must forsake his home and study in the forests, but his sisters bring him back, and, in the case of the eldest son, the mother leaves her home, going to a relative's house, and there she remains until her husband comes with a wedding procession and marries her again.

Ḳhaṭṭak (**Khatak**).—A tribe of Paṭháns which claims descent from Luqmán *alias* Khaṭak, one of the sons of Kodai. The Khaṭaks, as related in the article on Paṭháns, claim themselves to be Paṭháns of the Karlárni branch. By his Urmaṛ wife Karlárnai had two sons Kodai and Kakai. The former had six or seven sons, including Luqmán, and a daughter who married a Sayyid Muhammad, and had by him two sons, Honai* and Wardag whom Karlárni adopted.

The story goes that Luqmán, while out hunting with his brothers, met four Afghán damsels of another tribe. Luqmán chose the best-dressed—but she was the worst-favoured, being plain, dark and stout. His brothers scoffed at him, saying *Luqmán pah khaṭai lár*, 'Luqmán is in the mud,' whence he was nick-named Khaṭak. His bride, however, bore him two sons Tormán† and Boláq. Tormán had two sons Tarai and Tarakai, but as the former was the abler, his descendants and those of Tarakai too are styled Taris. Hence the Khaṭaks are divided into main branches, Tarí and Boláq—and to the latter belongs the Bangí Khel, descendants of Bangai, son of Sághari, son of Boláq.

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* Honis, descendants of Honai, were to be found round Níláb dwelling among the Khataks two centuries ago. The Káka Khel are much venerated by the Khataks as descended from the Sayyid Muhammad, and are probably Honis. The shrine of the Káká Sáhib belongs to this family, of which Shaikh Rahím-Yár was a member.

† The name reminds us of Toramána.

Genealogical Tree of the Khataks.

- Karlan.
  - Kodái.
    - Burhán.*
    - Wrakzai.
  - Kakai.
    - Utmán.†
    - Usmán.‡
    - Jadrán.§
    - Luqmán *alias* Khaṭak.
      - Turmán.
        - Tarai.
          - Barkwit.
            - Anu.
              - Battai.
                - Hati.
                  - Fatteh.
                  - Sheikhali.
                    - Hahssan.
                      - Tarman.
                        - Darwesh Muhammad *alias* Chanju.
                          - Akor Khan *alias* Malak Ako.††
                  - Mashirai.
                - Zanai.‡‡
              - Mahmandia.
            - Mirai.§§
              - Watar.
              - Khurram.***
              - Darish.
              - Yásín.
                - Daulat Khawájá.
                - Barák.
          - Amír.|||
        - Tarkai.¶¶
      - Bolaq.
        - Nandrak.
        - Marwat.
          - Mahmúd.
          - Khawájá.
          - Attá.
          - Acho.
          - Ghor.
            - Seni.‡‡‡
          - Mámún.
          - (Mahmúd–Khawájá–Attá line:) Dattu.
            - Darmalak.
            - Mandúni.
            - Khurram.
            - Múshak.
        - Saghir.†††
          - Tarah.
          - Bhangi.
          - Makori.
          - Darláppi.
    - Khugiáni.||
    - Sulaimán.
      - Wazír.¶
    - Shítak.**

* The descendants of Burhán are called Dilazaks and those of Wrakzai Orakzais; both these tribes reside in Tíráh and the adjacent countries.

† The descendants of Utmán, known as Utmán Khels reside in Swát, Bajour, Yusafzai in the Pesháwar and Hazára Districts.

‡ The descendants of Usmán are called Afrídis and reside in Tíráh, the Kohát and Khaiber Passes and in Báṛá.

§ The descendants of Jadrán live in Jadran, *iláqa* Kábul.

|| The descendants of Khogiáni, called Khogiánís, live in the hills to the north-west of the Koh-i-Sufed.

¶ The Wazírs reside in independent territory to the west of the Khaṭak country.

** The descendants of Shítak, called Shítaks, live in Dawar and Khost in the Kábul *iláqa*.

†† All the Khaṭak Chiefs, including the present Khán, belong to the Akor Khel family.

‡‡ The Zanais live in the Pesháwar district and are generally said to be Miáns (Káká Khels), descendants of one Yásín, son of Zanai. They live at Ziárat Káká Sáhib in that district.

§§ The descendants of Mirai are commonly called Báraks. But the real Báraks are the descendants of Barak, son of Yásín.

||| The descendants of Amir inhabit the village of Amir in the Khwarra *tappa* of the Kohát tahsil.

¶¶ The descendants of Tarkai reside at Dallan, Amánkoṭ, Gurgurry and Ganderi in the Darra circle and at Khatti Nasráti, Shiva and other villages in the Bárak *tappa*.

*** The descendants of Khurram, son of Battu, are called Khurrams, and those of Marwat and Nandrak, the Mahramzais. The descendants of Mandun and Múshak, sons of Dattu, occupied the Zira and Patiála *tappás* of the Kohát tahsil.

††† Saghir had six sons, the descendants of the first, second and third sons are called the Sagharis, Bhangi Khels, and Makoris, respectively, and those of the remaining three who owned three shares came to be known as Dartappis (from *drethree*, *tappá*, share).

‡‡‡ Seni is said to have belonged to another tribe, but he married a woman from the family of Boláq, son of Luqmán Khaṭak, and thus became entitled to inheritance. The Senis are descended from him (From Major H. P. P. Leigh's Assessment Report, 1894).

Thanks to Bábar's *Memoirs* and Khushhál Khán Khaṭak's history of the tribe the annals of the Khaṭaks are singularly complete. Many years after Bábar had acquired Kábul, the Khaṭaks either taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed in the confines of the Delhi kingdom, or driven from their original seats in the Shinwál range (in Wazíristán), separated from their kinsmen the Shítak Karlárnis and moved north-west, towards the Lowá-Ghar range, Karbogha, Tírait, into Chauntra, to Iláchi (Láchi) and the Shakardarra towards the Indus. At this time Kohát (Lower Bangash) was in the possession of the Orakzai Paṭháns with whom the Khaṭaks were at feud, and the latter in alliance with the tribes of Upper Bangash defeated the Orakzais in two fights at Tápí and Muhammadzai near Kohát town, compelling them to fall back towards Tíráh, while the Khaṭaks themselves pushed on towards Níláb, Paṭiála and Súníála on the Indus. Driving the Awáns before them the Khaṭaks pushed their inroads as far as Sakesar, Bhera and Khusháb, occupied Makhad and for a considerable period held Kálábagh. In Akbar's reign Malik Akoṛ or Akorai became a vassal of the emperor and in 1587 he founded Akoṛa, on the south bank of the Kábul, and his son Yahyá seized upon the territory of the Mandar Paṭháns which lay nearest to that river. This tract became known as Tari-Boláq from the two sections of the Khaṭaks which held it. They failed, however, to subjugate the whole Mandar tribe and were only able to establish a footing on the northern bank of the Kábul opposite Akoṛa.

In 1630 the *ulús* or tribal levy of the Khaṭaks joined in the combined attack by the Paṭhán tribes round Pesháwar on that fortress, although their *Arbáb* Sháhbáz Khán was with the Mughals at Pesháwar at the time.* The Mughal authority was, however, soon re-established, and in 1659 Khushhál Khán, who had now succeeded his father Sháhbáz in the chieftainship,† was employed by them in an expedition against the Afrídís and Orakzais of Tíráh, whence he returned in 1660. After Aurangzeb was firmly established on the Delhi throne Khushhál, however, fell into disgrace and was imprisoned at Rantabhur, but he was released after more than two years' captivity in 1666, and was with Muhammad Amín Khán, *subahdár* of Kábul, at the great disaster which befell the Mughals in the Khaibar in 1672. Disgusted with the ungenerous treatment he received at the hands of the Mughals, Khushhál did not accord his loyal support to the Mughal cause and his opinion of Aurangzeb is set forth in some spirited verses.‡ The fief of Tari Boláq held by the Khaṭaks, appears to have been now granted by the Mughals to Sher Muhammad Bangash and this led to a bitter feud with the tribes of Bangash, in the course of which Khushhál's son Ashraf defeated the Koháṭis. A second defeat at the Turkai Pass followed,§ but in 1673 Sher Muhammad Bangash returned from his long exile in Hindustán and won over the Síní branch of the Khaṭaks. Khushhál Khán though supported by the Afrídis was also hampered

* Khushhál in his history tries to make out that the Khaṭaks did not join this rebellion against the Mughals.

† He succeeded his father in 1641.

‡ Raverty's *Poetry of Afgháns*, p. 18.

§ Raverty dates the events, which culminated in the second defeat of the Koháṭis at the Turkai Pass, back to 1652-54, which appears too early.

by the disaffection of the Múshaks, a clan of the Boláq Khaṭaks, and his Afrídi allies having attacked Kohát prematurely were repulsed. Khushhál sought refuge in Tíráh and thence wandered into the Yúsafzai country, but as he lamented in verse, he failed to rouse them against the Mughal power, and his son, now nominally chief of the Khaṭaks, was sent in charge of a Mughal force against his father's allies—the Afrídis. Another Mughal defeat was the result, and Khushhál was enabled to make another attempt on Kohát, but deserted by the Sínís and Múshaks as before he was defeated and wounded in 1675. Two years later Ashraf Khán was granted Tari-Boláq as *sardár* of the tribe, and further misunderstanding arose between father and son. The latter waged war on the Malik Míri Bangash and took the fort of Ḍoḍá from the Shádi Khel in 1680. Subsequently the Mughal *faujdárs* fell out with the Maliks Míri and Ashraf Khán, when called upon for aid against them, compelled them to surrender Kohát but protected them from Mughal vengeance, and thus enabled his brother Bahrám to undermine his influence with the *subahdár* of Kábul who treacherously seized him when on a visit to Pesháwar and deported him to Hindustán.

In 1684 Afzal Khán, son of Ashraf Khán and now acting chief of the Khaṭaks, was in charge of the road from Khairábád to Naushahra, but the exactions of the Mughal officials, or their legitimate demands for revenue, drove him into the Khwarram. He had also to contend with Bahrám, his uncle, whose authority was acceptable to many of the Khaṭaks, but on Khushhál's death in 1688 Afzal made his peace with the Mughal authorities and Bahrám having lost their favour, he again obtained charge of the Naushahra road in 1692. But Afzal failed to completely establish his authority till his father's death in 1694 made him chief of the Khaṭaks, although Bahrám was still active. In 1701 Amír Khán, *subahdár* of Kábul, died and Sháh Alam moved from Multán to secure the vacant province. On his return in 1702-03 *via* Bannu and Lakki he marched into the Isa Khel country and attempted to reach Pesháwar by Kálábágh, but was reduced to great straits by the Bangi Khel and other Sághari Khaṭaks until Afzal Khán rescued him and escorted him to Lakki. Bahrám was subsequently seized and sent to Kábul, but he escaped and Afzal Khán was employed to suppress him and another rebel, Ismail Khán Bangash. After Aurangzeb's death Sháh Alam offered Afzal service in Hindustán but he declined it, as the emperor was unable to leave any *subahdár* over the Kábul province, and remained in charge of the road from Attock to Pesháwar. He also won over Ismail Khán, while Bahrám sided with Qábil Khán, Ismail's rival for the Bangash chiefship. Eventually the latter was acknowledged by all the *ulús* of Bangash and this secured Afzal's position, Saif Khán his son becoming *faujdár* of Láchi, which had been the centre of Bahrám's power. Qábil, however, soon broke out again and the next *faujdár* of Láchi, Nijábat Khán, had to be sent against him. Qábil secured the Mughals' aid, but Afzal astutely played off Alláhdád, who held an imperial *sanad* as *faujdár* of Bangash, against the *subahdár* of Kábul (Ibrahím Khán, a son of Ali Mardán Khán), and the Mughal forces with Qábil were withdrawn in 1708 or 1709. Bahrám's death followed in 1712 but the feuds among the Bangash continued and Afzal's son Saíd Khán,

now *faujdár* of Láchi,* sent a *jirga* to arbitrate between them, but its members were murdered. In revenge he attacked the Bangash and defeated them.

In 1718 Sarbuland Khán was appointed *subahdár* and sustained a defeat by the Afgháns in the Khaibar and Afzal took advantage of his reverse to refuse to pay *peshkash* for Tari-Boláq and the Mughals with their Bangash vassals had to resort to force to collect it. The *subahdár* also transferred the fief to a brother of Afzal, who retired to Chauntra, and subsequently declined an offer of the fief made him by the *faujdár* of Bangash. In 1723-24 Sarafráz, a descendant of Shaikh Bahádur, Khushhál's spiritual guide, raised disturbances in Láchi and the Khwarram, which Asadulláh, Afzal's son and *faujdár* of Láchi, was unable to suppress. Afzal himself had to seek an asylum among the Yásufzais, but in 1725 he was able with their aid to defeat the fanatical *mulláhs, tálibs* and *darwesh* who lost 600 killed, although he had only 3,000 men and the rebels with their Afrídi and other allies numbered 7,000 or 8,000. Here the Khaṭṭak chronicles end.

The chief seats of the Khaṭak power were Akoṛa, Sháhbázgaṛh, Kálábágh and Makhad. The Khaṭaks vary in physique and dress. Those near Upper Míránzai resemble their Bangash neighbours, but the Barak Khaṭaks are tall, heavily built and stolid with shaggy hair cut down to the level of the ear and thick beards a hand-breadth in length. Their dress is generally of white cotton, rarely washed, and the turban is twisted into a kind of rope. In the fields they wear a long shirt, reaching to the ankles, of cotton or wool and tied with a bit of rope. Simple but sturdy and independent they are very clannish. The Ságharis of Shakardarra are tall and spare, accustomed to a hard active life and so smarter and livelier. In still greater contrast to the Baraks are the Khaṭaks of Akoṛa, men of medium height, who do not clip the beard, though they shave the head. They are well able to hold their own against their Afrídi neighbours. Khaṭak women dress in a blue shift with loose trousers, like the Bangash, and generally possess few or no ornaments.

Khaṭak wedding customs.

A young fellow who wants to get married sends a *dallál* (who may be any one) to the parents of the girl to sound them as to the price that he will have to pay for her. The *dallál* will return with a message that the would-be bridegroom must pay Rs. 300 (*e. g.*) in cash to the father as the bride-price : that he must, in addition, find Rs. 40 in cash, ten *mans* of wheat, a couple of sheep, Rs. 60 worth of ornaments, one maund of *ghi* at the time of the wedding ; and that the *haqq mahr* will be Rs. 200. If the young man can raise the cash down for the betrothal, his *ḍúm* with the *dallál,* and his father or another relation go to the house of the girl's father, who will not, however, appear himself but will work through his *ḍúm* and his *mukhtár*. The money will be counted out on to the *chitái* to the girl's *ḍúm* who will give it to the girl's mother. The two *dallál*s will then go through what these

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* Sadr Khán had been *faujdár* of Láchi, on the part of Bahrám. The date of Saíd Khán's appointment is not known.

Bannúchis call the *sharaí nikáh, i. e.*, the *ijáb-qabúl*, on behalf of their clients. *Menhdí* is applied to the hands of all present with the intimation that so-and-so's daughter is betrothed to so-and-so.

Neither betrothals nor marriages take place between the two *Ids*. Betrothals take place in Ramzán but few marriages. This is on account of the fast more than anything else.

When the girl reaches puberty, if she has not already reached it, and the bridegroom can raise the value of the ornaments, etc., and the grain and *ghi* which are sent to the girl's people for the wedding banquet, he sends his *ḍúm* to ask if the other side is ready. On the date fixed at about 8 or 9 p. m. he, with the males and females of his village and from among his relations, starts to the house of the girl. The men of the girl's village turn out to oppose them, by throwing clods, for some time, but at last desist. Among the Wazírs, especially in former times, swords were brandished and injury occasionally caused. However the boy's party enters the village, and the boy and the men go to the *chauk*, while the women go to the girl's house and sing love songs, coming out after a while and singing to the boy to join them. He then goes with a party of his men into the girl's courtyard and stands in the middle while 8 or 9 men lift him in the air three times, he raising his hands to show how tall he is. The girl's *ḍúm* intertwines seven strings of different colours, each the height of the boy, and as the boy is lifted up the *ḍúm* jumps in the air swinging the cord so as to raise it above the boy's head if he can in order to show that the girl's family is superior. Then the boy is made to stand on a *rezái* against the wall, while five or six men of his party stand on each end of the *rezái*. The women of his party gather together at one end of the *rezái* and the women of the girl's party at the other. Then the women of each party sing love songs and abuse each other for several hours, while the boy who keeps quiet, stands with his mouth covered with the end of his turban. Just before dawn a female relative of the girl places *patásas* in the middle of the *rezái* and these are distributed. Then a younger sister or some other young relation of the girl comes out of the house in which the bride is, and *her* sheet and the boy's *patká* are tied together by the bride's *ḍúm*. She holds the knot firm. The women of the boy's party then leave the courtyard and go to the nearest water in which one of the husband's family dips the blade of a sword letting the water drip into a *ghaṛa*. This is repeated thrice and then the *ghaṛa* is filled up in the ordinary manner. Then they return to the house and the water is sprinkled in the room where the girl is. The mother of the girl then brings curds and forces the boy to take two mouthfuls after which the boy gives the bride's sister a rupee to untie the knot.

The mother of the girl then presents a bed, pillow and sheet, and puts on her the ornaments that have been bought after they have been weighed in the presence of all by a goldsmith. The girl is then put on a pony with the boy's *ḍúm* and the boy's party sets out none of the girl's family going with them. On this day the village is feasted by the boy and the girl remains for the night with his women folk. The wedding by the *mulláh* takes place the next night and then the pair are left alone. The next morning, however, the girl's *ḍúm* takes her back to her parents with whom she remains a week or so after which

she sends her *ḍúm* to say she wants to be fetched. She is taken to the boy's home by *ḍúm*. The *ḍúm* is throughout an important person and is fed on all occasions.

KHAṬṬAR, KAṬHAR, KAHṬAR, a tribe of the Attock district. The Khaṭṭars claim kinship with the Awáns, and to be, like them and the western Khokhars, descended from one of the sons of Qutb Sháh Qureshi, of Ghazni. But the Awáns do not always admit the relationship, and the Khaṭṭars are said often to claim Rájput origin. Mr. E. B. Steedman, however, accepted their Awán origin, and says that an Awán admits it, but looks upon the Khaṭṭars as an inferior section of the tribe to whom he will not give his daughters in marriage. Sir Lepel Griffin, who relates the history of the principal Khaṭṭar families at pp. 561—9 of his *Panjáb Chiefs*, thought that they were originally inhabitants of Khorásán who came to India with the early Muhammadan invaders. But Colonel Cracroft noted that the Khaṭṭars of Káwalpindi still retain marriage customs which point to an Indian origin; and they themselves have a tradition of having been driven out of their territory on the Indus near Attock into Afghánistán, and returning thence with the armies of Muhammad of Ghori.* Sir Alexander Cunningham, on the other hand, would identify them with a branch of the Kator, Cidaritæ, or Little Yúchi, from whom the Gújars also are descended. (*Archæological Survey Reports*, II, p. 80). They now hold the tract, known as the Khaṭṭar from their name, which extends on both sides of the Kála Chitta Pahár from the Indus to the boundary of the Ráwalpindi tahsil, and from Usmán Kátar on the north to the Khair-i-Múrat hills on the south, and which they are said to have taken from Gújars and Awáns. Raverty says that their seats of authority were Bhaṭioṭ or Bhaṭoṭ and Níláb on the Indus. They still hold the latter place which used to be called Takht-i-Níláb or 'the Throne of the Blue Water'—the Indus. The Khaṭṭars sided with the Mughals against the Khaṭaks, but although their chief Ghairat had been appointed *faujdár* of Attock, they met with more than one reverse at the hands of Khushhál Khán and Afzal Khán, the Khaṭak chiefs in 1678 and 1718. Colonel Cracroft wrote: "The Khaṭṭars enjoy an unenviable notoriety in regard to crime. Their tract has always been one in which heavy crime has flourished; they are bad agriculturists, extravagant in their habits, keep hawks and horses, and are often backward in paying their revenue. They do not allow their daughters to inherit excepting in cases of intermarriage with members of the family, and even then only for some special reason." On this Mr. Steedman noted: "Since then they have become more civilised and less addicted to deeds of violence. Socially the Khaṭṭars hold an intermediate place, ranking below Gakkhaṛs, Awáns, Ghebas, Jodras, and other high class Rájputs."

Mr. T. P. Ellis wrote an interesting account of the tribe which merits reproduction here both for itself and because it illustrates the ex-

* According to the Ráwalpindi *Gazetteer* of 1883-84 the Khaṭṭars claim descent from Chohán, youngest son of Qutb Sháh, who established himself on the Indus where for many years the tribe maintained its position. It was at least driven out by a Hindu tribe under Ráj Deo, in 1175, but its chief, Khaṭṭar Khán, returning with Muhammad of Ghor, recaptured Níláb and, taking its name from him, the tribe overran the open country between the Indus and the Ráwalpindi, dispossessing the Awáns and Gújars.

traordinary divergencies of tradition as to the origin of tribes of no great antiquity.

The Khaṭṭars are generally credited with a Hindu origin, from Khatris,* but they are themselves divided in belief as to their descent. Some admit the Hindu origin, while those who deny it claim an Arab descent, alleging they are closely connected with the Awáns. They claim 3 founders, Háshim, Abdulla and Mustafa, and say that in the time of Harún-ur-Rashíd they came to Baghdád, and that in his *jihád* they reached Hindustán *via* Baluchistán in which latter country there are said to be 9,000 Khaṭṭar Salána (houses or graves). They allege that they joined later in the raids of Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznavi who settled them in Bágh Níláb whence they spread over the rocky barren country of the Kálá Chitta range in Attock, Pindigheb and Fattehjang tahsils.

In order to meet to the generally accepted belief that they were originally Hindus, even those who claim a Mussalman origin admit that while at Bágh Níláb they became Hindus and were reconverted.

The Khaṭṭars are sometimes divided into two main branches, though they† themselves rarely speak of them. These are how the Kálá Khaṭṭars and the Chitta Khaṭṭars. To the former belongs the Dhrek family, to the latter the Wáh family, though they are closely connected by intermarriage. It is possible that in this division lies the true explanation of the conflicting stories as to origin, the former who are darkish in colour being converted Hindus, and the latter of true Mussalman descent overpowering and absorbing their predecessors.

The origin of the name Khaṭṭar is ascribed by those who claim an Arab descent to a mythical Khaṭṭar Khan, the word *Khaṭṭar* being synonymous with the word *zabr*.

Sub-divisions.

Khaṭṭar Khán is supposed to have had seven descendants, who like the Gakkhaṛs and many others founded as many septs with the patronymic *-ál*. These were Firozál, Sirhál, Isál, Garhál, Balwál, Mittiál and Khariál.‡ The Khaṭṭars generally intermarry, indeed Cracroft attributed the degeneracy of the Dhrek family to close intermarriage carried on for several generations. The Wáh family has also taken to it of recent times. Awáns both take from *and* give wives to Khaṭṭars, but Paṭháns, Gakkhaṛs and Sayyids will not give them brides. Very strict *pardah* is maintained. Khaṭṭar wedding rites used to closely resemble those of Hindus, Brahmans even being present, but they are now solemnised according to strict Muhammadan rules. Till recently Khaṭṭars were not allowed to eat the hare. The Khaṭṭars have a tribal shrine that of Sháh Abdul Waháb at Baroṭ where both Khaṭṭars and Ghakkaṛs used to send the bodies of their dead for interment. A stone near Bágh Níláb was formerly regarded as the shrine of Nuri Sháh

* But the *t* is soft in Khatri and hard in Khaṭṭar. The identification with Kator is equally untenable, as Mr. W. Irvine has shown in J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 218.

† It is possible that these names are territorial and derived from the Kálá Chittá Range.

‡ Other septs are the Jandál and Raniál, the former giving its name to the tract south of the Kálá Chitta.

Abdul Rahmán, but pilgrimages to this stone have now ceased almost entirely. The only notable superstition is that if rain fails the women of the village collect together and fill *gharas* with water just outside the village. The village Khán is sent for and he takes hold of the plough, and thereupon the women throw the *gharas* of water over him. This is supposed to be efficacious in bringing on rain. To keep *jinns* off from the threshing floor pointed sticks are stuck on end in the various heaps of corn collected on the floor.

Khawas, a Rájput clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Khepaṛ, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Khera, a Jáṭ (agricultural) tribe found in Kabírwála tahsil, Multán district, whither they migrated from the Lakki jungle in the 13th century. It is also found in Ludhiána and Amritsar. It gives the marginal pedigree and thus claims Solar Rájput origin. Its home was Mathranagari on the Jumna, whence they migrated to Takhar-wind in the Málwa. An attempt to settle in Khadúr was foiled by the Káng, but eventually the latter tribe was defeated and the Khera settled in their present villages in Amritsar. Khera was the son of a Sidhú Jáṭ's daughter and treated his relations-in-law harshly—whence the name Khera fr. *kharwa*, 'bitter.'

Rai.
|
Jado.
|
Bashál.
|
Angpál.
|
Jilmachha.
|
Jai Ras.
|
Jatu.
|
Beas.
|
Manj.
|
Janon.
|
Juj.
|
Dhor.
|
Mal.
|
Lakhisan.
|
Khera.

Kheṛe, a Kamboh (agricultural) clan found in Amritsar.

Khetrán, a tribe settled in the Loralai District of Balochistán at the back of the Laghári, Khosa, and Lund country. Their original settlement was at Vahoa in the country of the Kasráni of Dera Ismáíl Khán, where many of them still live and hold land between the Kasráni Baloch (with whom they have long been at feud) and the river. But the emperor Akbar drove out the main body of the tribe, and they took refuge in the Bárkhán valley which is still held by the Náhaṛ sept of the Khetráns as inferior proprietors, the Lagháris being its superior owners. They are certainly not pure Baloch, and are held by many to be Paṭháns descended from Miána, brother of Tarín, the ancestor of the Abdáli; and they do in some cases intermarry with Paṭháns. But they confessedly resemble the Baloch in features, habits, and general appearance, the names of their septs end in the Baloch patronymic termination *áni* and they are now for all practical purposes a Baloch

tribe. It is probable that they are in reality a remnant of the original Jáṭ population ; they speak a dialect of their own called Khetráni which is an Indian dialect closely allied with Sindhi, and in fact probably a form of the Jatki speech of the lower Indus. They are the least warlike of all the Baloch tribes, capital cultivators, and in consequence very well-to-do. Their lands are generally divided into large blocks held by numerous sharers, each proprietor holding shares in many such blocks scattered about in different villages. The tribe, as it now stands, is composed of four clans, of which the Ganjúra represents the original Khetrán nucleus, while to them are affiliated the Dháriwál* or Chácha who say that they are Dodai Baloch, the Hasani, once an important Baloch tribe which was crushed by Násir Khán, the great Khán of Kelát, and took refuge with the Khetrán of whom they are now almost independent, and the Náhar or Bábar, who are by origin Lodi Paṭháns. The name, as Dames observes, is undoubtedly derived from *khetr* 'field.'

Khewá, a boatman.

Khichar, a sept of Jáṭs in Jínd; see under Jaria.

Khichi, Khichchi, a Muhammadan tribe of Jáṭ status, found as a compact tribe almost exclusively round Mailsi in Multán and in the northern part of Gugera tahsil, Montgomery district.† It claims Chauhán origin and descent from one Khichi Khán, a ruler in Ajmer. Driven out of Delhi by the Muhammadans his descendants Sísan and Vadar migrated to Multán. The Khichis fought with the Joiyas, then paramount in those parts, and also say that they were sent against the rebellious Baloch of Khái by the Mughals, in Multán. In Montgomery the Khichis say they were converted to Islám by Baháwal Haqq, wandered up the Rávi,† abandoned agriculture for cattle-breeding and joined the Kharrals in robbery, but under the rule of Kamr Singh Nakkái resumed cultivation and are now industrious peasants.

Khidr Khel (a corruption of Khizr), (1) a section of the Sen Khel, Gadaizai, Iliászai, Bunerwál; (2) a *hamsáya* section of the Shahozai, Dumar, Sanzar Kákar—Paṭháns.

Khidrzai, a section of the Razzar Maudaur Paṭháns, in Peshávar.

Khilchí, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Sháhpur: see Khiljí.

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* Dháriwál is the name of an important Jáṭ tribe. Mr. Bray says that in Balochistán three clans are recognised, *viz.*,—Ispáni, Palliát, Dhiṛewál or more correctly Dhaṛa. The term Ganjúra is occasionally applied to the first two clans, or even to the whole *tuman* (tribe). The Hasani and Chácha are merely septs affiliated to the Dhaṛa, while the Náhaṛ (? hyænas) are a sept of the Ispáni. Folk etymology derives Dhiṛewál from *dhiṛwál*, a shepherd, and *dhaṛa* is said to mean 'heap.'

† They are thus found along the lower and middle Sutlej, and on the Rávi from Multán to Lahore, but there are also a few of them on the Chenáb, and there are considerable numbers of them in the Delhi district where they appear to be recognised as a sept of the Chauhán. In Sháhpur they are also found and in that District they are classed as Jáṭ (agricultural), but in Montgomery they are classed as Rájputs. In the Chenáb Colony most of them returned themselves as Rájputs, but some as Jáṭs. In the Sándal Bár they were dependents of the Kharrals, although superior to them in status taking wives from them, but refusing to give them brides. They were, however, not counted as belonging to the 'great Rávi' tribes, and it is possible that the Khichi of the Bár and in Sháhpur are really Khilchi or Khilji, not the Chauhán Khichi of Multán.

Khiljí, a Mughal clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar. It appears to be quite distinct from the **Khichi**, and is probably the representative of the **Khalj**.

Khira, a tribe of Jáṭs found in the Pasrúr and Daska tahsils of Siálkoṭ. Khira was a son of Sanpál. Like the Ghummans they are Bajwá Rájputs by descent.

Khíwa, a clan with some pretensions to Rájput origin, and locally ranking somewhat above the Jáṭs, found in Jhelum. Like the Bharat and Kallas it gives bride to the Jálap. The Khíwa are also found in Sháhpur as an agricultural clan.

Khizr Khel, (1) a clan of the Soni or Suni Sarwárni Paṭháns, according to Raverty. Settled in the Khaibar in Bábar's time, they were attacked by him and driven into the mountains in 1519. They had molested him on his march over the pass, and in 1507 had opposed his advance through it with the Shamá Khel, Kharlakhi and Khogiáni. This clan appears to be extinct, absorbed or now divided into septs, the name being forgotten or disused: (2) a minor fraction of the Mintar Khel, Muhammad Khel, Hassan Khel, Mohmit Khel, Utmánzai Darwesh Khel of the Wazírs.* See under Khidr Khel.

Khizrzai, a section of the Natozai, Dumar, Sanzar Kakar Paṭháns.

Kho, a term applied to the inhabitants of Turikho and Muikho, or Upper and Lower Kho, in Chitrál. The Kho appear to be a mixed race and comprise families descended from Badakhshis, Shighnis, Wakhis and Gilgitis. Nevertheless they appear to give their name to Khowár or Chitráli, the language of the great mass of the people in the country drained by the Chitrál river and its affluents, as far down as Mirkhanni, as well as in the Ghisar valley above Pingal. It includes many loan words from Persian, Pashtu and Urdu.

Khod, a Muhammadan clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Khogiáni, **Khugiáni**, a tribe of the *Karláṇi* Paṭháns which at one time occupied the whole of Khost, but is now found in Kurram. The name has fallen into disuse except in Pesháwar, where a few Paṭháns of this name are found. Both the Jáji and the Túri of Kurram claim to be descendants of Khugiáni, son of Kakai, but their Paṭhán origin is open to doubt.

Khoja, fem. -i.—The word Khoja is really nothing more than our old friend the Khwája of the *Arabian Nights*, and means simply a man of wealth and respectability. In the Punjab it is used in three different senses; for a eunuch,† for a scavenger converted to Islám, and for a Muhammadan trader.‡ It is only in the last sense that the Khojas can be

* *A Dictionary of the Paṭhán Tribes*, 1899, p. 109.

† Khoja also means bald. For the eunuchs see under Hijrá. For Khwája as a title see under Khwája. As a title Khoja appears to be used only by or of Khojas by caste.

‡ The Khojas of Bombay are well known for their wealth and commercial enterprise, but they do not appear to have any connection, as a caste, with those of the Punjab. Dissent from orthodox Muhammadanism is however everywhere well marked among the Khojas, who are thus described in Burton's *History of Sindh*, pp. 248-249.

"The Khwajeh (or as the word is generally pronounced Khwajo and Khojo) is a small tribe of strangers settled in Sindh, principally at Karachi, where there may be about three hundred families.

called a 'caste,' but there does not appear to be any true *caste* of Khojas, any Hindu trader converted to Islám being known by that name. Thus the Khojas of Sháhpur are almost entirely Khatris, and a Khatri now becoming a Musalmán in that District would be called a Khoja. The Khojas of Jhang, on the other hand, are said to be converted Aroṛas; while some at least of the Lahore Khojas claim Bháṭia origin, and one section of the Ambála Khojas are Káyaths. But in the north-west Punjab and the northern districts of the North-West Frontier Province, the term Parácha is preferred by Hindu traders converted to Islám, so that where the Parâchas are a recognised and wealthy caste, *khoja* is used for miscellaneous Muhammadan traders, chiefly hawkers and pedlars, or at least petty traders; while in the eastern districts and in the Derajât, where the Khojas are commercially important, *parácha* is used for the Muhammadan pedlar.

These Muhammadan traders, whether called Khoja or Parácha, are found all along the northern portion of the two Provinces under the hills from Amritsar to Peshâwar, and have spread southwards into the central and eastern districts of the Western Plains, but have not entered the Derajât or Muzaffargarh in any numbers. Their eastern boundary is the Sutlej valley, their western the Jhelum-Chenáb, and they are found throughout the whole of the Salt Range. Probably it is hardly correct to say of them that they have "spread" or "entered," for they apparently include many distinct classes who will have sprung from different centres of conversion. They appear to be most numerous in Lahore. An interesting account of a trade development by the Khojas of Gujrát and Siálkoṭ is given in Punjab Government Home Proceedings No. 10 of March 1879. It appears that these men buy cotton piece-goods in Delhi and hawk them about the villages of their own Districts, selling on credit till harvest time, and the business has now assumed very large proportions. The Khojas of the Jhang district were thus described by Mr. Monckton: "They do not cultivate with their own hands, but own a great many wells and carry on trade to a considerable extent. They are supposed to have been converted from Hinduism. They do not practise cattle-stealing, but are a litigious race, and addicted to fraud and forgery in the prosecution of their claims."

In spite of their conversion to Islám, the Khojas retain many traces of the Khatri caste organization. Thus at Bhera in Sháhpur they have the following sub-divisions:—

1. Sahgal.	4. Kapur.	7. Gorawala.
2. Wohra or BOHRA.	5. Duggal.	8. Magun.
3. Seṭhi.	6. Rawaṛ or Roṛ.	9. Mehndru.

"Their own account of their origin is that they emigrated from Persia. Probably they fled the country when the Ismailiyeh heresy (to which they still cleave) was so severely threatened by Holaku Khan. They differ from the Ismailites in one essential point, *viz.*, whereas that race believes in only seven Imáms, the Khwajehs continue the line down to the present day. They are therefore heterodox Shiahs, as they reject Abubakr, Umar and Usmán, Muhammed Bakir and Imám Jáfar-i-Sádik. In Sindh they have no mosques, but worship in a *kano* or house prepared for that purpose. For marriages and funerals they go to the Sunni Kázís, but their Mukhi or head priest at Karachi settles all their religious and civil disputes. Under the Mukhi, who is changed periodically, are several officers called Waris, and under these again are others termed Khamriya."

—all Khatri sections. A tenth, Matoli, does not appear to be a Khatri section, but it ranks with the first six, and from these seven the last three cannot obtain wives, though they give brides to them. The Khojas of Bhera* claim to be strictly monogamous, so much so that, as a rule, a Khoja cannot obtain a second wife in the caste, even though his first have died and he is thus driven to take his second wife from some other Muhammadan tribe. The Khojas of Leiah have the Khatri section-names of Kapúr, Púri, Tandan and Gambhír, but as these are no longer exogamous and as wives may be taken from other castes, the old rules of hypergamy and endogamy are no longer in force.

The Khojas of Jhang have at least four clans, Magun, Wohra, Wadawána and Passija. The last named is undoubtedly of Aroṛa origin. At Chinioṭ in Jhang the Khojas are mainly Khatris, recruited by some Aroṛa sections, thus:—

	Khatri section.		*Aroṛa sections.*
Immigrants from the south-west.	Adal.	*Indigenous to Chinioṭ.*	Tarneja.
	Behrára.	Talwár.	Goruwála.
	Churra.	Puri.	Khurána.
	Maggun.	Toprá.	Dhingra.
	Sahgal.		Cháwala.
	Wadhaun.		
	Wihra.		

The original Khatri classification into Bári and Bunjáhi groups is said to be still preserved. Formerly the Khatri sections used not to intermarry with the Aroṛas, but this restriction is said to be no longer absolute, though such marriages are not usual. The Khojas in Chinioṭ reverence Pir Giláni, the descendant of Imám Hassan, and his descendants live in Kotla, Gujránwála district. The Khojas have a cemetery of their own at Chinioṭ called the Háfiz Díwán.

The Wohra are possibly the same as the Bora† of Central India. In Central India they have a remarkable colony at Ujjain, which is divided into four *mahals* under elected Mullahs. Malcolm‡ says they belong to the Hassani sect and are a progressive community. The Khojas of Makhaḍ (a place on the Indus) are more usually called Paráchas. They have houses of a peculiar structure—in fact, the Khojas' enterprise seems to be as marked as their high standard of comfort, and in this they are somewhat different to the Khatris.

KHOJAH, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. *Cf.* Kohjá.

KHOJÍ, a title of honour given to Kashmírís.

KHÁDAL, a Jáṭ tribe which migrating from Jammu settled in the north of Multán tahsil in Mughal times.

KHOHÁNRA, a tribe of the SAMMAS, found in Baháwalpur. The Sang branch of the Sammas has a tradition that in ancient times the Sammas had two grades, one superior and genuine, the other comprising 13 inferior septs who were *wazírs* of the Sammas. To these latter belonged the Khohánra.

* The Khojas of Bhera have a legend that they were expelled from Chak Sano, a ruined village in Bhera tahsil, some two or three centuries ago. They have an extensive trade with Kábul and beyond, and inhabit a remarkably well-built *mohalla* in Bhera, where they take a leading part in municipal affairs.

† (?) from beohá = trade.

‡ *Memoir* on Central India and Málwa, Vol. I, pp. 91-2.

Khokhar, -ur.—(1) a tribe, found among Jáṭs, Rájputs, Aráiṇs*, and Chuhṛás (see *infra*). As a tribe of varying Rájput and Jáṭ status the Khokhars are most numerous along the valleys of the Jhelum and Chenab, and especially in the Jhang and Sháhpur districts. They are also found, though in smaller numbers, on the lower Indus and the Sutlej, especially in Lahore, and also all along the foot of the hills from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. Pind Dádan Khán in the Jhelum is said to have been refounded by a Háda Rájput from Gaṛh Chitor, named Fateh Chand, who on conversion to Islám was re-named Dádan Khán.† He was Rája of those parts in the time of Jahángír, but the Khokhars had held the tract at an earlier period for they are mentioned as its occupiers in the *Aín-i-Akbarí.* They also once ruled an extensive tract in Jhang lying east of the Jhelum. The Khokhars of Gujrát and Siálkoṭ have a tradition that they were originally settled at Gaṛh Karána, which they cannot identify,‡ but were ejected by Tímúr and they went to Jammu, whence they spread along the hills, and the concentration of the Khokhars of the plains on the Jhelum and Chenáb, and their wide diffusion in the sub-montane tract are explained by the history of Tímúr's invasion. In Akbar's time they were shown as the principal tribe of the Dasúya *pargana* (in Hoshiárpur) and they now give their name to the Khokharain, a tract which contains some 40 Khokhar villages, all but three of which are in Kapúrthala State on the borders of Dasúya tahsil.§ In Kapúrthala the Khokhars have four eponymous septs, Sajrái, Kálú, Ber and Jaich. In Sháhpur the Khokhars are said to be split up into numerous septs, among which are the Nissowána. The Bhaṭṭi and Kuḍhan are septs found in Montgomery.

The origins of the Khokhars are as obscure as those of any Punjab tribe. Tradition appears invariably to connect them with the Awáns, making Khokhar one of Qutb Sháh's sons and the Khokhar Qutb Sháhis his descendants, who would thus be akin to the Júhâns also. But this pedigree probably merely records the fact that the Awáns and Khokhars owe their conversion to Islám to the saint Qutb Sháh or his disciples, or that they both accepted his teachings.|| However this may be the Khokhars in Siálkoṭ intermarry with other tribes, which the Awáns will not do, and thus in a sense rank below them. In Gujrát, where they hold a compact block of villages about Mung on the Jhelum and own some of the richest lands in the District, the leading Khokhars are called Rájá, as being of Rájput status or descent 'from Bharat and Jasrat.' Yet they claim kinship with the Awáns and intermarry with them and the Bhaṭṭis, giving wives to the Chibbs, but not getting brides in return.¶ Moreover the Khokhar themselves vary in status. In the east

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* *Punjabi Dicty:*, p. 602. Chuhṛás and Náis may be added.

† The history of this family will be found at p. 589 ff. of Griffin's *Panjab Chiefs.*

‡ Kirána Hill in Jhang cannot well be meant.

§ There are two Khokhar *chhatt* or leading villages in the Khokharain, Tahli in Hoshiárpur and Begowál in Kapúrthala.

|| That the Khokhars were originally Hindus appears hardly open to question. The Khokhars in Jhelum say they used to keep up certain Hindu customs, and had *parohits*, who were Datts, until recent times, but that this is no longer the case. They do not know whether they are connected with other Khokhars of the Punjab.

¶ At births, weddings, etc., they observe Ját usages, but have no *rathácharí* like them and no *dur* like the Gujars. Before the wedding procession starts presents are given to 7 *kamíns*—a Nái, Mirási, Tarkhán, Lohár, Kumhár, Dhoba and Rá(i) or Hindu. And when the procession reaches the bride's house her father brings as many presents in a *thálí* and they are also given to these *kamíns.*

of the Punjab they marry, on more or less equal terms, with other Rájputs and so rank as a Rájput tribe. But in Jullundur they are said to intermarry in their own tribe or with Shaikhs, Awáns and the like, rather than with their Rájput neighbours. About Pind Dádan Khán the Rájput Khokhars are said to be entirely distinct from the Jáṭ Khokhars, though elsewhere in Jhelum the tribe has for the most part become merged with the 'Jáṭ' cultivators. Those of Rájput status, however, marry into some of the best Janjúa families. In Baháwalpur the Khokhars are found in some numbers and many of them return their main tribe as Bhaṭṭi. They intermarry among themselves, but sometimes give brides to Joiyas. One well-known sept is called Missan, so called because they once gave a *mírási* a loaf made of *missi* (gram flour) and in revenge he satirised them.

In an article entitled *A History of the Gakkhars*, contributed to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1871, by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, the Khokhars of the Muhammadan historians were taken to be the Gakkhaṛs. The late Major Raverty, however, expressed a strong opinion that the writer of the article had confused the Gakkhaṛs with the Khokhars, a totally distinct tribe, and a full examination of all the evidence at present readily accessible, has convinced the present writer of the correctness of Major Raverty's position. The Khokhars were settled in the Punjab centuries before the Gakkhaṛs, and were early spread all over the central Districts of the Province before the Gakkhaṛs acquired their seats in the Salt Range, to which they are and always have been confined. If this thesis be correct, it follows that Farishta's description of the customs of polyandry and female infanticide, as practised by the tribe, apply not to the Gakkhaṛs at all, but to the essentially Punjab tribe, the Khokhars.

*The traditional history of the Khokhars.**

Beorásáhsá,† who succeeded Jamshid, King of Persia, was called Dahák or the 'Ten Calamities.' On his shoulders were two snake-like tumours, whence he was nick-named Márán or Aydahá by the Persians, and called Dahák (or Zuhák)‡ Márán, while his descendants were designated Ták§-bansi, Nág-bansi or Takshak. About 1500 B. C. Káma, the ironsmith, aided Farídún, a descendant of Jamshid, to subdue Dahák, who was cast into the well of Koh Damavind, and Farídún became King of Persia. One of Dahák's descendants, named Bustám Rájá, surnamed Kokrá, was governor of the Punjab and had his capital at Kokráná, on a hill in the Chinhath Doáb, but it is now called Koh Kiráná.|| At the same time Mihráb, also a descendant of Zuhák, held Kábul as a feudatory of Farídún.

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* By a Khokhar of Khokharain, in the Hoshiárpur district, Punjab.

† Afrásiáb.

‡ Zuhák is merely the Arabicised form of Dahák. Zuháka was another name for Záhal, the ancient fortified city, identified by Raverty with the Maidán-i-Rustam Koh, visited by Bábar. It was Rustam's appanage and lies on the sources of the Tochi and the Zurmat rivers.

§ Ták for Dahák.

|| A singularly unsuccessful attempt to identify the isolated Kiráná Hill, that in the Jhang district, with Kokráná by assuming that the syllable *ko*- was mistaken for the Persian *koh*, mountain and dropped in the course of time—an utterly impossible suggestion.

After acquiring the Persian throne, Farídún marched against Dahák's descendants. Bustám fled and sought refuge in the Hill of Ghor, west of Kandahár, where his people ruled for generations, being called Ghorí or Ghoríá and all being pagans.

Some years later Bustám was murdered and some powerful Rájá took possession of the Sindh-Ságar Doáb, where Alexander found Takshail (Taxiles), founder of Takshala (Taxila), now Dheri Sháhán in the Attock district. But before the Macedonian invasion Kaid Ráj, King of Márwár, overran the Punjab in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, soon after Bustám's murder. His capital was Berá on the Jhelum district and he also founded a fort at Jammu, which he entrusted to Virk* Khokhar, one of his kinsmen. Virk, with his own tribesmen, conquered the northern hills, and then, in league with the hillmen of Kohát and the Sulaimán Hills, drove Kaid Ráj out of the Punjab. The Khokhars, under such chiefs as Jot, Sálbáhan, Tál, Bál, Sirkap, Sirsuk, Vikram, Hodi, Sándá, Askap, Khokhar (*sic*), Bádal and Kob, thenceforward held the Punjab.

A long period after this, Bahrám, Rájá of Ghor, left Shoráb, which lay 100 miles from Qandahár,† and, regaining the Kokráná territory, his hereditary province, he founded Shoráb to the east of the Kokráná Hill. Another Rájá of Ghor, named Zamín Dáwar, founded yet another city 3 *kos* to the east of Shoráb and called it Dáwar, and this was laid waste by the Tartars, but the mound still exists. To the west of it lies the new town of Dáwar, which is still in possession of the tribe. Shoráb was destroyed by Sultán Mahmúd, and its ruins stand at the foot of the present Shorábwáli Pahári Hill.

Goriá, the Kokráná Rájá of Sharáb, was succeeded by his two sons Bádal‡ and Bharth§ and 11 others who were sons of handmaids. Bádal succeeded to the upland tracts of Chiniot and Kokráná,|| while Bharth took those east of the Chenáb. The latter, who dwelt in Bharth, a city named after himself, which lay 6 *kos* west of Nankáná village, came, stone in hand, to aid his brother Bádal Khán in battle; but learning that he had already fallen, he placed the stone on the ground and marched to avenge his loss. He was, however, worsted in the conflict, and Bharth, his city, destroyed. But the stone still lies on the hill. South of Chiniot Bádal founded Márí Tappá, on a hill still so called.

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* This is to account for the existence of the Virk, a powerful Jat tribe, still numerous in Gujránwálá. It also seems to connect them with the Khokhars.

† Eight or ten miles west of Qandahár lies the village of Khokharán. The *kabits* of the bards record a Rájá named Kokrá of Garh Kokráná, now called Kadyána.

‡ Bádal would appear to be a Hindu name; *cf.* Rai Bádal of Chittor: but lower down we find him called Bádal Khán, the latter a Muhammadan title. It is curious to find Hindu and Muhammadan names mixed up in this history without apparent sense of incongruity. Thus below we have Ratn Pál, undoubtedly a Hindu, descended from Sándá, whose three brothers all bore Muhammadan names, even if Sándá was himself a Hindu. Among the Meos of Gurgaon the position at the present time is precisely the same and the present head of the Muhammadan Kharrals in the Lyallpur district is called Jagdeo.

§ The name Bharth frequently occurs in Punjab legends as the name of the ancestor of a tribe, or even as a sept name.

|| It is unsafe to identify places like Kokráná with the Khokhars. Near Rohtak are the mounds called Khokrá Kot, under which lie ancient cities, but the word Khokrá has no connection with the Khokhar tribe. (See Rohtak *gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 16.)

In the middle of the Chenáb he commenced a stone fort and a masonry bridge which he never completed, but a wall of the fort, called the Bádalgarh, still remains. With Dárá, his beloved kinsman, Rájá Bádal Khán (*sic*) was assassinated on his way to Mári Tappá, some 3 *kos* from Chiniot, and here his tomb, called Bádal Dárá, still stands to the west of the village of Amírpur.

Bharth's territory had extended as far as Gujrát, and he left 8 sons of whom 4 left issue. These were Sándá, Hassan, Husain and Mahmúd. Sándá built a city, Sándar, between the Rávi and the Dek streams, the ruins of which are still called Sándar-ká-tibba in the (Pindi) Bhattián tract. He ruled so justly that his dominion is still called the Sándar or Sándal Bár.* He left 4 sons, Mandár, Ratn Pál, Bálá, and Jál. From Ratn Pál sprang the Rihián,† a sept which has two branches, the Nissowánás,‡ and the Bhikhás,§ found in Sháhpur and Jhang. Kálowál was head-quarters of this sept. Sultán Mandár's descendants are now found in Bannu, where they trace their origin to Kais Abdur-Rashíd, and are thus called Mandár (*sic*) Afgháns. Mandár himself prospered, kept in with the ruler of Kábul and conquered the Kohistán-i-Namak and the Koh-i-Nandaná. Of his twelve sons, three were legitimate, and of these three Rai Singin remained in the Kohistán-i-Namak and married his daughter to Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín Khwárizmí, who made his son general of his own forces, with the title of Qutlugh-Kháni. The second son Ichhar founded Ichhrá near Lahore, and the third was Máchhí Khán, who became Rájá of Chiniot, which was named from Chandan, his sister, who built a palace on the hill as a hunting lodge for her father. Márí Tappá was not then populated, but Andherí was flourishing, and north of it lay the *dhaular*,‖ or abode of Ráni Chandan, which was called Chandniot, now Chiniot. When Andherí was deserted, Máchhi Khán¶ shifted his residence to the eastern bank of the river. Rai Singin had four sons; Sarpál, Hast,** Vir and Dádan. Some of Sarpál's sons went to Afghánistán and now trace their descent to Sháh

* But a local legend, recorded by Mr. E. D. Maclagan, says this Bár is so named after one Sándal, a Chuhra, who used to commit great depredations. Another Chuhrá used to live in the Gúa rock, *i. e.*, the rock with the 'cavern,' and eat men. The people sometimes called the Bár, Tattar, *i. e.*, 'the Desert.'

† Probably the Rihāns, a tribe still found in Jhang district: see the Jhang *Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 61, where they are described as rulers in old days of the Kálowál tract, which once formed a part of the Siál kingdom; (but they are not said to be a branch of the Khokhars).

‡ The Nissowánás are also still to be found in Jhang—in the northern corner of Chiniot tahsil: Jhang *Gazetteer*, p. 66.

§ The Bhikhas cannot be traced.

‖ *Dhaular*, in Panjábi = palace (*lit.*, 'white house').

¶ This Machchhe Khán appears to be alluded to in the following ballad, which records the deeds of the Chaddrá tribe of the Sándal Bár :—

Modá de Chiniót leó ne.	(After their victory over the Kharrals the Chadrá) with a push of the shoulder (*i.e.*, with a certain amount of trouble) took Chiniót.
Zór changérá láéá ne.	They used more force.
Malik Machchhe Khán kutthó ne.	They killed Malik Machchhe Khán.
Ragrán rók ruláéá ne.	They harried and destroyed him.

** Hast: a Malik Hast is mentioned in Bábar's *Memoirs* (Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 236-37), but no particulars regarding him appear to be given. Raverty mentions him and Sangar Khán as chiefs of the Janjúas and Júds.—*Notes on Afghánistán*, p. 365.

Husain Ghori. Chuchak or Achu was sixth and Malik Shaikh seventh in descent from Sarpál, and the latter founded Shaikha, a fort, and Dhankar, a village in the hill of Bháwán,* north of Manglán, he and his father holding the hill-country and the tracts west of Gujrát. Malik Shaikhá was appointed governor of Lahore by the king of Delhi, and Nusrat, his younger brother, opposed Tímúr's invasion, with only 2,000 men, on the Beás.

Malik Jasrat, son of Shaikhá, is a historical personage. In 1442 A.D. he was murdered by his queen, a daughter of Bhím Deo, Rájá of Jammú, because her father had been put to death by the Malik. His descendants are found in Márí and Shakárpur in Gujrát, at Malikwál in Sháhpur, at Jasrat near Chiniot, and in Dhankar near Khángáh Dográn.

The Tartars spared the territories of Sarpál's descendants. After 1200 A. D.† they had burnt all the Khokhar settlements on the Beás and Sutlej. Rájá Vír Khán fled towards Multán, but returned and founded Kángra, 9 *kos* from Chiniot, east of the Chenáb, but soon moved towards the Beás with Kálu, his kinsman, who founded Káluwáhan, now Káhnuwán,‡ in Gurdáspur, on the right bank of the river. For himself Vír chose a tract 32 *kos* south of Káhnuwán, and there he founded Vairowál in Tarn Táran, naming it after his son Vairo. Bháro, another tribesman, founded Bhárowál in the same tahsil. Kalchandar, another Khokhar, founded Mírowál, Mardáná, Auliapur, etc., in Siálkot. Rájá Vír Khán also founded a new Kángra midway between Káhnuwán and Vairowál. His territory was 40 *kos* in length, and the town extended 5 miles along the bank of the Beás. At its north and south gates stood two forts or *márís*,§ now occupied by Bhatti Rájputs‖ and Panuán Játs. On the ruins of this town now stands the small village of Kángra,¶ just opposite to Tahli or Khokharain on the west bank of the Beás, in Hoshiárpur. In the village is the tomb of Ladahá Khán, Khokhar, called the *Pír Ghází*, at which offerings are still made. This *ghází's* head is said to be buried at Mandi Bohr, a village in Kapúrthala, 3 miles south of Tahli, to which place it was carried by the stream when he was killed. Ladahá Khán left seven sons, (i) Jago, whose descendants founded Dinamál, Akálgadhá and Kotlí Sára Khán in Amritsar, close to Bhárowál and Vairowál; (ii) Rup Rai, whose sons founded Dánd in Rayá tahsil, Siálkot; (iii) Bego, who founded Begowál and 16 villages, now in Kapúrthalá; (iv) Dasihan, the author's ancestor, who founded Khokharain** as his residence and 12 other villages: Jhán, who founded Balo Chak, naming it after his son Bálo, with 9 more villages. As these *three* brothers owned in all 40 villages the tract was called the Cháliá Khokharán. Bhográ migrated to Murádábád.

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* Possibly Bhaun in Jhelum.

† c. 600 A. H.

‡ Which place the Khokhars are said to have held in Akbar's time.

§ *Márí* in Panjábi means a lofty house of masonry, or a small room erected on the roof of a house.

‖ Of the Buchá *gót*, whence the present village is called Márí Buchián.

¶ Kángrá is close to Sri Hargobindpur.

** Also called Táhlí, because one of its quarters was so called from a *táhli* or *shisham* tree.

*The Khokhars in the Muhammadan Historians of India.**

In 399 A.H. (1009 A.D.) the Gakkhars, by whom in all probability are meant the Khokhars, then infidels, joined the Hindus who had collected under the leadership of Anandpál to resist the sixth invasion of India by Mahmúd. Their number is said to have amounted to 30,000 men, who, with heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated the Muhammadan lines on two sides, and in a few minutes cut down three or four hundred Muhammadans.†

The earliest distinct mention of the Kokars occurs in the *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir*, a history written in A. H. 602 (1205 A.D.),‡ which describes the revolt of the tribe or confederacy under the chiefs Bakan and Sarkí, which occurred upon a false report of the death of the Sultán Muhammad of Ghor having been put about by Aibak Bák, who seized Multán.§ The Kokars raised the country between the Sodra (Chenáb) and the Jhelum and defeated the Muhammadan governor of Sangwán, who held a fief within the borders of Multán, but they were defeated by Qutb-ud-Dín Aibak, and one of the sons of Kokar Rai escaped to a fort in the hill of Júd, which was captured on the following day by the Sultán.||

The next mention of the Khokhars occurs in the *Tabaqát-i-Násri*, written about 658 A. H. (1259 A. D.).¶ It relates that Muiz-ud-Dín in 581 A. H. (1185 A. D.) ravaged the territory of Lahore, and on his return homeward restored Siálkot, in which fortress he left a garrison, but as soon as his back was turned, Malik Khusrau, the last of the Ghaznivides, assembled the forces of Hindustan and a levy of the Khokhar tribes and laid siege to Siálkot. This account is confirmed and amplified by *A History of the Rájás of Jammun*, which says:—"The tribe of Khokhar, who dwelt round about Manglán at the foot of the hills and were subject to the Jammú dynasty, having received encouragement from the Lahore ruler (Malik Khusrau), and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jammú and threw off its yoke." In return the Khokhars then assisted Malik Khusrau in his attempt on Siálkot, whose garrison was befriended by the Jammú forces.**

The next notice of the Khokhars in the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* is an important one, and confirms the account of the *Táj-ul-Ma'ásir*. It describes the confusion which arose in the Sultán's dominions on account of the rumour of his death, and states that the Khokhars (and other tribes of the hills of Lahore and Júd) broke out in rebellion in 602 H. and were defeated with great slaughter.†† In this rebellion the Khokhars appear to have been in alliance with the Rái Sál, the ruler of the Salt Range, or Koh-i-Júd, but it is not certain that Rái Sál himself was a Khokhar.

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* The following account is extracted from Elliot's *History of India*, cited as *E. H. I.*; from the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty's Translation, cited as *T. N.*; and from the latter writer's *Notes on Afghánistán*.

† *E. H. I.*, II, p. 447.

‡ *Ib.* p. 209.

§ *Ib.* p. 233.

|| *Ib.* p. 235.

¶ *Ib.* p. 264.

** *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, p. 455; *cf.* p. 453, note 4 (Raverty suggests that Manglán is Makhiála).

†† *T. N.* p. 481; *cf.* 604.

In 620 H. (1223 A. D.) the Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, driven from Ghazni by the Chingiz Khán, who pursued him to the Indus, sought a refuge in the Punjab. He occupied Balala and Nikala* near Lahore, and, being too weak to advance on Delhi, sent a part of his army against the hill Júd. This force defeated the Khokhar chief, and the Sultán obtained his daughter in marriage, whereupon the Khokhar Ráí† joined him with a considerable body of his tribe.

The Khokhars had a long standing feud with Kubácha, governor of Sindh (which then included the whole valley of the Indus below the Salt Range), and the Sultán's troops, under the guidance of the son of the Khokhar chief, by a forced march, fell suddenly upon Kubácha's camp near Uch and totally defeated him.

The Khokhars, however, do not appear to have been confined to the country between the Jhelum and the Chenáb, but to have also held a considerable tract *east* of the Beás (and the good horses to be obtained in their *talwandis* or settlements are often mentioned), for in 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.) we find them enlisted in the forces of the Sultána (Queen) Ráziyyat and her consort Malik Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín, Altunia, but they abandoned her after her defeat at Kaithal.‡

After the sack of Lahore by the Mughals in 1241-42 A. D., "the Khokhars and other Hindu Gabrs" seized it.§ And in 1246-47 A. D., the future Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín Balban was sent against the Khokhars into the Júd Hills and Jhelum.|| The Khokhars were apparently subjects of Jaspál, Sihrá.¶

About this time Sher Khán reduced the Jáṭs, Khokhars, Bhaṭṭís, Mínís (Minás), and Mandáhars under his sway,** apparently in or near his fief of Sunám.

In 647 A. H. (1250 A. D.) the upper part of the Punjab appears to have been in the hands of the Mughals and Khokhars,†† but nothing more appears to be heard of them until the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh, when they again began to be troublesome, and in 1342-43 A. D. they revolted under their chief, Chandar. The governor of the Punjab, Malik Tátár Khán, had to march against them, and though he was able to subdue them for a time, they caused great disorders under the last Tughlaq kings of Delhi.‡‡

We now come to the *Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháhi*, an imperfect manuscript, the history in which has had to be completed from the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari*, which copied from it. According to this history, the Khokhar chief Shaikhá§§ seized Lahore in 796 A. H. (1394 A. D.), and Prince

* Bankála or Mankála—*E. H. I.*, II., p. 553; *cf.* 563.

† Called Kokár Sanká, who had embraced Islám in the time of Muhammad Ghorí—*Ib.*, p. 563; *T. N.*, p. 294.

‡ *T. N.*, pp. 647-8, notes.

§ *Ib.*, p. 656 n.

|| *Ib.*, p. 678; *E. H. I.*, II, p. 347.

¶ *T. N.*, p. 815.

** *Ib.*, p. 795.

†† *Ib.*, p. 822.

‡‡ Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367. Farishta turns Chandar into Haidar.—Brigg's *Trans.*, I, p. 425.

§§ Shaikhá was the general name by which the chiefs of the tribes styled themselves, because "being Hindus by descent, they had become converts to Islám." Hence Jasrath is often styled Jasrath Shaikhá.—Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367.

Humáyún, afterwards Sikandar Sháh I, was to have been sent against him* but his father, Muhammad Sháh III, dying suddenly, he was too occupied in securing the throne to set out on the expedition. Sikandar Sháh, however, only reigned some six weeks, and on his death Sultán Mahmúd Sháh II, succeeded him, but it was not for some months that Sárang Khán could be nominated by him to the fief of Dibálpur and entrusted with the war against Shaikhá. Sárang Khán took possession of Dibálpur in June, and in September he advanced on Lahore with the forces of Multán, and accompanied by the Bhaṭṭi and Main (Míná) chiefs,† crossed the Sutlej at Tihára and the Beás at Dubáli. On hearing of Sárang Khán's advance, Shaikhá Khokhar invaded the territory of Dibálpur and laid siege to Ajúdhan, but hearing that Sárang Khán had passed Hindupat and was investing Lahore, he returned hastily to that city and encountered Sárang Khán at Sámuthalla, 12 *kos* from it. There he was defeated by Sárang Khán and fled to the hills of Júd, while the victor took possession of Lahore. Four years later occurred the grim interlude of Tímúr's invasion. Shaikhá, says the historian, out of enmity to Sárang Khán, early joined Tímúr and acted as his guide, in return for which he received mercy and honour,‡ but before Tímúr left India he made Shaikhá prisoner, and with him all his wives and children.

According to the histories of Tímúr, however, the Khokhars played a much more important part in the resistance offered to the invading armies of Tímúr than the *Táríkh-i-Mubárak-Sháhí* is inclined to admit. In October 1398 A. D., Tímúr halted at Jál on the Beás, opposite Sháhpur. Here he learnt that Nusrat of the tribe of Khokhar was established in a fortress on the banks of a lake. He attacked Nusrat, and completely routed him, taking immense booty in cattle and burning Nusrat's residence. Nusrat himself was slain. Some of his followers escaped across the Beás, which Tímúr crossed, marching from Sháh Nawáz to Janján, a few days later.§ We next read of Malik Shaikhá or Shaikh Kúkar, 'commander of the infidels,' who was defeated and slain by Tímúr in the valley of Kúpila or Hardwár.|| The *Zafarnáma*, however, differs from this account. It mentions Alá-ud-Dín as a deputy of Shaikh Kúkarí, who was sent as an envoy to Kúpila,¶ and describes the advance of a Malik Shaikha as being misreported as the advance of Shaikh Kúkarí, one of Tímúr's faithful adherents, a mistake which enabled Malik Shaikhá to attack Tímúr unawares, though he was promptly repulsed and killed. Theh we hear of Tímúr's arrival at Jammú on his homeward march. In its neighbourhood he captured seven strongholds, belonging to the infidels, whose people had formerly paid the *jizya* or poll-tax to the Sultán of Hindustán, but had for a long time past cast off their allegiance. One of these forts belonged to Malik Shaikh Kúkar, but, according to the *Zafarnáma*, the owner of this

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* *E. H. I.*, IV, p. 272.
† *Ib.*, p. 29. Dibálpur is the ancient Deobálpur and the modern Dipálpur. Ajúdhan is the modern Pákpattan.
‡ *E. H. I.*, IV, p. 35.
§ *E. H. I.*, III, pp 415-16.
|| *Ib.*, pp. 455-6; *cf.* p. 510.
¶ *Ib.*, p. 505.

stronghold was Shaiká, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kúkar* (or Shaikhá Kúkarí), which possibly makes the matter clear:—Nusrat the Khokhar had been killed on the Beás after which his brother, Shaikhá, submitted to Tímúr, and was employed by him during his advance on Delhi.† The Malik Shaikhá killed at Kupilá was not a Khokhar at all, but in Tímúr's *Autobiography* he has become confused with Malik Shaikhá the Khokhar. Lastly, Malik Shaikhá had a relative, probably a Khokhar, who held a little fort near Jammú.‡

After his arrest by Tímúr, Shaikhá disappears from history; but in 823 A. H. (1420 A. D.), or some 22 years later, Jasrath (the son of) Shaikhá makes his entrance on the scene. In that year the king of Kashmír marched into Sindh, and was attacked by Jasrath, who defeated him, took him prisoner, and captured all his *matériel*. Elated by this success, Jasrath, an independent rustic, began to have visions about Delhi. Hearing that Khizr Khán (whom Tímúr had left in charge of Multán as his feudatory, and who had become Sultán of Delhi in all but name) was dead, he crossed the Beás and Sutlej, defeated the Mína leaders, and ravaged the country from Ludhiána to Arúbar (Rupar).§ Thence he proceeded to Jálandhar, and encamped on the Beás, while Zírak Khán, the *amír* of Sámána, retired into the fort. After some negotiations it was agreed that the fort was to be evacuated and given up to Túghán, the Turk-bacha (Jasrath's ally, who had taken refuge in his territories), while Jasrath was to pay tribute and return home. But as soon as Jasrath got Zírak Khán into his camp, he detained him as a prisoner and carried him, securely guarded, to Ludhiána, whence he marched to Sirhind. That fortress, however, defied all his attempts, and the Sultán Mubárak Sháh, advancing, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat on Ludhiána, whence, having released Zírak Khán, he crossed the Sutlej. The Sultán's forces then advanced as far as Ludhiána, but were unable to cross the Sutlej, as Jasrath had secured all the boats. When the rains ceased, the Sultán withdrew to Kabúlpur,|| and Jasrath made a similar movement, whereupon the Sultán sent a force to effect a crossing at Rupar. Jasrath marched on a line parallel to this force, but it effected a crossing, and the Sultán then passed the river without opposition. Jasrath's followers then abandoned the opposition he had chosen without striking a blow, and their leader fled hastily to Ludhiána, whence he crossed the Beás,

* According to the *Malfúzát-i-Tímúrí*, Malik Shaikhá Khokhar was the brother of Nusrat Khokhar, formerly governor of Lahore on the part of Sultán Mahmúd of Delhi. After Nusrat's defeat Shaikhá Khokhar had submitted to Tímúr, and had accompanied him on his march to the Jumna, his influence being sufficient for him to obtain protection for his subjects from pillage by Tímúr's army. Shaikhá, however, obtained Tímúr's leave to return to Lahore, where he soon incurred the suspicion of being lukewarm in Tímúr's cause and Tímúr sent orders to arrest Shaikhá and levy a ransom from Lahore—*E. H. I.*, III, p. 473. This account is confirmed by the *Zafarnáma*, which calls Nusrat Kúkarí brother of Shaikhá Kúkari—*Ib.*, p. 485. Raverty states that some authorities say that Shaikhá died a natural death, while others allege that he was put to death, Jasrath being imprisoned in Samarqand. Some years later Jasrath was released and returned home. There he put to death Sháhí, his brother, and, seizing Jálandhar and Kalánaur, began to aspire to the sovereignty of Hind.—*Notes*, p. 368.

† *E. H. I.*, III, p. 520.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 467.

§ *E. H. I.*, IV, p. 54. Raverty adds that he attacked Sirhind, 'but it was defended by Sultán Sháh Lodi and he failed to take it in 1421.—*Notes*, p. 368.

|| Kábulpur (Raverty).

the Rávi, and finally, after the Sultán had crossed the latter river near Bhowa,* the Jánháva (Chenáb). Jasrath now took refuge in his strongest place, Tekhar† in the hills but Rai Bhím‡ of Jammu guided the Sultán's forces to the stronghold, and it was captured and destroyed. Jasrath's power was, however, undiminished, for as soon as the Sultán had returned to Delhi after restoring Lahore, he recrossed Chenáb and Rávi with a large force of horse and foot, and attacked Lahore and was only driven off after nearly five weeks' fighting round the fort. He then retreated on Kalánaur to attack that stronghold, into which Rai Bhím had thrown himself in order to relieve Lahore. After protracted fighting round Kalánaur, Jasrath patched up a truce with Rai Bhím and then went towards the Rávi where he collected all the people of the territory of the Khokhars, who were in alliance with him, but on the advance of an imperial army from Lahore, supported by one which advanced on the ford of Buhi, he again fled to Tekhar. The united forces of the Sultán now marched along the river Rávi and crossed it between Kalánaur and Bhoh* afterwards effecting a junction with Rái Bhím on the confines of Jammú. These forces defeated some Khokhars who had separated from Jasrath on the Chenáb.

In the following year (826 A. H. or 1423 A. D.) Jasrath defeated Rai Bhím and captured most of his horses and *matériel*. The Rái himself was killed, and Jasrath now united himself to a small army of Mughals and invaded the territories of Dibálpur and Lahore, but on the advance of the imperial leader he retired across the Chenáb.

After this the Khokhars appear to have remained inactive for four or five years, but in 831 A. H. (1428 A. D.) Jasrath laid siege to Kalánaur, and on advancing from Lahore to relieve the place, his old opponent, Sikandar Tuhfa, was defeated and had to retreat on Lahore. Jasrath then besieged Jálandhar, but he was unable to reduce it, and so he retreated to Kalánaur, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as captives. Reinforcements were sent to Sikandar, but before they arrived, he had again advanced to Kalánaur and united his forces with those of Rái Ghálib of that town. These leaders then marched after Jasrath and completely defeated him at Kángra on the Beás, recovering the spoils which he had gained at Jálandhar. Jasrath again took refuge in Tekhar.

In 835 A. H. (1431-2 A.D.), however, Jasrath descended from Telhar (Tekhar) and marched on Jálandhar. Sikandar drew out of Lahore to intercept him, but incautiously allowed his small force to be attacked by Jasrath's superior numbers and was defeated and taken prisoner, some of his followers escaping to Jálandhar. Jasrath in triumph marched on Lahore and laid siege to it, but it was vigorously defended.

* Not identified; possibly Bhowa and Bhoh are the same.

† Thankar or Talhar in other historians. Farishta has Bisal, but that is on the Rávi. Raverty calls it Thankir.—*E. H. I.*, IV. pp. 55-6.

‡ Raverty calls this *Hindu* Rájá of Jammu Rai Bhalín, but adds that he was son-in-law of Ali Sháh of Kashmír, against whom Zain-ul-Abidín, his brother, enlisted Jasrath's aid. The Khokhars and their ally marched from Siálkot against the Sultán, Ali Sháh, and defeated him prior to 1423 A. D. About this time the Gakkhars, under Malik Kad, wrested their conquests from Zain-ul-Abidín.

by Sikandar's lieutenants, and on the Sultán's advancing to Sámána to its relief, he abandoned the siege, but kept Sikandar in captivity.*

In 835 A. H. (1432 A. D.) Malik Alláhdád was appointed feudatory of Lahore, but he was promptly attacked on his arrival at Jálandhar by Jasrath, defeated and compelled to seek a refuge in the hills of Kothí.†

In 840 A. H. (1436 A. D.) the Sultán Muhammad Sháh sent an expedition against Shaikhá (*sic*) Khokhar, which ravaged his territories.‡

In 845 A. H. (1441 A. D.) the Sultán conferred Dibálpur and Lahore on Bahlol Khán and sent him against Jasrath, but Jasrath made peace with him and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Delhi.§ After this the Khokhar power declined, owing to causes of which we know nothing.

In the time of Akbar the Khokhars held 5 out of 52 *mahálls* in the Lahore *sarkár* in the Bárí Doáb, and 7 out of 21 *parganas* in the Chinhaṭh Doáb, with one *maháll* each in the Bíst-Jálandhar and Rachna Doábs. In the Dibálpur *sarkár* of Multán they held 3 out of 10 *mahálls* in the Bist-Jálandhar Doáb, and one in the Berún-i-Punjnad, west of the Indus. Raverty puts their population then at more than 200,000 souls.||

It must be confessed that the above notes leave the question of the origin of the Khokhars precisely where it stood. In an account of the Kátil Rájputs from Gurdáspur it is said that some of the (earliest) converts to Islám became known as Khokhars, but further on it says: "One of our ancestors settled in the fort of Mangla Devi in the Jammu State and then took possession of Kharipur. *Hence* his descendants became known as Khokhars," after being converted to Islám in the time of Mahmúd of Ghazni. And further on it says that Kátils do not intermarry with Khokhars, because the latter are of their blood, and are descendants of Kátils by Muhammadan wives.

(2) a section of the Chuhṛás which is said to be descended from a Khokhar Rájput whose son was born of his mother in her grave. He was rescued, but as he had sucked the breasts of a corpse he was outcasted and married the daughter of a Chúhṛa. Out of respect for its ancestress the Khokhar Chuhṛás do not eat the heart of any animal.

Khoṛ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Khoreja, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

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* *E. H. I.*, IV., p. 74.
† *Ib.* p. 75.
‡ *Ib.*, p. 85: Jasrath must be meant.
§ *Ib.*, pp. 85-6.
|| *Notes*, pp. 366-67. The Khokhars of the Jálandhar district do not mention Jasrath, but only date their settlement there from the time of the Sayyid kings. Mr. Purser (*Jullundur Settlement Report*, p. 10) says this is negative evidence that Jasrath was a Gakkhar, but he refers to Major Waterfield's *Gujrát Settlement Report*, in which the Khokhars are quite correctly put down as descended from Jasrath, "who, with Bharat, took Jammú when in Tímúr's service," and afterwards settled in the Gujrát district.—See *Punjab Notes and Queries*, I., p. 141.

Khosa, (1) a very important Baloch tribe forming two distinct *tumans*—one near Jacobábád in Upper Sindh, the other with its head-quarters at Bátil near Dera Gházi Khán. Said to be mainly Hot by descent, they occupy the country between the Lagbári and the Kasráni, their territory being divided into a northern and a southern portion by the territory of the Lunds, and stretching from the foot of the hills nearly across to the river. They are said to have settled originally in Kech; but with the exception of a certain number in Baháwalpur they are, so far as the Punjab is concerned, only found in Dera Gházi. They hold, however, extensive lands in Sindh, which were granted them by Humáyún in return for military service. They are one of the most powerful tribes on the border, and very independent of their chief, and are "admitted to be among the bravest of the Baloch." They are true Rinds and are divided in Dera Gházi into 13 clans, of which the Baleláni and Isiáni are the most important, the latter being an affiliated offshoot of the Khetráns. The others are the Jangel, Jindani, Jíání, Jarwár, Hamaláni, Tombíwálá, Mihrwáni, Hálti, Jajela,* Lashári and Umaráni. The Khosa is the most industrious of the organised tribes; and at the same time the one which next to the Gurcháni bears the worst character for lawlessness. In 1859 Major Pollock wrote: "It is rare to find a Khosa who has not been in prison for cattle-stealing or deserved to be; and a Khosa who has not committed a murder or debauched his neighbour's wife or destroyed his neighbour's landmark is a decidedly creditable specimen." And even now the description is not very much exaggerated.

There is also a Khosa sub-*tuman* of the Rinds of Shorán, and a Khosa clan of the Lunds of Tibbi.

(2) a tribe of Jáṭs, said to be of Tur Rájput origin and to have been expelled from Delhi by the Chauháns. The people so plundered were called Khosas.† They used to wear the *janeo*, but after contracting unions with Jáṭs they gave it up, except at Rattiar in Moga tahsil in Ferozepur, where the Khosas still wear it, avoiding social intercourse with other Khosas. The Khosas hold the title in reverence because in the flight from Delhi an eagle saved a new-born child—in the usual way. At weddings bread is still thrown to kites. The boy's name was Bhai Randhír and Khosa Randhír in Moga is named after him. His pond in this village is the scene of a *mela* held there in Mágh and all Khosas have their wishes fulfilled or fulfil their vows there. Another special custom at Khosa weddings is that when the bride reaches the bridegroom's house the Dúm conceals the *takkula* of a spinning wheel in the village dung-heaps, and the pair are made to search for it by the common till they find it.

Khosak, a Baloch clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Khosar, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

Khostwál, an inhabitant of Khost in Afghánistán. The Khostwáls are not a tribe but include a number of Paṭhán tribes, such as the Jájís.

Khotre, a Kharral clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

* A small clan, probably aborigines of the Jaj valley, which they inhabit.

† The more usual folk-etymology makes Khosa = plunderer, not plundered.

KHUDAKKA, a sept or family of Paṭháns descended from Khudá Dád Khán, son of Khizr Khán (ancestor of the Khizr Khel), and grandson of Saddu Khán, founder of the Saddozais. The family is chiefly found in Multán.

KHUDUKHEL, a branch of the Doozai clan of the Mandaur Paṭháns, settled on the Indus in Peshâwar round Panjtar.

KHUGIÁNI, see KHOGIÁNI.

KHUKHRAIṆ, see KHOKHARAIN.

KHUMRA (KHEMRA).—A caste of Hindustán, and found only in the eastern parts of the Punjab. His trade is dealing in and chipping the stones of the hand-mills used in each family to grind flour; work which is believed to be generally done by Tarkháns in the Punjab proper. Every year these men may be seen travelling up the Grand Trunk Road, driving buffaloes which drag behind them millstones loosely cemented together for convenience of carriage. The millstones are brought from the neighbourhood of Agra, and the men deal in a small way in buffaloes. They also sing at fairs, and in Karnál work as weavers. They are almost all Musalmán.

KHUNGA, one of the principal Jáṭ clans, by position and influence in Hoshiárpur, in which District it is found in and near Budhipind.

KHUSRÁ, an eunuch or hermaphrodite: see under Hinjrá.

KHÚTRÍL, a tribe which is found in the Kahúta, Gujar Khán and Ráwalpindi tahsils of Ráwalpindi, and is connected by descent with the Dhúnds and Jasgams of the Murree Hills.

KHWÁJA, a title, especially affected by Kashmíris. It is the same word, as KHOJA, but is not used as the name of any caste or otherwise than as a title.

KHWAJAZADA, see SAYYID.

KHYUNG-PO, see CHÁHZANG.

KIHTRÁN, KIHTRÁRN, a sept of the Miána Paṭháns, descended from Kihtrán, one of the two sons of Shkorn, son of Miánai: Raverty distinguishes them from the Kihtráns or KHETRÁNS.

KÍKAN one of the two main divisions of the SÁNSIS. Also known as Bhedkuṭ, the Kíkan are cattle-lifters, child-stealers, burglars, and sometimes robbers and dacoits. They pass themselves off as Naṭs and other harmless tribes to escape molestation. They will eat beef and buffalo meat. Sometimes they are called *rihlúwálas* by the people as their women dance and sing *rilhus*, ditties or love-songs.

KILCHI, a clan of the Manj Rájputs.

KILLA, a tribe of Jáṭs which claims Solar Rájput origin through its eponym. It migrated into the Punjab in Humáyún's time and is found in Siálkoṭ.

KINGAR, see KANGAR.

KIRÁṚ, fem. -í, a word almost synonymous with coward, and even more contemptuous than is the name Bányá in the east of the Province. The term appears to be applied to all the western or Punjabi traders as distinct from the Bányás of Hindustán, and is so used even in the Káṅgṛa hills. But the Aroṛá is the person to whom the term is most commonly applied, and Khatris repudiate the name altogether as derogatory. The Kíraṛ appears as a terrible coward in the proverbs of the countryside: "The thieves were four and we eighty-four; the thieves came on and we ran away. Damn the thieves! well done us!" And again: "To meet a Ráthi armed with a hoe makes a company of nine Kiráṛs feel alone." Yet the peasant has a wholesome dread of the Kiráṛ when in his proper place. "Vex not the Jáṭ in his jungle, or the Kiráṛ at his shop, or the boatman at his ferry; for if you do, they will break your head." Again: "Trust not a crow, a dog, or a Kiráṛ, even asleep." So again: "You can't make a friend of a Kiráṛ any more than a *satti* of a prostitute."

KIRAUNK, KARAUNK, KRAUNK, KIRÁWAK, a man whose duty it is to call people together for *begár* or forced labour; also called Satwáq or 'bearer of burdens.' Lyall speaks of the Kirank as one of the *nich* or inferior castes of Hindus in Káṅgṛa, but it is doubtful whether it is not rather an occupational term, applied to any Koli or Dági who adopts this calling. In the Simla Hills the term Karáwak is generally applied to a Koli, but in the Koti fief of Keonṭhal there are two villages where Karáwaks live and form a distinct caste, ranking higher than the Kolis. These were originally Kanets. Once a cow died in a cow-shed and there being no Dági or Koli present, a Kanet dragged its carcass out of the house. The Kanets outcasted him and his descendants are called Karáwaks. The Kanets do not intermarry or dine with them. They can enter a Kanet's house but must not go into the kitchen. They correspond to the Baṭwáls, Baláhar, etc., of the low hills and the plains.

KIRD, KURD, a powerful Brahoi tribe: found also as a clan in the Mazári Baloch tribe. Originally a slave tribe.

KIRMÁNÍ, a Sayyid clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

KISHTIBÁN, a boat driver, a boatman: see under MALLÁH.

KIZALBÁSH, see QIZZILBÁSH.

KOCH, a people mentioned in the *Masálik-wa-Mamálik* and in the *Kitáb* of Ibn Haukal with the BALOCH. They are described as inhabiting a territory of Irán Zamín bordering on Sind and Hind, and as speaking a language different from the Baloch. Raverty identified them with the Brahuis, but see Kochi, *infra*.

KOCHI, a synonym for Powinda, *q. v.* The word literally means 'nomad.'

KOḌAN, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán.

KOHÁṚ, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

KOHISTÁNI, a generic term for the peoples of the Indus Kohistán: see under Chiliss, Gabare.

Kohjá, 'defective in a member,'* more correctly Khoja.

Kohja.—In the Jullundur tahsil, the first Jáṭs to become Musalmans would seem to have been the Kaujas or Kohjas who hold five villages; one of which is called Kauja, where the Kingra cho enters the District. They say their ancestor was a giant who accompanied Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni in one of his invasions and settled down here as he liked the country. His name was Ali Muhammad or Manju, and he was nicknamed Koh-Cha, or 'little mountain,' on account of his size. The change from Koh-cha to Kauja or Kohja is simple. Six of their septs (the Sim, Sadhu, Arak, Sin, Dhanoe, and Khunkhun) claim to be of Arab descent, and so were originally Muhammadans. The others were converted at various times since the reign of Akbar. The above mentioned six septs at least intermarry on equal terms. The Kohjas avoid the use of beef and till lately observed Hindu rites, as well as the Muhammadan *nikáh*, at weddings. They sank to Jáṭ status by marrying Jáṭ women.

Kohlí, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kohli, a man, of any caste, who looks after the *kuhls* or irrigation channels in Chambá. Not to be confused with Koli.

Kohri, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kok, a small clan of Jáṭs found in Báwal (Nábha). It derives its name from its first home, Kokás in the Mandáwar tahsil of Alwar. The Koks ordinarily worship the goddess Bhairon, and perform the first tonsure of their children at Durgá's shrine in the Dahmi *iláqa* of Alwar. *Cf.* Kuk.

Kokárah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Multán. *Cf.* Kúkára.

Kokráyá, a tribe of Jáṭs.

Kolá, an inhabitant of Kullu, and, according to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, a distinct word from Koli, *vide* p. 218 *supra*. The form Kolá is probably correct, just as Láhulá is used outside Láhul in Kullu for an inhabitant of Láhul.

Koli.—The term Koli is used in three distinct senses. First, as a territorial term it denotes a resident of Kullu, and Lyall speaks of the Rájás of Kullu as Koli Rájás.† He adds that the name Koli is applied, out of Kullu, to any Kullu man, but Kolá would appear to be the more correct form. He observes that they were not of pure Rájput blood, a fact indicated by their use of the title Singh instead of Sen or Pál, the usual Rájput affix, and that they were probably Kanets by origin, popular tradition making them for some time petty Ṭhákurs or barons of the upper Kullu valley.‡ Second, it denotes the Koli§ of the Hills, who is practically the same as the Dági, or in Chambá as the Sippi. Third, it is used of the Chamárs in the south-east Punjab who have taken to weaving. The Koli of the plains belong in all probability

* *Punjabi Dicty.*, p. 622.
† Kángra *Settlement Rep.*, § 79.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 75.
§ Koli is often given as a Rájput sept or family.

to the great Kori or Koli tribe of the Chamárs, the head-quarters of which is in Oudh. These men are commonly classed with Chamárs in the districts in which they are found, but are distinguished from the indigenous Chamárs by the fact of their weaving only, and doing no leather work. Indeed they are commonly known as Chamár-Juláhás. Mr. Benton wrote: "The Chamár-Juláhás have no share in the village skins, and do no menial service; but they would be very glad to be entered among the village Chamárs, who have anticipated them and driven them to weaving as an occupation." I very much doubt whether this is generally true. As a rule the substitution of weaving for leather work is made voluntarily, and denotes a distinct rise in the social scale. The Karnál Kolis do not obtain the services of Bráhmans.

It is, however, very possible that the Kolis of the hills are identical with those of the plains, or that both are really so named because they follow the same callings. Thus in the Simla Hills, the term Koli is supposed to be derived from Kulin, 'degraded from a family,' *i. e.*, of Sudra status; and the Dági caste is said to be an offshoot of the Kolis, which got its name from dragging away dead cattle (*ḍangar* or *ḍaga*), so that a Koli who took to removing the carcases of cattle was called a Dági Koli. Neither Kolis nor Dágis may wear a gold ornament* or a *sihrá* (chaplet) at a wedding in those Hills, but in the Siwáliks and lower Himalayas Kolis may wear both, though Chamárs may not. Again Dágis and Chamárs may intermarry, as a Dági who makes shoes becomes a Chamár. Otherwise he remains a Dági. Yet the Kolis rank above the Chamárs or Dágis and in the lower Himalayas a Kanet will drink water from a Koli's brass vessel, but not from any earthen vessel of his. These appear to be the Súcha or 'pure' Kolis of the following note:—

Once upon a time, when the Simla Hills were occupied by Kanets, cattle disease carried off nearly all the cattle of the villagers. As no shoe-makers (Chamárs) were available to remove the countless dead kine, and as the villagers could take no food till the carcases were removed from their houses, they took counsel to get out of the difficulty they were in, and some Kanet families undertook to remove them, but these families were avoided by the other Kanets, as they were polluted by touching the dead kine, and were termed Kolis. Thus the Kolis are degraded Kanets. But they retain their *gots*, so that the Koli *gots* are the same as those of the Kanets, and some Kolis of the Shandilya and Káshyap *gots* are found in these hills. Kolis do not touch beef. But they gladly eat the flesh of a male buffalo offered to a goddess in sacrifice. They also freely eat the flesh of a black bear. There are no Sachá Kolís in the Simla Hills,† but only Suchá Kolís. The Pahári word *suchá* means pure or purified, from the Sanskr. Shuchi, pure, purified or clean. They are like the Jhínwars of the plains, and water may be taken from their hands. The Kolí deity is called Khatheshar.

* This prohibition would appear to be due to some old sumptuary law of the Rájás. Similarly, at funerals Kolis may use the *ḍholki* (drum) and *sanái* (pipe), but no others: Kanets may use any musical instruments except the *narsingha*—and even that may be used by permission. In the higher ranges it is customary to beat a drum at funerals, but in the lower the *dafra*, *sankh* and *jhallar* are used.

† On the other hand a very careful observer (Mr. W. Coldstream), wrote:—

"In the lower hills (at least I have seen them in Biláspur State) there are *Sachá* Kolís, from whose hands Rájputs and Miáns can eat and drink. The fact is that the necessity of having menials ceremonially pure has created these Sachá Kolís, for Jhínwars and Brahmans are not everywhere to be got to supply food and drink, especially in the lower hills. The colonies of *Sachá* Kolís I saw were near forts, and they served the garrison (as water-carriers, etc.)"

In the Simla Hills another story about the origin of the Kolis is that a Kanet father had two sons by two wives and divided his property between them, it being agreed on that who should be the first to plough in the morning should get the first share. The younger brother was the first to wake and went forth to plough. The elder waking and finding him gone attempted to plough the courtyard, but finding it too narrow in a passion killed the bullock with an axe. For this he was turned out of his caste. He had two sons, one of whom lived a respectable life, while the other was guilty of skinning and eating dead oxen. From the first son descended the Kolis, who generally do no menial work, the Kanets will drink but not intermarry with them. From the second son are descended the Dagolis who skin and eat dead cattle. They are further sub-divided into Dagoli and Ṭhákur of whom the former will not eat with the latter because they eat and drink with Muhammadans. And between the Kolis and Dagolis come the Ḍúms who are considered *below* the Kolis and *above* the Dagolis, and though they do not bury or eat cattle the Kanets will not drink with them. They are endogamous.

In Kumhársain the Kolis appear to be divided into three classes, of which two may wear gold and intermarry,* while the third is not allowed to do so and forms a separate sub-caste, called Bashirrú, Karrirú and (or) Shilú, which is very numerous in Kullu. The Bashirrú are closely allied with the Jihotra group, but the people of Kumhársain will not eat anything cooked by them, though the Kolis of Sirmúr do not appear to object to doing so.

But another account divides the Kolis of the Simla Hills into two classes : (*i*) those who do no menial work, and with whom Kanets will drink (but not marry), and (*ii*) the Dagolis who skin dead kine and eat beef. And the latter again have a sub-group called Raheṛ† who will eat and drink with Muhammadans and so are out-casted even by the Dagolis. The Ḍúms rank between the Kolis and the Dagolis.

In Kullu the Dági is commonly styled Koli, or, in Saráj, Betu.‡ But those Kolis who have taken to any particular trade are called by the trade name, *e.g.*, *bárárú*, basket maker; *barhye*, carpenter; *daugri*, iron-smelter; *pumbe*, wool cleaner; and these names stick to families long after they have abandoned the trade, as have been the case with certain families now named Smith and Carpenter in England.§ So also Chamárs and Lohárs, though they have been classed separately, or probably only Dágis (Kolis) who took to those

* Only those whose hereditary occupation is tailoring are allowed to wear gold—not even those who have recently adopted it.

† The Raheṛ in these hills are like the sweepers or Bhangís of the plains.

‡ [*Beṭhu* or *baiṭhu*, a low-caste (Dági) attendant on a Kanet (or upper class family: Diack's *Kulu Dialect of Hindi*, p. 51.]. On the other hand the majority of the low castes in Kullu were in 1891 returned as Dágis in Kullu proper (the Kullu tahsil) and as Kolis in Saráj, and the terms appear to be synonymous though the latter is preferred as implying no reproach. Besides the derivation from *dág*, cattle, Dági is also said to be derived from *dagná* to fell. Neither *dág* nor *dagná* is given by Diack, *op. cit.*

§ In Kullu the higher castes are styled Mítarká (derived from *bhítar-ká*, 'of the inner circle'), while the lower are called Bárká, 'of the outer circle'. The latter include the Tháwi or carpenter, Darehi, ferryman, Koli or Dági and Barehi or axeman, Lohár and Báṛṛa (or Bálṛá), an ironsmelter or worker in *nirgál*, and Chamár in the order given: Kullu *Gazetter*, 1897, p. 61.

trades; but at the present day other Dágís will not eat with the Lohárs, and in some parts they will not eat or intermarry with the Chamárs. Most Dágis will eat the flesh of bears, leopards, or *langúr* monkeys. All except the Lohárs eat the flesh of cattle who have died a natural death. They stand in a subordinate position to the Kanets, though they do not hold their lands of them. Certain families of Dágís, Chamárs, and Lohárs are said to be the *koridárs*, *i.e.*, 'the courtyard people' of certain Kanet families.* When a Kanet dies, his heirs call the *koridár* Dágís through their *jatai* or headmen: they bring in fuel for the funeral pile and funeral feast, wood for torches, play the pipes and drums in the funeral procession, and do other services, in return for which they get food and the *kiria* or funeral perquisites. The dead bodies of cattle are another perquisite of the Dágís, but they share them with the Chamárs: the latter take the skin, and all divide the flesh. The Dágís carry palanquins when used at marriages. The Lohárs and Chamárs also do work in iron and leather for the Kanets, and are paid by certain grain allowances. The dress of the Dágís does not differ materially from that of the Kanets, except in being generally coarser in material and scantier in shape. Their mode of life is also much the same.

Sir James Lyall has the following instructive passage on the evolution of the Koli, but he frankly acknowledges that popular ethnology, which almost invariably describes a low as formed from a higher caste by degradation, is not on his side:—

"From the natural evolution of caste distinctions in this direction, I would reason that once all the lower castes in Kullu ate the flesh of cattle, but as Hindu ideas got a firmer footing, the better off refrained and applied to themselves the name of Kolí.† Popular tradition seems, however, to go in the opposite direction, for according to it the Kolís came from Hindustán and gradually fell to their present low position. The real Kolí, or as he is called in Kullu the *Sachcha* Kolí, is found in Kotlehr, Lambagraon, etc., of Kángra proper. There the caste is also very low, but tradition ascribes to it a much higher position than it now holds. The Kolís of Kángra will not have intercourse with the Kolís of Kullu on equal terms; the latter admit their inferiority and ascribe it to their being defiled by touching flesh. But it is the same with Brahmans of the plains and of the hills; they will not intermarry.

"I am not aware what position the Kolís of Kangra hold to the Chanáls of Kángra, but I believe they are considered inferior to them, and that they will not eat together nor intermarry. The Chanáls of Kangra will not, I understand, touch dead cattle, and will not mix on equal terms with those that do. There are some Chanáls in Outer Saráj who are considered inferior to the Kolís there."

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* The Kullu *Gazetter* of 1897 gives a somewhat different version. It describes the Kolis or Dágis as notoriously lazy, ignorant and thriftless. In dress and customs they do not differ materially from Kanets, except that they are generally poorer and have no caste scruples. *Each family* is attached to a family of Kanets for whom they perform the customary menial services on the occasion of a birth, a marriage or a death, receiving in return the leavings of the ceremonial feasts, and also certain allowances at harvest time: this relationship is known as that of *kasain* (the Kanet) and *dhani,—háru* or *kholidár* (the Dági). Diack adds that the Dági family has the sole right of performing ceremonial functions, *e. g.*, at a funeral, such as can only be undertaken by persons of low caste: *op. cit.*, p. 51. He translates *dhani* as 'master'. For the term *kasain* we may perhaps compare *kasán* in Ludhiána.

† But supplementary to and contradictory of this view is the account given in the Mandi State *Gazetteer*, p. 30. According to that authority the Kolis claim Kanet origin and say that the offspring of a Kanet by a low-caste woman is called a Koli. They perform menial services for Kanet landholders at festivities and are also cultivators, but are all notoriously lazy. The Chanáls form a branch of the Kolis, but are inferior to them in rank and live by extracting oil and carrying loads on ponies. The Chanál *gots* are Lakkar, Chauhán, Takriál, Siyáhi, Mhotlu, Dhorúng and Kathwári. No Koli *gots* are mentioned.

Thus the Koli is found as far west as Chambá, throughout the Hindu States of the North-east Punjab, in Kángṛa and the Siwáliks. He is also found in Sirmúr to the eastward, and in that State he occupies a low position, below the Lohár, Bídi and Bájgi, but above the Chanál and Dúmrá. He must not let his shadow fall upon any person of high caste, and cis-Giri Kanets and Bháṭs will not even drink water touched by him. Yet these two castes and even Rájputs will drink freely water brought by him in a metal vessel and can prepare their food in his house if it has been fresh plastered with cow-dung. The term Koli is almost synonymous with '*serf*,' and at weddings Kolis go on foot or on ponies, but not use palanquins or a kettledrum (*naqára*).* Ritual marriage is indeed not solemnised among some of them, the *jhajra* form being often used or merely the simple rite of putting a nose-ring into the bride's nose.†

Koli, a Gujar clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Korá, the term for a Kori, said to be in use in Simla.

Koráí, Kaudái, Kúrai. One of the original main sections of the Baloch, but not now an organised *tuman*.‡ It is found wherever the Baloch have spread in the Punjab, and still forms a tribe in Mekrán. Most of the Baloch in Multán are either Korai or Rind, but they have long been, for practical purposes, Jáṭs, having forgotten their old language, disused their old costume and intermarried freely with the neighbouring population, though they not uncommonly continue to wear their hair long. The Kúrai form one of the five Baloch tribes represented in the Chenáb Colony.

Kurais, -sh, Koraishi, Koraisi, see Quraish.

Kore, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Koreshí, an agricultural clan found in Montgomery. See Quraish.

Kori, Kohrí, (Kwárí is probably a misspelling for Korí). The Korís are Hindustání Chamárs, but are looked on more or less as a separate caste in the Punjab: see under Koli.

Koṛye, a Kamboh clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kotáná, see Kutáná.

Kotla, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kotlehria, a Rájput sept of the 1st grade, deriving its name from the principality of Koṭlehr.

Krammin, fr. Pers. *kamín* or (according to Drew) fr. *krum*, work: a class of millers and potters, most numerous in Darel, but also found in the fertile valley of Tangir in the Indus Kohistán.

Krishni, a Hindu Vaishnava sect. Members of the Krishní sect properly so called, will commence every sentence of their talk with the word 'Krishn.' Other devotees of this hero salute each other with the words

* Sirmúr *Gazetteer*, pp. 31, 34 and 36.

† *Ibid*, p. 30.

‡ Ibbetson (§ 389) speaks of the Korai as Rind but in § 385 he quotes an old Baloch verse "The Hot and Korai are joined together; they are equal with the Rind." The Korai never appear to have exercised independent rule.

jai Sri Kishn.—'Victory to the holy Krishna,' instead of using the ordinary 'Rám, Rám.' Others will use only the words *jai Gopálji,* 'Victory to the herdsman.' And there is a sect known as the Jaikishní who worship none but Krishn, and are remarkable for the combination they present of the extreme Shaiva and Vaishnava practices. They are said to have been founded by Muní Ditatre* to be connected closely with the Saniásís, or even to be a sect of the Bámmárgís, to be recruited from both sexes and to worship nude before the image of their god. On the other hand, they are devoted to the holy places of the Vaishnavas, to Gobardhan, Mathra, the Godávarí, and all that has to do with the history of Krishn: they read the Bhágavat Gíta; they are scrupulous observers of the sanctity of animal life; they are even reported to have been originally a Jain community, and to have only gradually adopted the ordinary Hindu customs relating to marriage and the like. In Lahore they are known as Bai; and their priests wear salmon-coloured clothes and white scull-caps, with flaps over the ears. They reverence more especially the Narbada and the deity Chang Dev, whose shrine is on or near that river; they worship his statue, which resembles that of Krishn and which is made of black wood or stone, and on the head of which they keep a small stone brought from the Narbada hills. At the time of prayer males and females alike are said to divest themselves of their clothes and to worship thus the image which only the initiated know to be that of Chang Dev and not of Krishn. They keep a handkerchief in their temple which is called *sesh,* and with which every one who enters the temple, wipes his or her hands. They are given to the practice of charms and will neither reside nor eat anything near a Hindu temple.

Kubhár, *i. q.* Kumhár, in Jhelum.

Kubrá, a sept of Baloch. (M.).

Kuchars, (1) a *got* of Mírásís, attached to the Malhi Játs; (2) a *got* of the Khatris.

Kuchband, lit. 'brush-binder.' The term is not a generic name, but an occupational one. The Kuchbands settled in Hissár say that their place of origin is Chitor in Rájputána, and that, during some catastrophe, vaguely stated to have occurred some two or three centuries ago, some tribes migrated north and assumed this designation and calling. The Kuchband *gots* are—Chauhán, Punwár, Gablot, Káchwa, Banáns, Sulankhi or Solkhi, Súrhia, Sassaud, Badgujar, and Morwár. They learnt brush-making from Changar, and their women also acquired the art of baking toys of clay. In Hoshiárpur the Kuchbands are regarded as Kanjars by others, but say themselves that they are Ghárás; and in that District their *gots* are Súd, Batwár, Bes, Jakarhára, Sankal, Bagúhar and Sonrá. No longer nomads they are now more or less settled, especially in the suburbs of Delhi, and in the cantonments of Ambála and Mathra. At Ambála they intermarry with Sánsis

* The Saniásís often trace their order to Swámí Ditatre, the Muní Dattatreya of Sanskrit works, who is sometimes said to have been the precursor of Shankar Acháraj, and all Saníasis, it is said, receive the *mantra* in the name of Ditatre. There is, however, a story of a contest between this Muni and Guru Gorakh Náth, which would place the former at a date much later than Shankar Acháraj and either this Ditatre or another of the same name is looked on as the founder of the Jaikishní sect.

and Kanjars from the Phulkián States, whence they came. They earn a living as *shikáris,* makers of *khas-khas* screens and even as domestic servants in cantonments. Their women also make and sell *binnás* (cushions for carrying loads on the head) and *chinkás* (nets for hanging up food, etc., in) and even as prostitutes. But as a tribe they are no longer criminal. Calling themselves Hindus, their observances are all like those in vogue among Hindus. Sweeper women are employed as midwives, at a fee of annas 4 for a boy and 2½ for a girl. The birth of a boy is celebrated by the distribution of sugar.

No Kuchband may marry within his own clan, and, as the Punwár and Surankhi stand highest in the social scale, it is considered an honour to intermarry with them. Marriage is contracted in this way: At betrothal, the parents of the bridegroom present five rupees to the bride's family; this is the whole ceremony.* At the wedding, a pole is fixed upright in the ground and a burning coal placed at its foot. A brother-in-law, or sister-in-law, of either the bride or bridegroom binds the right-hand thumb of the one to the thumb of the left hand of the other, and the couple circle round the pole seven times and afterwards blow seven times on to the coals. Then the bridegroom takes the bride into his thatch or tent, and unties the knot, informing her at the time that it is his tent and her future shelter. The bride returns to her parents.

The *mukláwa,* or home-coming, is performed in this wise. When the *pakkhís* are struck and the tribe starts on a tour, the bridegroom, accompanied by a *panch* of two men as witnesses, goes to the bride's residence and there presents Rs. 20 to her parents. He is then allowed to pass one night under his father-in-law's roof and next day takes his bride home, the bridegroom's two witnesses exhorting the pair on their duty towards each other. A second, or *karewa,* marriage is very rarely resorted to. The bridegroom never mentions the name of his mother-in-law.

When a death occurs, the corpse is carried on a bier of bamboos, shaped like a ladder, to the Hindu burning place. They do not collect any of the ashes (*phúl*) after the body is burnt. Three days later the deceased's near relations and those who carried the bier go to the burning place and convey with them a small quantity of milk. The ashes are collected in one place and the milk sprinkled on them. On the 12th day the corpse bearers are fed with rice and sugar and the remnant is distributed.

Although these Kuchbands style themselves Hindús they will eat food cooked by almost any caste. Cow's flesh alone is abjured by them. Of wild animals they catch and snare jackal, lizards (*sánda*), iguanas, foxes, porcupines, pig, hares, deer, and consume the flesh of all of them.

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* In Hoshiárpur two emissaries of the boy's father go to the bride's house and are given liquor. In return they distribute two rupees worth of sweetmeats and so confirm the betrothal. A marriage letter is sent as among Hindus, to fix the date for the shampooing of the pair with *whaṭná.* The *pherás* at the wedding are made by the boy's sister or sister's daughter or by the girls. But the couple blow on to the fire. When the wedding procession has withdrawn to its halting place, the boy's sister takes him in her arms and gets a rupee. The shawls of the pair are then unknotted, the boy salutes his father-in-law and gets a rupee, which is spent on liquor.

Like other aboriginal tribes, the Kuchbands extract curative oil from *sánda* lizard and do blood-letting with leeches or by the cupping process.

The Kuchband in Hissár worship Rám Deo and Lalta Masáni. The temple of the former is said to lie in the desert 20 miles west of Bikáner. A fair takes place there twice a year in Bhádon and Mágh, and on these occasions the Kuchband visit the shrine and make an offering of one rupee each. They have no respect for other places of pilgrimage, such as Hardwár, Jawáláji, etc. They also worship the cow. In the event of any one falling sick, it is customary to invoke Rám, thus—" Rám, we will offer one seer of grain to your mother cow." Should the patient recover, a cow is fed. If small-pox breaks out the tribe visits the shrine of Lalta Masáni in Gurgáon. A promise is then made to bring up two virgins to her service; food is given to two old and to two young women in her name, and a cocoanut is offered on the shrine.

The Kuchband in Hoshiárpur say they are descended from Khizr Pál of Alláhbás in the Aligarh District of the United Provinces. There is also a Mahárání's shrine at Alláhbás, and at her shrine a pig is sacrificed. The animal's forehead is daubed with vermilion and an earring put in its ear. It is then killed by sticking a large needle into its ribs, the head used to make a *palao*, while the rest of the flesh is cooked separately and thrown into the fire with five loaves and some liquor as an offering to Mahárání.

Kuchbands have a dialect or at least an *argot* of their own and nicknames for many tribes. The Jáṭ is called a Pant, the Mahájan or money-lender a Kapnia, the Chamár a Namoa, the Gujar a Jhomar and the Musalmán a Dela.

Kudhan, a Muhammadan clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kuhára a small caste, nearly all Muhammadans, who work as water-carriers and are probably Jhínwars. They are found chiefly in Siálkoṭ and Baháwalpur.

Kúk, a tribe (agricultural) grouped with the Mughals in Jhelum.

Kuk, a *muhin* or sept of the Gil Jáṭ. Found in strength in Hoshiárpur where the sept have a *báiya* or group of originally 22 villages.

Kuka, a fanatical sect of the Sikhs. To the peaceful order of the Udásís belonged one Bálak Singh, an Aroṛa by caste, of Hazro in Attock, who about 1846 inaugurated among the Sikhs a movement which was directed against the participation of Brahmans in weddings, and, generally, against their influence over the community. He formed adherents in the Sikh garrison of the fort, and they became known as Sagrási or Habiás.* On Bálak Singh's death in 1863 his nephew Káhn Singh succeeded him, retaining in the locality a certain number of followers, whose doctrines are never divulged. Bálak Singh's teaching was, however, taken up by Rám Singh, a carpenter of Bhainí Álá in Ludhiána,† where he built an extensive *dera* and

* No explanation of these two terms appears to have been suggested.

† According to local legend Rám Singh was building a house at Hazro for a Sayyid when he found he had cut a beam too short. The Sayyid's daughter bade him try it again. He did so and found it had grown too long. From her he learnt the words of power

maintained considerable state. He preached that he was himself an incarnation of Gurú Govind Singh and prophesied the speedy overthrow of the British power. In 1872 the Kúkas rose without any concerted plan, and a band of about 150 invaded the Máler Kotla State and attacked the capital, but were beaten off. At Rurr, a village in Paṭiála, they surrendered and 49 of them were executed by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiána. Rám Singh who had not personally participated in the events was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1888, but his followers believe he is still alive and will re appear. His brother Budh Singh inherited the *dera*. Rám Singh had divided the Punjab into districts, each under an agent, who bore the Muhammadan title of *súba** and was under his direct control. His followers were called *Kúkas*† or "shouters" because, unlike other Sikhs, they fall into a state of frenzy (*waid*)‡ during their devotions shaking their heads and shouting their prayers. The latter end with a cry of *Sat Srí Akál*, "God is True." Like many other sects they have been accused of holding orgiastic rites. Outwardly the Kúka is often distinguished by the *sidhi pag*, a special way of tying the turban straight, and by a knotted necklace of woollen cord the knots of which are used like beads of a rosary. Of recent years the sect has adopted the name Námdhária. The Kúkas are not an order, but at the edifice erected at Durga (near Nawáshahr in Jullundur) in honour of Guru Tegh Bahádur the ministrants are said to be Kúkas. The Kúkás revere the *Sau Sákhi*, a book which professes to be a conversation between Sáhib Singh and Gurbaksh Singh on the sayings and doings of Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru.§

Kúkára, the chief exorcists (*dán denewálás*) of the Sándal Bár. They have a semi-sacred position.—See Nekokára.

Kuláchi, one of the three branches of the Dodai Baloch and tribesmen of the Fateh Khán who founded the Dera of that name. The Kuláchi once held a broad tract, 20 *kos* wide by 12 long, in Dera Ismáil Khán and gave their name to the town of Kuláchi, from which the tahsil of Kuláchi takes its name. But at the close of the 18th century they were described as once subjects of the Mirrani Baloch and then tributary to Mirza Khán, the Qizzilbásh, to whom they paid Rs. 12,000 a year in revenue. They appear to have accompanied the Hot, who found Dera Ismáil Khán, in considerable numbers, but settled in that tract as cultivating proprietors rather than as a military caste and they have now sunk to the status of Jáṭs, Kuláchi tahsil having been overrun by the Gandapur Paṭháns who are still dominant in it.

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which had enabled her to lengthen the beam. These were *wáh gurú*, or according to others, "*Alláh-hu al-samad*." Rám Singh's ruin was attributed to his having revealed this watchword too freely to his followers.

* These Muhammadan terms must not be taken to imply any leanings towards Islám on the part of the Kúkás who in 1870 perpetrated the murder of a number of Muhammadan butchers at Amritsar in revenge for their slaughter of kine.

† Fr. P. *kúk*, a shriek or cry.

‡ Arab. *wajd*, ecstasy. The Kúkás also practise religious dances, in which the approaching extirpation of the heathen is symbolised by drawing the hand across the throat.—

Maclagan, § 107.

§ Santokh Singh, author of the *Súraj Parkásh*, does not however mention this work and its authenticity is not established. Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. V, p. 1.

Kulaí, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kúlále, potters in the valley below Chitrál and in the Gilgit and Indus valleys; see Chitráli.

Kulár, a small Jáṭ clan in Jínd which has a Sidh whose *samádh* is in Kulár Khás. He was killed by a carpenter, so they never give or sell *ghi* or beestings to a man of that caste.

Kuliár, a Jáṭ tribe found in the Lodhrán tahsil of Multán.

Kulya, a Muhammadan Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Montgomery.

Kumhár, Ghumiár, Ghumár, Khúbár, Kubhár, Khuhár, Kúbhár or Kubár, fem. -í. The Kumhár, or, as he is more often called in the Punjab, Ghumiár, is the potter and brick-burner of the country. He is most numerous in Hissár where he is often a husbandman, and in the sub-montane and central districts. On the lower Indus he has returned himself in some numbers as Jáṭ. He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues, in exchange for which he supplies all earthen vessels needed for household use, and the earthenware pots used on the Persian-wheel wherever that form of well gear is in vogue. He also, alone of all Punjab castes, keeps donkeys; and it is his business to carry grain within the village area, and to bring to the village grain bought elsewhere by his clients for seed or food. But he will not carry grain out of the village without payment. He is the petty carrier of the villages and towns, in which latter he is employed to carry dust, manure, fuel, bricks, and the like. His religion appears to follow that of the neighbourhood in which he lives. His social standing is very low, far below that of the Lohár and not very much above that of the Chamár; for his hereditary association with that impure beast the donkey, the animal sacred to Sítala, the small-pox goddess, pollutes him; as also his readiness to carry manure and sweepings. He is also the brick-burner of the Punjab, as he alone understands the working of kilns; and it is in the burning of pots and bricks that he comes into contact with manure, which constitutes his fuel. It would appear that he makes bricks also when they are moulded; but the ordinary village brick of sun-dried earth is generally made by the coolie or Chamár. The Kumhár is called Pazáwagar or kiln-burner, and Kúzagar (vulg. Kujgar) or potter, the latter term being generally used for those only who make the finer sorts of pottery. The Gilgar, Gilsáz and Gilkár should probably be regarded as groups of the Ráj or Tarkhán, rather than of the Kumhár. Grave-diggers, *gorkun* or *gorkand*, are said to be generally Kumhárs. In Pesháwar and in Attock and Káwalpindi the Kumhár is known as the Kulál or Kalál. Multáni in Gurgáon is said to denote a Kumhár, potter's work being often done there by men from Multán. Phusrai also appears to be a synonym. On the frontier the potter appears to be known as Gilgo.

The Kumhárs are both Hindus or Sikhs and Muhammadans by religion.

The Hindu Kumhárs.

The Hindu Kumhár is sometimes termed, honorifically Parjápat or Prajápatí, after the Vedic Prajápatís, who were lords and creators of the universe, because they make things of earth. In Kapúrthalá, how

ever, the title is said to be bestowed on the Kumhárs because they trade in grain and transport it. In Nábha the Kumhár* claims descent from Brahma as in the well-known lines :—

Rám ját ká Rángṛa, Kishn ját ká Ahír,
Brahmmá ját Kumhár hai, Sheo ki ját faqír.

"Ráma was by caste a Rángar, Kishen an Ahír, Brahmma a Kumhár, and Shiva a *faqír*."

Once, runs the legend, Brahma divided some sugarcane among his sons, and each of them ate his piece, except the Kumhár who put his into a pitcher full of earth and water in which it struck root. When the god some days later asked his sons for the cane, they had none to give him, but the Kumhár offered his to the god and received from him the title of Parjápat or 'Glory of the World'. But nine other sons of Brahma, ancestors of the Brahmans, also received the title.

Tradition also points persistently to the *bhagat* or saint, Kubba, as an ancestor of the Kumhárs. In Gurgaon he is said to have had two wives, the first of whom ran away from her home and so her children were called Gola. The second wife's offspring were called Mahr or Mahár because she was the sister of the first. Another version is that the first wife after forsaking her husband married his servant, *gola*. In these legends the Mahrs claim superior status to the Golas, but the latter tell quite another story. Thus in the Báwal *nizámat* of Nábha the Golas say that Brahma had 60,000 sons whom he ordered to make earthenware. To one of them he gave a *gola* (ball) for a pattern. He made vessels like it, and a vessel larger than a pitcher and called *gol* is still made in Báwal by the Kumhárs. Hence they are called Golas. Brahma also gave him a wheel on which to make pottery. For this reason all Hindus at a wedding go to a Kumhár's house to reverence the *chak*,† when Brahma is worshipped.

And yet again the Golas in Nábha claim Kúbá as one of themselves and say that he it was who made 20 pitchers a day to give away as alms, until one day 30 *sáhds* came to his house; nevertheless relying on God's grace he bade his wife sit behind a curtain and hand each of them a pitcher. Miraculously the 20 vessels became 30, as described in the following version of the well-known lines :—

Kúbá bhagat Kumhár thá,
Bhándá gharṭá bís.
Har Govind kirpá kari,
Hue bís ke tís.

"Kúbá was a potter and made 20 pots a day; but the Almighty was gracious and the 20 increased to 30."

To this incident is due the custom at Hindu weddings of curtaining off a room in which sweets are placed, a Brahman, sitting behind the curtain, being trusted to dispense unbounded hospitality. Moreover Kumhárs still supply ascetics with earthenware gratis.

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* Or Ghumhár, as he is termed, except in Báwal *nizámat* with a pun on his vocation, which involves 'turning.'

† It symbolises the *súdarshan chakkar* or discus of Sri Krishna.

The Hindu Kumhárs of the south-east Punjab are divided into two main groups Mahr and Gola, the latter being inferior. Mahr wives wear no nose-ring.

The origins of the Mahrs and Golas are variously described. The word Mahr has given rise to several folk-etymologies. One, which is somewhat widespread in the south-east Punjab, avers that once during a famine a Kumhár woman left her home and in her wanderings lost her infant son, who grew up and, returning home, married his own mother in ignorance of their relationship. But the truth came out, and so their children were called man-har, or 'mother-stealer.' But Mahar is also traced to *mahr*, 'venerable' or 'chief'; and, in Jínd, where the Mahrs claim to be the pure descendants of Kúbá *bhagat*, to *maur*, 'crown.'

There are, however, several other groups in Gurgáon, *viz.*, the Hanslia, Tanur,* Mali and Ráj Kumhár. Of these the last named work as masons and thus hold a superior position, the higher Hindu castes not disdaining to drink water drawn by them. In the Nábha account are noted a Baldia,† a Hatelia‡ and an Agaria group, each termed *khánp*. In Sirmúr, Náhan tahsil, we find the Mahr sub-caste only, the Golas not being found there,§ though they are found in Paonta.

The Hindu Mahr *gots*‖ include one or two names of some interest. For instance:—

According to a tradition current in Lahore the forebear of the Mahar Kumhárs had four sons; to the eldest of whom he assigned the task of sifting the brick dust, whence he was called Sangroha ('sifter'): to the second son he entrusted the wheel with its tholepin (*kila*), whence Kilia: the third shaped the wet earth and brought out the ends (*nok*), whence Nokhal: and the fourth dried them, whence Sokhal, from *sukh*, 'dry.' These now form four *gots*. A Rájput of the Sarohi *got* brought up a boy and married him to his daughter, but then discovering he was a Kumhár disowned him and his wife. *Sarohi* is also said to mean out-caste. So too among the Golas‖ we find the Jalandhrá *got* which is so called after Rúpá, a *bhagat* of Devi, who was born in the water (*jal*). It is the chief *got* of the Gola group in Lahore.

In Kapúrthala, Amritsar and, generally speaking, in the Punjab north of the Sutlej the Mahr-Gola classification is unknown. The principal *got* in the central Punjab is the Dol, but there are many other sections.¶

To the list of Hindu Kumhár *gots*¶ may be added the Utrádhí, in Multán, whose females used to wear the *nath*. They are shop-keepers by trade and do not make pottery. They abstain from eating meat.

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* The Tanur *gots* are Khangar, Khotia, Maháwália and Rai Badár.

† The Baldia are so called because they live by carrying earth on *balds* (bullocks). They do not act as servants, and are not found in the Nábha State.

‡ The Hatelia are so called because, unlike the others, they do not make earthenware on a wheel but by hand. They are not found in Nábha and do not act as servants.

§ The Mahr women in Sirmúr wear the nosering, which the Golas do not, but the Thera sub-caste, which is the highest of the three, also wear it. This Thera group is not mentioned elsewhere.

‖ For a full list see Appendix.

¶ See Appendix.

In Gurdáspur the Hindu Ghumárs are divided into two groups, one claiming descent from Rájá Sain Pál, a Rájput, who had seven sons:—

1. Ghuman.
2. Ojha.
3. Tatla.
4. Machchána.
5. Kahlon, who became a cultivator and thus a Jáṭ by caste.
6. Haljhal
7. Tak

(6 and 7) Who became potters. Their descendants avoid marriage *inter se*, because they were true brothers.

The Territorial Groups.

The Kumhárs of Sirsa are divided into the Jodhpuria, from Jodhpur, who use the furnace or *bhaṭṭi* and are generally mere potters, and the Bíkáneri or Desi, from Bíkáner who use kilns (*pajâwas*), but are chiefly agricultural and look down upon the potter's occupation as degrading. In Hissár there are four nondescript groups, the Bídáwati, Magrechi, Nagori and Bhandia and others. All these appear to be really different tribes and not separate clans of one and the same tribe or caste, as, though all smoke and eat together, they will not intermarry. Of these the first-named smoke with Jáṭs, and take wives from the Rugrachi, but will not give them brides in return. Other groups mentioned in accounts from this District are the Gola, Maru and Mula, all three distinct and not intermarrying. But other accounts make the Gola the same as the Marú and the Bídáwati identical with the Magrechi.. Several of the Kumhár tribes have abandoned pottery and taken to agriculture as an occupation and have thus risen in the social scale.

Other territorial groups of the Hindu Kumhárs are:—

1. Bágṛí or Márwáṛí,* *q. v.*
2. Bángaṛ(ú) a sub-caste, found in Kapúrthala, originally immigrants from the Bángaṛ.
3. Desi.*

Occupationally, the Bágṛi group is also sub-divided into Khapmárús or agriculturists and Khapbandas or potters, which form sub-castes, as they do not intermarry, or eat or smoke together. They avoid four *gots* in marriage. The Márwáṛís of the Bágaṛ use camels at weddings, as they keep camels instead of donkeys. Besides Guga, they also affect Jín Deví, whose shrine is on a hill near Jaipur. Fairs are held there on the 8th and 9th *sudi* of Chait and Asauj.

The Márwáṛi-Desi groups appear to be found only in Jínd, and in Siálkoṭ.

The Kumhárs of Kángṛa appear, however, to be also known as Desí, and their women wear gold nose-rings. Their *gots* are Daniál, Gangotra and Sohal. In Máler Kotla the Pajáwagars are said to be Desí, there being no Márwáṛís in the State, and this Desí group is further sub-divided into Mahrs and Golas. In Jínd these two sub-divisions of the Desí group are also found, the Mahr being also called Maru.

The Occupational Groups.

The Kumhárs are also divided into several occupational groups, *viz.*:—

(*i*) The Agaria or Aggaria (a synonym for Kúzgar, *q. v.*) who are found in Nábha, where they form a *bans* without *gots*, and

* For a full list see Appendix.

avoid near kin in marriage. Claiming to be of higher rank than the other Kumhárs, they wear the *janeo* and cook their food in a *chauk.*

(*ii*) The Kundgar, or makers of *kunds* (troughs or tubs), in Málerkotla, when they are all of one *got*, the Aggarwál, and say they came from Agra. They claim Rájput extraction and are often called Panjpire as they worship five *pírs*—Pirán Pír, Gugá, Khwájájí, Devi and Nigáhá.

(*iii*) The Kúzgar, found in Jínd, Nábha (where they are also called Agaria), Kángra, Sirmúr, Multán, and Máler Kotla (where they are all Sálváhan by *got*). They make *kúzas* or small vessels and claim Chhatri origin. [See Agaria (*i*) *supra*].

(*iv*) The Núngars or salt-workers are found in Jínd; and in Multán where they are known as Nunáris and used formerly to make salt, but they now deal in charcoal.

(*v*) The Pajáwagar or kiln-burners, found in Máler Kotla where they make bricks and have two groups—Márwárí and Desí.

(*vi*) The Shoragar, found in Jínd, and in Sháhpur, are makers of saltpetre, but hardly form a distinct group.

The cults of the Kumhárs offer many points of interest. Thus in Delhi the Kumhárs worship all the deities, and all, Hindus too apparently, especially affect Tabar Pír, as well as the Khwája of Ajmer; and in the *amáwas* of Asauj they visit the shrine of Shams Khán at Nangal-dewat in Delhi. The goddess is also worshipped, her devotees giving *chárún*, etc., to the poor in her name. In Máler Kotla the Hindu Kúzegars invoke Pír Dastgír,* the Pirán Pír, before beginning work, making a *díva* or earthen lamp in his name, to ensure the safety of the things made. In Nábha the Kúzegars again invoke Ghulám Qádir Muhí-ud-Dín Jiláni and other Muhammadan saints, though they are Hindus. At weddings too they make offerings to *pírs*, etc., and distribute rice cooked with sugar among Muhammadan beggars, the brotherhood, and people of their own quarter.

In Dera Gházi Khán the Kumhárs, who are all Muhammadans, affect the Taunsa Pír.

In Lahore the Kumhárs celebrate the Holí with more enthusiasm than any other caste. Their principal shrines are those of Rám Sahai, *pír* of Ronecha in (?) Lahore, and of the *pír* of Narar, a village in the district of Rincha Cháranan in the Khetrí fief of Jaipur State.

The Nararwálá *pír* also has a shrine in Hateli, a village in (?) Nábha, whence the Kumhárs migrated into the Amloh *nizámat* of Nábha. When a child is 1¼ months old they carry it to his shrine, where they offer 1¼ *sers* of *malídá* and this is also distributed among the brotherhood. The mother is then taken to a well to draw water, carrying with her some *bakli* (boiled grain) for distribution among children.

* Dastgír is also the *pír* of the Kashmiri (Muhammadan) Kumhárs in Gurdáspur.

When the child is 6 months old they offer sweets to the goddess at Kángṛa. They also worship the *chak* at the Holi and Diwáli festivals.

The Kumhárs in Nábha, both Golas and Mahrs, affect Bhairon and Guga especially. And in the Báwal *nizámat* they play the *tabla* or drum, an instrument invented by them and used by Rupisar Kumhár, an attendant of Devi, with whom he used to play chess. In an assemblage of Kumhárs one of the caste assumes female attire, and dances and sings while the others perform music. Kumhárs sometimes act as bards, and as such associate with Bahrupias, though they consider it a disgrace to play the drum for prostitutes. The Kumhárs express joy by a curious dance, in Lahore.

The Kumhárs, both Gola and Mahr, of Báwal worship *Satí* once a year, and also at weddings, by putting rice cooked in milk on a piece of plastered ground, where the women bow their heads in reverence. A bride is bound to ride on an ass at her wedding under penalty of excommunication. In Amloh the Gola Kumhárs do not wear red clothing at weddings. Those of other *nizámats* bring the bride in a cart.

The Kumhárs of Báwal perform a child's first tonsure at Bhairon's shrine at Bás in Gurgaon, and to this shrine a bride and bridegroom are also taken with their garments tied together, to offer sweets and cash in lieu of a he-goat.

In Kángṛa the Kumhárs have no saints of their own, except the potter's wheel, *chak*, which originated in Gorakh Náth's gift to them of his *mundar* or earring for a wheel. Ever since it has been worshipped at the Diwálí, and on that day Kumhárs cease from work, make offering to the *chak* in fulfilment of vows, and, if a goat is slaughtered sprinkle its blood on the wheel. When a *chak* is revolved for the first time some sweet porridge (*kaṛah*) is offered to it. If a man has no children or if they die young he vows his next child to the *chak*, to which solemn offerings are made if his prayer be heard. The *chak* is also worshipped by Rájputs of the higher groups.

Few Kumhárs are true Sikhs, but some are followers of Nának or his disciples. Thus in Amritsar the Sukhal Kumhárs acknowledge the authority of the *mahants* of Tejiwálá and Rám Dás, who are disciples of Bábá Budhá, Nának's disciple, and these *mahants* come to congratulate them on the birth of a són, receiving presents in return.

The Muhammadan Kumhárs.

The Muhammadan Kumhárs also have two territorial groups—Desí and Multání in Måler Kotla, Jínd and Nábha. The Desi women wear a gown (*pahan*) over the trousers, which hangs from the neck, while the Multání women wear a petticoat. Desi women believe in Sítla, but not so the Multánis.

In Gurdáspur the division is into Panjábi and Kashmírí: in Siálkoṭ and Gujrát into Kashmírí and Desí.

The Muhammadan Kashmírí sections in Gurdáspur and Siálkoṭ are:—

Chang, in Gurdáspur; Parar, in Siálkoṭ; Sadji, in Gurdáspur; Shaikh in Gurdáspur and in Gujrát, in which latter district all Kashmírí

Kumhárs claim to be Shaikhs and have no other sections. As these Shaikhs do not dance or sing they have to employ Desi Kumhárs for the purpose.

The Muhammadan Kumhárs have no occupational groups of importance, the only one of interest being the Kuláls,* in Gujrát, who are professional singers and dancers by trade, giving performances at Kumhár weddings. Though looked down upon by the other Kumhárs they obtain brides from them.

In Míánwálí, Leiah tahsíl, certain groups are alluded to but not defined. These are :—

1. Angam or ? Rangam }
2. Baryar } which intermarry.
Rangam or ? Angam }

In Míánwálí the Kumhárs are cultivators as well as potters, and a few are bards or musicians to the land-holding tribes. The latter are, however, looked down upon. In Leiah the Kumhárs claim descent from Jalál Bakrí,† the saint, whom they invoke in beginning work in the prayer :—

Dádá Jalâl Baqrí, Hájí Gilgú,
Allâh kare, so ho.‡

But in Bhakkar they affect Sháh Husain Bakhsh of Peshâwar.

In Amritsar Luqmán is said to be the ancestor of all the Kumhárs, and on beginning work he is invoked by saying :—

Bismilláh-ul-Rahmán-ul-Rahím hu ustád Luqmán Hakím Hájí Gilgú.

Jaisi Alláh kare so ho; dhar thoba, yáni chalá chak ko.

Galgu is the *pír* of the Punjabi (Muhammadan) Kumhárs in Gurdáspur and of the caste in Sháhpur. In Multán Hájí Gulgu is the 'priest' of the Kumhárs, and at weddings they offer Re. 1 and 6 yards of red cloth to the *jhandírs* (standard-bearers§) appointed for the purpose, in his name.

In Gujránwálá the Muhammadan Kumhárs are said to believe in the Prophet Daniel and to begin work by pronouncing his name.

The Muhammadan Multánís affect a saint at Sámána in Paṭiála, while the Desís visit the well-known shrine of Sádhaura in Ambála.

Caste Administration.

The Kumhárs have a somewhat elaborate system of caste government. Thus in the south eastern districts, the Kumhárs have *chauntras* at each large town or city, *e. g.*, at Delhi,|| and to this place all

* Kolál (?) is said to be a contemptuous term for a Kumhár in Lahore. The Kolál is a *got* of the Mirásís and its members are *mirásis* to the Kumhárs, though they sometimes work as Kumhárs also.

† In Dera Ismáil Khán, however, they claim descent from Mír Katal.

‡ Hájí Gilgú is here explained to be the perfect saint who could fulfil all desires.

§ They say the *jhandírs* are the *khalífas* of their priests.

|| The Delhi *chaudhri* used to attend all important meetings in Gurgaon, but he is now said to have appointed (subordinate ?) *chaudhris* in towns and villages. There is also said to be a *chaudhri* for each group of villages.

disputes, unless tried on the spot, are brought for trial before a *pancháyat*. Each *chauntra* has its *chaudhrí*, whose office is not usually hereditary, and he presides over the *pancháyat*.

The *chaudhrí* visits any village in his *chauntra* at weddings, funerals or other gatherings. At a wedding he receives a rupee, some *ghí* and a little fruit. If the *chaudhri* of any other *chauntra* attends he receives sweets and *ghí*. If not present in person the *chaudhri* gets only Re. 1 in cash. This money is earmarked for the expenses of the whole community or its *pancháyat*. A *chaudhrí* can impose a fine of Rs. 100 or even excommunicate an offender. Among Hindu Kumhárs the *chaudhrí* gets a turban or 4 copper coins at a wedding or a *káj*. In Gurgaon he receives Re. 1 and a turban at a wedding or *káj* ; and decides disputes relating to contracts of betrothal or marriage, innovations in custom, and judges co-habitation with a woman of another caste. As a punishment he can fine the offender or compel him to entertain the brotherhood.

In Kángṛa the Kumhárs had their *gaddí* or head-quarters at some place in the south, long since forgotten. Under native rule they also had a book, called *panchnatá*, which prescribed the wedding rites and in which the names of the married pair were registered, the elder (*chaudhri*) receiving annas 8 as his fee, but the practice has fallen into disuse. The *chaudhrí* is elected and his powers are limited. He is first consulted in regard to questions of betrothal, etc., and if necessary he apparently adjudicates upon them.

In Jínd and Nábha the office of *chaudhrí* is either hereditary or elective, but in the latter State the Kumhárs have *chaudhris* of their own, independent of Hissár. In Sirmúr, the Mahr Kumhárs of Náhan have *pancháyats*, and a *chaudhrí* at Ambála, but the Mahrs and Golas of Paonta have a *chaudhrí* or *chauntra* at Buṛia, in Ambála District, and he is subordinate to the *chaudhri* at Kalait. At a funeral he receives a rupee and a *pagṛi*, but at a wedding only the *bhájí* (sweetmeats, etc.), is divided by (? shared with) the *chaudhrí* nothing else being paid him. Offences against the brotherhood are punished by fine, the offender being summoned by the *chaudhrí* before a *pancháyat*. The *chaudhrí* has a *wazír*, nominated by himself, who addresses the *pancháyat* on the *chaudhri's* behalf. The *pancháyat's* finding is reported by the *wazír* to the *chaudhrí* and if he concurs the matter is settled. If not, it is again debated by the *pancháyat*. The *chaudhri's* office is usually hereditary, and cannot be given to another family without consulting the *chaudhrí* and the *pancháyat*.

The Multání Kumhárs of Máler Kotla have only a loose system of referring disputes, especially those relating to marriages, to arbitration by the elders of the sub-caste. But the Desí sub-caste in this State has an ancient system of administration. The *chaudhrí*, who lives at Basí in Paṭiála, holds a *sanad* bestowed on him by some ruler, which confers on him authority to decide disputes within the caste. This *sanad* descends from father to son. At weddings the *chaudhrí* gets Re. 1 and a *paġṛí*, which is presented to him personally or sent to him through a *mirási*.

The *pancháyat* system is found, more or less developed in Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdáspur, and Gujránwála.

In the south-west of the Punjab the *chaudhri* is called *mehtar*, and is elected from the family in which the office is hereditary. He settles petty disputes in the caste and attends weddings and funerals, receiving a double share of the *bháji*. His son as successor is installed by the community by tying a turban on his head. In Míánwálí, however, the system seems to be in complete abeyance.

West of the Indus we find the *mehtar* exercising a large authority in Isá Khel. In Peshávar he is termed *kalantar*, and he decides disputes, but his chief duty is or was to assign the tasks required of the Kumhárs under the Sikh system of forced labour.

Kumhár dress.

In Kángra the Hindu Desí Kumhár women wear a nose-ring of gold.

In Máler Kotla the Muhammadan Multání Kumhár women wear a *ghagrá* (petticoat) and the *náth*, but these are not worn by the Desí women, who wear instead an *angiá* or bodice. In Nábha the Desí women wear over their trousers a *pahan*, which hangs from the neck, the upper part forming a bodice. The Multánís wear a gown.

In Máler Kotla* the Mahr wives wear the *náth*, whereas those of the Gola sub-caste do not, and in Nábha they do not bore the nose. The Mahr women in the latter State also wear loose trousers below the gown.

In Multán the Hindu Utrádhí females used to wear a gold *náth*. The Muhammadan (Multánís mostly) Kumhár females wear the *pairáhan* or *chola* through life, as a rule, but some of them, chiefly the Kalai or Kailai, who are found in Baháwalpur, replace the *cholá* by the *choli* after marriage.

In Míánwálí tahsíl girls assume the *chola* after marriage. In Leiah Kumhár women wear any ornament save the nose-ring and those worn on the feet.

The Kumhárs give their name to Kumhársain, one of the smaller Simla Hill States. The State was founded by Pahár Singh, one of four Brahman brothers from Gayá, who had a pet cat which was killed by a mouse that sprang upon her from beneath one of the 18 potters' wheels then at work at Kumhársain. He complained to Koteshar† Mahádeo, who is said to be the owner of the chiefship (*gaddi*), and the god promised him redress. So all the Kumhárs were killed, except a pregnant woman and her descendants still live in the State.

Kúndáh-panthí. A sect, founded some 40 years ago by Hákim Singh of Rámpur, in Patiála. Hákim Singh was described as an insignificant looking man, living in filth, and possessing a few tracts and a New Testament in Panjábi (which he had obtained from American Mis-

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* And also in Jínd, where the *náth* is said to be of gold or silver. In this State it is also added that the Mahrs use waggons at weddings, whereas the Golas, both men and women, must ride asses on such occasions. Golas themselves beat drums, which Mahrs will not condescend to do, at a wedding.

† Koteshar or Koti *deota* is still the god of the State and has a temple at Madholi, a village in Kumhársain.

sionaries at Ludhiána), from which he used to read to his few followers; but they soon numbered about 3,000 souls, and included several well-to-do inhabitants of Rámpur. His preaching too underwent change, and he taught that the British Government would shortly be replaced by his own. Giving himself up to religious meditation as a lad, Hákim Singh who was a Jáṭ, wandered about for several years as a *faqír* visiting shrines in different parts of the country, in the belief that, by so doing, he would atone for his past sins and obtain merit in the eyes of God. Then he settled down at his native village and began to preach the worship of the Neh Kalank Avatár* or spotless incarnation of the Deity. He obtained some Christian books from the missionaries at Ludhiána and declared that Christ was the Neh Kalank, and that he was himself an incarnation of Christ; the Imám Mahdí expected by Muhammadans, and also the Raghnáth believed in by Hindús. He taught his disciples to eat together and called his sect Kúnḍáh Panthí, *kúnḍáh* meaning an earthen vessel, and *panth*, a sect.† He enjoined strict morality, and declared that the Satyug, or era of truth, was about to commence. While acknowledging Christ was the true Gurú, he maintained that he himself was an incarnation of Christ, and that it was for him to baptize.

Originally a disciple of one Thartpurí, a *sádh* of his own village, for 20 years Hákim Singh did not come out of his house. He had his head shaved and also those of several women. To avoid obeying the calls of nature, he used to put a stick down his throat after eating and so cause himself to vomit. This was called *neuli karam*. He was believed to possess the power (called *joga bhiás*) of being able to hold his breath for a long time without showing any sign of life. He was a great-opium eater and when visitors called on him the first thing he offered them was opium.

Kundi.—(1) A Paṭhán tribe of the same descent as the Niázi. The original Kundi country consists of a tract lying along the Sohali stream below the Bhittani range in the Tánk tahsil of Dera Ismáil Khán. The tribe is loathe to emigrate and herds together in its old villages, and all their eastern villages have been occupied by immigrants from Marwat. The Kundis are a Pawinda tribe, but settled in the district about the same time as the Daulat Khel Loháni. The Kundi are or were a lawless tribe and great robbers, and the proverb ran: "Better a dead Kundi than a live one." (2) See also under Isperka.

Kundu, a tribe of Jáṭs descended from Kundu, a Rájput, who married a Jáṭ widow by *karewa* and so lost status. It is found in Jínd tahsil. (See under Phogát.)

Kunjiánwálá, a sect of *faqírs*, said to practise divination by means of keys. They appear to come from Siálkoṭ and are found in Jhelum. They are probably Ráwals.

Kúnjṛá, Kuṇjṛá, Karúnjṛá, a hawker of vegetables, kúnjṛá is a purely occupational term nothing more or less than the Hindustáni,

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* There is a prophecy in the Hindu Shástars to the effect that "Neh Kalank Avatár" will be born in the house of a Khatri in village Sambhal in the Morádábád district in Sambat 1940 A.D. 1883-84.

† So called because they all eat in common.

as *sabzi-farosh* is the Persian, for green-grocer. The big men generally use the latter term, the small costermongers the former. But in no case is it a caste. The Kúṇjṛá belongs as a rule to one of the castes of market gardeners which have been described under minor agricultural tribes. I do not know why Kúnjṛá should have been returned under that name only in the east. It may be that in other parts of the Province it is more usual to call the seller of vegetables an Aráín or Bághbán, as the case may be, and that the word Kúṇjṛá is little used. This probably is the true explanation, as the figures for Native States show the same peculiarity.

Kupchání, a Baloch sept, now represented by only a few families in Bhakkar tahsil.

Their tradition is that they fled from Persia into Balochistán, whence they were expelled by the Marri, Bugti and Káhiri Baloch. But they also say that they are an offshoot of the Qaisaráni tribe of Sanghar tahsíl in Dera Ghází Khán whose chief is stated to keep their genealogical tree. In the east Kachhi of Balochistán the Marris, Bugtis and Káhiris all say that prior to their advent into that tract it was held by a people called Kupcháni of Jáṭ origin or status. This tradition lends support to the theory that Balochistán was once occupied by Jáṭs, who were driven out by the Paṭhán, Brahui and Baloch.

Kúrái, see Koraí. Kúrai is also a Teli *got*.

Kurán, Kuram, a group of Kanets found in the Simla Hill States of Bashahr, Jubbal, Balsan, etc., and comprising numerous septs. Kuráns give daughters in marriage to the Khash Kanets. In Bashahr the Kurán is also called Rahú, *q. v.*

Kurar, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kureshí, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur, see Quraish.

Kurmí, Kumbhí (Kanbí, Kímí).—A great caste of cultivators very widely spread over the eastern parts of Hindustán and the Deccan. 'Of good caste is the Kunbin, with hoe in hand she weeds the fields together with her husband.' But in the cantonments of the Punjab the Kurmis are generally occupied, like other Púrbias, in cutting grass, weaving and serving as grooms; and they are even said to keep pigs. They are, of course, a very low caste; lower far in social standing than the indigenous agricultural castes of the Punjab.

Kurpalka, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kurtáná, see Kutáná.

Kurtana, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kúretánah, a Jáṭ clan (agricultural) found in Amritsar.

Kurunjra, see under Kúṇjṛa. A green-grocer.

Kusan (? *Kasán*), 'those, generally, who derive their livelihood directly from the soil,' as opposed to zamindár: H. Davidson: Ludhiána *Settlement Report*, 1859, p. 29.

Kút, an agricultural clan found in Sháhpur.

Kutána, for Kurtána or Kurutána.—The term for a Muhammadan Chúhṛa in the south-west Punjab and equivalent to Musalli in the north-west. The Kurtána are a class of sweepers, converted to Islám, who are settled on the bank of the lower Indus and have given up scavenging and eating carrion and taken to making ropes and working in grass and reeds. The word is sometimes applied to any Muhammadan sweeper, but, strictly speaking, only a convert who has become a *halál-khor* or eater of things permitted by the Muhammadan law, is a Kurtána. Some Kurtánas even cultivate land on their own account; and, so long as they do no scavengering, the Kurtánas are admitted to religious equality by other Musalmáns. Possibly the Kurtánas of the Indus banks are a distinct caste or people from the Chúhṛas, but they return no large tribes and appear to be a caste formed from the *debris* of numerous tribes degraded by function. In the south-west the term Khoja is also applied to a converted sweeper and is thus synonymous with Kurtánas, which literally means 'flogger' or executioner: see foot-note to p. 183, *supra*.

Kuthrálo, a sept of the Bhaṭṭis, descended from Kuthrál, son of Bhoni, and found in Siálkoṭ.

End of Volume II.